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OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME X.

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CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

REBUILDING OF MEXICO.

1521–1523. PAGE.

Quarrelling over the Booty—Poor Results—Torture of Quauhtemotzin—Treasure-hunting—A Disappointment—Pasquinades—Financial Measures—A Sabine Capture—Looking for a Capital—Mexico Selected—Municipality Formed—Planning the City—Architectural Features—Cortés' Palaces—Building Material—Fort and Aqueduct—Attracting Serfs and Settlers—Merry Toilers—Arms of Tenochtitlan..... 1

CHAPTER II.

PREPARATION FOR FURTHER CONQUEST.

1521–1522.

Centralization and its Effect—A Fallen Athens—Reward of a Traitor—Career of a Precocious Prince—Ixtlilxochitl's Disappointment—Policy toward Native Princes—Tezcuco and Acolhuacan—Tlascala and her Reward—New Conquest Projects—Search for Ammunition—Climbing a Volcano—Descending into the Burning Crater—Casting Cannon—Tochtepec Expedition—A Boaster's Discomfiture—Gold-hunting in Xaltepec—Espíritu Santo Founded—Zapotecapan and Miztecapan—The Mystic Prophet—Orozco Invades Oajaca—Antequera Established—Cociyopu's Dilemma—Alvarado Overruns Tututepec—Segura Founded Anew..... 19

CHAPTER III.

RAIDS ALONG THE SOUTH SEA.

1521–1524.

King Zwanga's Warning—First Entry into Michoacan—Montaño's Visit to the Court of Tangaxoan—A Narrow Escape—Tarascan Envoys—Olid Invades Michoacan—Outrages at Tangimaroa and Tzintzuntzan—Colonization Attempted—Visions of the South Sea—Ship-

PAGE.

building at Zacatula—The Route to the Spice Islands—Alvarez' Mishap in Colima—Olid Avenges Him—Chimalhuacan Region—Isle of the Amazons—Cortés Hastens to Appropriate a Rich Field—The Queen of Jalisco—Tradition of a Shipwrecked Cross..... 43

CHAPTER IV.

TAPIA'S DISCOMFITURE.

1521–1522.

Velazquez still Longing for Mexico—A Governor Sent from Spain—Intrigues of Tapia—Counter-intrigues—Conference of Cempoala—the Claimant Ousted—Bono de Quejo's Mission—Revolt of the Aztecs—A Terrible Lesson—Conspiracies against Cortés—Narvaez at his Feet 65

CHAPTER V.

AFFAIRS OF CORTÉS IN SPAIN.

1522.

Cortés Finds Favor with the Audiencia—His Third Letter—Treasures for the Emperor—An Ominous Loss—Chased by Corsairs—What King Francis Said—The Curse of Montezuma—Cardinal Adrian Interferes—Cortés' Cas before the Sovereign—His Achievements Reviewed—Refutation of Charges—Velazquez Crushed and Fonseca Humbled—Cortés Appointed Governor and Captain General..... 79

CHAPTER VI.

CORTÉS AND GARAY IN PÁNUCO.

1522–1523.

Rivalry for Pánuco—Cortés Hastens to Occupy It—Battle at Ayotochtitlan—Operations at Chila—Native Tactics—Founding of San Estévan del Puerto—A Shipwreck Incident—Disappointing Results—Campaign in Tututepec Mountains—Rejoicings on the Receipt of Cortés' Commission—Alluring Projects for Southern Conquests—Startling News—Garay Prepares to Descend on Pánuco—His Lack of Ability and Firmness—March from Las Palmas—Negotiations with Vallejo..... 94

CHAPTER VII.

THE PÁNUCO AFFAIR AND ITS SEQUEL.

1523–1524.

Alvarado Appears upon the Scene—Naval Strategy—Double Dealings—How Cortés Settled the Affair—Garay's Sudden Death—General Uprising in Pánuco—Massacres—Desperate Efforts of the Settlers—Sandoval to the Rescue—His Ruse at the Pass—Terrible Retaliation—Burning of the Patriots—Garayan Conspiracy—An Estimable

PAGE.
Judge—His Shipwreck and Island Life—Alvarado and Olid Depart for Southern Conquests—Marin's Campaign in Chiapas, and Rangel's Entry into Zapotecapan 111

CHAPTER VIII.

ORDINANCES AND STATESMANSHIP OF CORTÉS.

1523–1524.

Cortés as Governor—His Ordinances—Armament of Settlers—Promoting Agriculture—Pallas and Demeter—Antillean Jealousy—Social Reforms—Sumptuary Laws—Taking Wives—Cortés Shoulders his Cross—Suspicious Death of Catalina—Local Government—Efforts to Exclude Lawyers—Removal of Vera Cruz—Markets and Trade Regulations—Royal Officials Arrive—Traits and Intrigues—Colonial Policy—Enslavement of Native Americans—Suppression of Repartimientos Opposed—Encomienda Regulations—Work and Pay of Serfs—Entrapping Slaves—Representations of the Council—Extorting Tribute 130

CHAPTER IX.

APOSTOLIC LABORS.

1522–1526.

Religious Feeling among the Conquerors—The First Ministers—Juan Diaz and Friar Olmedo—Papal Interest Displayed—Francisco de Los Angeles' Proposed Mission—Brother Gante and his Companions—Father Valencia—Franciscan Rules and Privileges—The Twelve Apostles—Indian Astonishment—Cortés at the Feet of the Friars—Politic Self-abasement—First Synod—Monastic Discipline—Convents and Hospitals—Methods of Conversion—Choirs and Orchestras—Tricks of Trade—Friars and Disciples—Stubbornness of Proselytes—Baptism en masse and Bestowal of Names—Legality of the Rite—The Marriage Question—Native Catechists and Missionaries—Iconoclasts and Martyrs—Progress of Conversion and its Causes—Christian-like Rites among the Natives—Attractive Features of the Roman Church—Festivals—Character of the Friars 156

CHAPTER X.

INTRIGUES AGAINST CORTÉS.

1524.

Intrigues of Disappointed Officials—Insinuations against Cortés—His Fourth Letter—The Silver Cannon—Convoy System—Deferred Contract with the Sovereign—Cortés under a Cloud—Prepares for the March to Honduras—Acting Governors Appointed—Machinations of Salazar—The Hypocrite and the Tool—Attempt to Oust the Treasurer—Subtle Duplicity—Zuazo Made Prisoner—Casas and Gonzalez Appear on the Scene 193

CHAPTER XI.

SALAZAR'S USURPATION AND OVERTHROW.

1525–1526.

PAGE.

Overthrow of Paz—His Terrible Fate—Persecution of the Friends of Cortés—Alvarado Considers the Matter—Search for Cortés—His Funeral Honors—Spoliation of His Property—Lashing a Wife—Tyrannical Proceedings of Salazar—It Leads to Revolt—General Alarm—Expeditions against Rebels—Chirinos' Fiasco—The Friars Hurl Anathemas—The Governors Humbled—The Mysterious Messenger—Rising of the Men of Cortés—Election of Estrada and Albornoz—Assault on the Government House—Salazar Encaged—Conspiracy to Release Him..... 215

CHAPTER XII.

THE PONCE DE LEON EPISODE.

1526.

Altamirano Sent to Bring Cortés—His Arrival at Medellin—Demonstrative Reception—Reform Measures—A Juez de Residencia Sent to New Spain—Ponce de Leon and His Instructions—How Cortés Received the Blow—The Banquet—A Scheming Friar—Ponce de Leon Assumes the Government—The Residencia of Cortés—Death of Ponce de Leon—Aguilar Succeeds Him—His Unfitness and Death..... 238

CHAPTER XIII.

ESTRADA'S RULE—CORTÉS DRIVEN TO SEEK JUSTICE IN SPAIN.

1527.

Campaign in Zapotecapan—Spice Island Projects—Loaisa's Expedition—Guevara Finds the Way to Zacatula—Saavedra's Voyage to the Moluccas—Cortés Slighted—He is Exiled from the Capital—Reconciliation with Estrada—Guzman Appointed Governor of Pánuco—Finding No Gold He Turns Oppressor—Encroachments on Mexico—Raid into Las Palmas Region—Slave-trade Horrors—Cortés to Plead before the Sovereign—Fears that He will Revolt—Preparing for the Voyage to Spain..... 254

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST AUDIENCIA AND ITS MISRULE.

1528–1529.

Oidores Appointed—Stringent Measures Proposed against Cortés—Guzman Made President—Power and Jurisdiction of the Audiencia—Its Instructions—Laws of Alfonso the Wise—Reception of the New Rulers—Their Avarice Excited—Intrigue against Cortés—Robbery and Extortion—Abuse of Friars and Clergy—Residencia of Cortés—The Bishop's Anathema—Shameless Conduct of Oidores—Guzman's Palliative Schemes of Conquest—Smuggling Despatches..... 273

CHAPTER XV.

ERECTION OF BISHOPRICS—CORTÉS IN SPAIN.

1527–1529.

PAGE.

Vicissitudes of the First See—Bishop Julian Garcés—The Iconoclast Zumárraga—Lamentable Vandalism—Character of the Clergy—Arrival of Dominicans—Rivalry of the Orders—Introduction of Nuns—Meeting of Cortés and Pizarro—Death of an Ideal Soldier—Excitement over Cortés' Arrival in Spain—Playing the Gallant—His Reception by the Emperor—Marks of Favor—He is Made a Marquis with Large Grants—Politic Soothings of Discontent—Why He Lost the Governorship—His Contract for South Sea Discoveries—His Bride and Jewels—Papal Concessions—Return to New Spain—Ovation to the Hero—Hostility of the Oidores..... 296

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SECOND AUDIENCIA AND ITS REFORMS.

1530–1532.

The New President and Oidores—Their Instructions—Measures for Settlers and Natives—Sumptuary Laws—Impressive Entry of the Oidores—The Government House—Swearing Allegiance to the Sovereign—Residencia and Fate of Matienzo and Delgadillo—Corregimiento System Introduced—A Check to Slavery—Advancement of Natives—Social Reforms—Founding of Puebla of the Angels—Secret Order to Restrict Encomiendas—General Clamor against It—The Conquerors and their Reward..... 320

CHAPTER XVII.

CONQUEST OF NUEVA GALICIA.

1526–1534.

Coruña's Mission—Advance of the Cross—Entry of Guzman into Michoacan—His Atrocities—Terrible Fate of King Tangaxoan—Campaign in Cuinas, Cuitzco, and along Chapala Lake—Battle of Tonalá—Raids from Nochistlan—El Gran Teul—Operations in Jalisco—In Quest of the Amazons—The Greater Spain—Crossing the Espíritu Santo—On to Etzatlan—Devastating Floods—Branding Slaves—The Amazon Myth—Change of Plans—Founding of Towns—Guzman Defies the Audiencia—Castilla's Discomfiture—Nemesis—Bibliography..... 341

CHAPTER XVIII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A VICEREGAL GOVERNMENT.

1535–1537.

Appointment of Mendoza—His Instructions and Prerogatives—Arrival and Reception of the First Viceroy—Inaugural Ceremonies—Retire-

PAGE.

ment of the Oidores—Difficulties of the Administration—City Improvements—Defensive Measures—Apparent Weakness of the Spaniards—Proclivities and Condition of Negroes—Their Conspiracy and its Suppression—Muster of Spaniards in the Capital..... 375

CHAPTER XIX.

A DECADE OF CHURCH MATTERS.

1530–1540.

Troubles of Bishop Zumárraga—He Goes to Spain—His Consecration and Return to Mexico—First Churches in the Capital—Uncertain Priority and Sites—The First Cathedral—Necessity of More Bishoprics—Dioceses of Oajaca and Michoacan Established—Franciscan Progress—Custodia of Santo Evangelio Raised to a Province—Labors of the Padres—Dominican Provincia Established—Unseemly Strife—Successful Propagandism—Arrival of Augustinians—Labors and Hardships—Provincia Established—Miraculous Shrine at Chalma—Dagon Overthrown—The Virgin of Guadalupe—A Glorious Vision—A Modest Shrine and a Costly Church—A Wonderful Painting—Multitudes of Converts—Secret Idolatry..... 386

CHAPTER XX.

FUTILE ATTEMPTS TOWARD DISCOVERY.

1530–1540.

Authority of Cortés Curtailed—Indian Conspiracy Suppressed—Disturbances in Oajaca—An Empty Title—Cortés and the Colonists of Antequera—Further Disputes with the Audiencia—Cortés Persistent—Baffled Efforts at Discovery—High Hopes and a Lowly Dwelling—Misfortune Follows Misfortune—Guzman's Animosity—Cortés Defiant—He Sails Northward—Failure of the Enterprise—Rivalry of Mendoza—Cortés Disgusted—He Returns to Spain..... 410

CHAPTER XXI.

CONQUEST OF YUCATAN.

1527–1549.

Aboriginal Yucatan—Francisco de Montejo Appointed Governor—Battle of Aké—The Spaniards March on Chichen Itza—Alonso de Ávila and his Band in Quest of Gold—His Message to the Lord of Chetumal—The Chieftain's Reply—Ávila's Command Besieged—Their Escape and Departure for Honduras—Montejo Defeated—The Canine Bell-ringer—Flight of the Spaniards—The Adelantado's Narrow Escape—Gallantry of Blas Gonzalez—The Governor Departs for Tabasco—The Spandiards Driven into the Sea—Montejo Transfers his Rights to his Son—The Spaniards Again Besieged—Torture of Diego and Juan Cansino—Santillan Takes Montejo's Residencia—Missionary Labors. 428

CHAPTER XXII.

NUEVA GALICIA AND MICHOACAN.

1536–1542.

PAGE.

Torre Appointed Juez de Residencia—An Unpleasant Meeting—The Vulture Encaged—Guzman's Release and Departure to Spain—Clipped Wings—Guzman's Death and Character—Torre's Official Investigations—His Wise Administration—Indian Revolt—A Catastrophe—Torre's Last Hours—His Character—Coronado Succeeds Him as Governor—His Incompetency—Delusive Hopes—A Profitless Expedition—Niza Revives Enthusiasm—Visions of Conquest and Wealth—Troubles Foreshadowed—Coronado's Expedition Northward—His Disappointment and Return—Contemporary Progress in Michoacan—A Useful Visitador—Reforms and Prosperity—Quiroga Made Bishop of Michoacan—His Beneficent Rule..... 457

CHAPTER XXIII.

DEATH OF CORTÉS.

1540–1547.

Departure of Cortés for Spain—His Arrival and Reception—Hollow Show—Vain Hopes—He Joins the Expedition to Algiers—And Suffers Shipwreck—Loss of the Famous Emeralds—He is Slighted at a Council of War—Return to Madrid—A Fruitless Petition—More Indignities—Last Touching Appeal—Determination to Return to Mexico—Last Illness and Death of the Conqueror—Disposition of the Remains—His Last Will—The Estate—The Descendants of Cortés—Résumé of his Character..... 474

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MIXTON WAR.

1541–1542.

Rule of Oñate in Nueva Galicia—His Difficult Position—Rebellion Rife—Departure of Coronado—Causes of Dissatisfaction—Beginning of Hostilities—Defeat of Ibarra—Alvarado Arrives at Navidad—And is Appealed to for Aid—He Receives a Summons from Mendoza, and Departs for Tiripitío—Agreement between Them—Alvarado Returns to Oñate's Relief—Precipitous Attack on Nochistlan—Defeat of the Spaniards—And Death of Alvarado—Arrival of Mendoza with Reënforcements—His Successful Campaign—End of the Mixton War—Expeditions of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and Ruy Lopez de Villalobos—The Survivors of Soto's Florida Expedition Arrive at Pánuco. 490

CHAPTER XXV.

THE NEW LAWS.

1543–1546.

Causes for Enactment of New Laws—Success of Las Casas—Provisions of the New Code—They Cause Excitement among the Colonists—

PAGE.

Effort to Introduce Them in New Spain—Visitador Francisco Tello de Sandoval—He Publishes the New Laws in Mexico—Indignation of the Encomenderos—They Send Procuradors to Spain—Who Obtain the Revocation of a Portion of the New Laws—The Emperor's Views on the Subject—Ravages of Pestilence—Eruptions of Volcanoes—Reduction of Tribute—Small Coins—Interestedness of the Clergy—Land Grants—Ambiguous Attitude of Mendoza—Convention of Bishops—Arrival of Las Casas—Mendoza Prohibits Discussion on Indian Affairs—Decision of Ecclesiastics Declaring Slavery Unlawful—Return of the Visitador to Spain..... 516

CHAPTER XXVI.

END OF MENDOZA'S RULE.

1547–1550.

General Improvements—Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce—Encouragement of Marriages—Aid to Peru—Conspiracy and Revolt—Chichimecs and Otomís—Conquest of Querétaro—Removal of Guadalajara—Coronado Returns—His Resignation—Audiencia at Compostela—Removal to Guadalajara—Discovery of Mines—Settlement of Zacatecas—The Archdiocese of Mexico—Death of Bishop Zumárraga—His Last Will—Character of the Prelate and the Man—A False Visitador's Audacity—Last Acts of the Viceroy—He is Appointed to Peru and is Superseded by Luis de Velasco—Mendoza's Departure for Peru—And his Death..... 535

CHAPTER XXVII.

INDIAN POLICY.

1550–1560.

Luis de Velasco, Second Viceroy—Royal Instructions and Subsequent Regulations—Enforcement of the New Laws—Consternation Caused by their Execution—Slaves Set Free—Diego Ramirez' Commission—Caciques' Abuses Checked—The Crown Assumes Full Jurisdiction—Encomienda Entail—Opposition of the Audiencia—Bad Effects of the New Laws on Mining and Revenue—Population and its Character—Reform Measures—Powers of the Viceroy Restricted—The Audiencia Made his Council—Philip II. Proclaimed King—He Begs for Money..... 563

CHAPTER XXVIII.

VICEROY VELASCO'S RULE.

1551–1564.

Arrival of Martin Cortés, Second Marqués del Valle—Visitador Valderrama and his Relations with Cortés—New Policy Regarding Encomiendas—Cortés' Troubles—Threatened Revolt and Velasco's Wise

PAGE.

Course—Royal Orders Affecting the Audiencia—The Visitador's Exactions of the Indians—His Efforts to Check Abuses, and Proposed Reforms—His Disagreements with the Viceroy—Condition aad Character of Velasco—His Death, Burial, and General Regret—Public Education—Floods in the Mexican Valley—Disastrous Expedition to Florida—Settlements in Zacatecas and Guanajuato—Conquest of the North-western Region—Kingdom of Nueva Viscaya—Expedition to the Philippines and its Results..... 579

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ÁVILA-CORTÉS CONSPIRACY.

1564–1568.

The Audiencia's Weak Rule—Ill-feeling toward the Marqués del Valle—Encomienda Policy—Alonso de Ávila's Masquerade—Plot against the Crown—Valderrama Returns to Spain—Conspiracy Reported—Great Christening of the Marqués' Twins—Arrest of the Marqués and Others—Trial and Execution of the Brothers Ávila—Marqués de Falces, Third Viceroy—Marqués del Valle Sent to Spain—Falces Deposed by Muñoz and Carrillo—Their Cruel Course—Martin Cortés Tortured—His Courage—Complaints Reach the Crown—Summary Removal of Muñoz and Carrillo—Their Fate—Falces Vindicated—Second Rule of the Audiencia—Sufferings of the Marqués—Final Acquittal—Loss of Domain and Property—His Death—Return of Luis Cortés—Later Life of Martin Cortés..... 602

CHAPTER XXX.

RULE OF VICEROY ENRIQUEZ.

1568–1580.

Temporary Government of the Audiencia—John Hawkins Invades Vera Cruz—His Defeat and Expulsion—Fate of the English Prisoners—Viceroy Martin Enriquez de Almansa—Drake's Operations—Foreign Raids—Yucatan, Its Government and Indian Affairs—First Acts of Enriquez—Organization of Military Forces—Campaigns against the Chichimecs—Presidios and Movable Block-houses—Matlalzahuatl Epidemic and its Havoc—Famine—Inundation—Recall of Enriquez—His Government Policy—His Death..... 637

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

1550–1600.

Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar—Jealousy between the Secular and Regular Clergy—Royal Support of the Friars—Differences between the Friars and the Civil Power—Father Gerónimo de Mendieta Defends the Religious—His Works—Position of the Friars and their Influence with the Natives—Persons Excluded from the Priesthood—Relig-

PAGE.

ious Riot in Mexico—The Sacramental Dispute—First and Second Ecclesiastic Councils of Mexico—Archbishop Montúfar's Death—The Inquisition—Its Establishment, Privileges, Objects, and Acts—Father Landa's Treatment of Idolaters—Archbishop Moya y Contreras—Third Ecclesiastic Council and its Acts—Archbishop Montúfar's Departure—Alonso Fernandez de Bonilla Succeeds Him—Other Dioceses in the Country and their History..... 663

CHAPTER XXXII.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

1550–1600.

The Society of Jesus in New Spain—Distinguished Patrons of the Order and their Services—Importation of Holy Relics—Spread of the Jesuits through the Country—Brothers of Charity and St Hyppolytus—Purposes of the Association—The Carmelites—Their Labors and Advancement—Benedictines and their Priory in Mexico—The Franciscans and their Several Provinces—Their Work and Influence—Troubles with the Viceroys—Noted Franciscans in the Several Provinces—Order of Barefooted Franciscans—Their Custodial and Provincial Organization—The Dominicans and their Successes—Their Distinguished Men—The Order of St Augustine—Strict Rules—The Mercenarios, or Order of Mercy—Their Settlement in Mexico—Religious Brotherhoods and the Objects of their Devotion—Nunnerics in Mexico, Oajaca, and Michoacan, and their Uses.. 700

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH VICEROYS.

1580–1589.

Suarez de Mendoza, Count de la Coruña—A too Benignant Rule—Golden Times for the Corrupt Officials—Suarez well out of It—Archbishop Moya y Contreras Made Visitador—Then Viceroy—A Stern Ruler—He Makes Money for his Master—Hard Times for the Wicked Officials—They Beg Deliverance from Moya—And Receive It—Zúñiga, Marqués de Villamanrique—A Just and Moderate Rule—Pirates on the West Coast—Cavendish Captures a Galleon—A Rare Prize—California Coast Defences—Commerce on the Atlantic—Epidemic, Earthquakes, and Social Disruption—Villamanrique Deposed and Humiliated..... 739

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

1589–1600.

Rumored Insurrection—Fears of Velasco, the New Viceroy—Reception—City Improvements—The Chichimecs—The Mines of Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas—Founding of Towns—Philip Wants More Money—Velasco's Astute Measure—Conde de Monterey, Viceroy—Futile Efforts to Move the Indian—Race Intermixtures—Nuevo Leon—Occupation of the Northern Country—Governor Carabajal—Review of the Century—Bibliographical—Writers Subsequent to the Conquest—Torquemada among Others..... 757

HISTORY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

REBUILDING OF MEXICO.

1521–1523.

QUARRELLING OVER THE BOOTY—POOR RESULTS—TORTURE OF QUAUHTEMOTZIN—TREASURE-HUNTING—A DISAPPOINTMENT—PASQUINADES—FINANCIAL MEASURES—A SABINE CAPTURE—LOOKING FOR A CAPITAL—MEXICO SELECTED—MUNICIPALITY FORMED—PLANNING THE CITY—ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES—CORTÉS' PALACES—BUILDING MATERIAL—FORT AND AQUEDUCT—ATTRACTING SERFS AND SETTLERS—MERRY TOILERS—ARMS OF TENOCHTITLAN.

FAMED Tenochtitlan had fallen, its splendor buried with the blood-stained altars that had so long been a terror to Anáhuac. And the proud Aztecs lay trodden under foot, beaten back into their original abasement, as serfs and refugees, to form with their emblazoned prestige a pedestal for the victor's fame. The promise of Cortés to the king, made two years before, was fulfilled, and his prospects were very bright. Little fear now of dungeons, of a traitor's fate; he could boldly face his arch-enemy and rival, and point to all-justifying success as an advocate for the attainment even of the coveted governorship of this empire, the largest and richest so far acquired for his sovereign. Proudly exultant, he hugged himself as his mind dwelt upon the foremost conqueror in the Indies.

But his cup was not wholly free from bitterness even now; whose is? His soldiers and companions expected also their reward, and that quickly and in

tangible form; for this they had risked life, and had acquired for him wealth and immortality. A demand was made for an exhibition before royal officials of the booty captured by the troops during the pillage, and the captives were ordered to reveal and surrender whatever treasures they knew of. But those who had secured valuable articles were by no means prepared to give them up, particularly since the leaders were justly suspected of wrongful appropriation. The brigantine crews were supposed to have had the best chance of securing spoils. Of course they denied the insinuations made, and sought to divert the outcry in another direction. The allies were the culprits, who with their immense numbers and knowledge of language and locality had penetrated into every corner and carried off the great prizes while the soldiers were fighting, leaving them the gleanings. There might still be large treasures which the Aztecs had hidden to spite their foes, as intimated more than once during the siege. When threatened, the captives revealed a certain amount, declaring that they possessed no more. As for the spoils lost during the retreat of the Spaniards, they had been swallowed by the lakes or scattered among the thousands of pursuers.[1]

When finally the royal officials gave their report, it appeared that the total gold collected from the captives and sacking parties, and smelted into bars, amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand castellanos. Besides this there were a number of pieces of too fine a workmanship to be broken up, and many jewels and pearls, besides feather-work and fabrics,[2] but

[1] Sahagun's native record describes the conference with the captives to have taken place on the day after the fall, in the quarter last captured. Cortés was seated in great state under a canopy, with the kings and princes on either side. *Hist. Conq.*, 57–9. 'Huuo fama que lo (gold) mandó echar Guatemaz en la laguna quatro dias antes.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 153. 'Diez dias,' corrects Herrera, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. viii. According to Duran, it was cast into a deep sacred well, and never discovered, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 513–14, the devil assisting to shield it, so that no Christian should enjoy the treasure. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 118.

[2] *Cortés, Cartas*, 257–8. Oviedo, Gomara, and Herrera follow, and Fonseca

altogether far below the expectation of even the most moderate among the fortune-hunters. Talk of fraud was heard, and many threatened to complain to the king of the manner in which their services were rewarded.

None would believe the statement of the captive princes that they knew of no more treasures, and it was demanded that torture should be applied to extort the secret from them. To the credit of Cortés be it said that he remonstrated against this suggestion, though chiefly because his word had been given to respect the prisoners. Or, indeed, his opposition may have been for effect. At all events this effort to shield the princes directed the outburst of the soldiers against himself. "He is conniving with Quauhtemotzin," they said, "in order to secure possession of the treasures."[3] Thus pressed, the general yielded a perhaps not unwilling assent, and to his never ending shame he surrendered the emperor and the king of Tlacopan[4] to the executioners. Their method was simple and effective: the roasting of the feet before a slow fire, oil being applied to prevent a too rapid charring of the flesh, for this might lessen the pain and defeat the purpose.[5]

Quauhtemotzin is said to have borne his suffering with the usual stoicism of an Indian, and when his

and Urrutia, *Real. Hac.*, i. 5. The bar gold was equivalent to '19.200 oncie.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 232. Bernal Diaz appears to estimate the bars alone at 380,000 pesos de oro, yet subsequent lines indicate this to represent all the treasure, loc. cit. 'los mexicanos el sacaron todas las joyas que tenian escondidas en una canoa llena.' *Sahagun*, ubi sup.

[3] The chief accuser, says Herrera, was the treasurer Alderete, a creature of the bishop of Búrgos, the enemy of Cortés. dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. viii.

[4] Chimalpain enumerates Cohuancoch, the ex-king of Tezcuco, the Cihuacoatl, Aquici the prince of Azcapuzalco, the city of goldsmiths, and several others. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 76. Oviedo, iii. 549, mentions the tripartite sovereigns, while Gomara, followed by Herrera, allows merely the emperor and his favorite courtier to be tortured, Bernal Diaz calling the latter king of Tlacopan.

[5] 'The feet and hands were burned.' Testimony of Doctor Ojeda, who cared for the wounds. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 106, 126. 'Bruciargli a poco a poca i piedi dopo avergli unti d'olio.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 233. 'Por lo que quedó casi impossibilitado de andar.' *Bustamante*, in *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 237. 'Un violente ecsamen,' is the mild term used by Panes, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 58. Robertson condemns the tor-

fellow-victim turned in anguish as if appealing for compassion, he exclaimed rebukingly: "Think you that I enjoy it?"[6] Nevertheless Quauhtemotzin cudgelled his brain to bethink himself how to escape torment, and pointed out a number of places where treasures might be found. Thereupon Cortés stepped forward, thinking if possible to recover his name from foul dishonor, and said: "Such behavior to a king is cruel, inhuman; I will have none of it." Nevertheless Quauhtemotzin went on to tell how the canoe of some rich fugitives was upset by a brigantine, indicating that and other spots where treasures might be found. Search was made and divers employed, but with insignificant results.

The king of Tlacopan offered himself to point out the places where gold had been hidden some distance from the city. Alvarado went with him and at their heels a crowd of Spaniards. Arrived at the spot the captive declared that his statement was but an invention to save himself from further torture. He had hoped to die on the way. But Alvarado permitted the king to live, though in truth he was reserved for a fate worse than immediate death.[7] The search continued: houses were again ransacked, gardens upturned, cellars and passages examined, and graves were opened and the lake was dragged.[8]

ture as 'a deed which stained the glory of all his great actions.' *Hist. Am.*, ii. 126. 'An indelible stain' on his honor. *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 234–5. Alaman expresses himself in a similar manner, while Bustamante charges the deed fiercely to Cortés' extreme greed, ubi sup.

[6] This utterance has become famous in Robertson's free rendering: 'Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?' *Hist. Am.*, ii. 127. Others substitute 'roses' for flowers. Herrera writes simply: 'Nor am I in delight.' Herrera also says that the companion of Quauhtemotzin died during the torture.

[7] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 551–5, this series. Testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 167, declares that the prisoners revealed several rich deposits which Cortés quietly appropriated; and Alvarado may have been suspected of a similar act.

[8] In the reservoir of Quauhtemotzin's residence was found a sun disk of gold, and a number of jewels. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 158. A noble indicated an idol in the same place as probably containing gold, but a long search revealing nothing, Cortés ordered him to be roasted alive and then cast half-dead into the lake. Seeing this and other outrages the emperor in his fear and despair attempted to hang himself. Sworn testimony of Zamora and Orduña, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 203–4, nevertheless to be taken with allow-

A trifling amount was thus obtained, which was gradually increased by presents and tributes from neighboring provinces; but this proved little among so many, reduced as it was by the royal fifth and the assignment secured by the opportune manœuvre on Cortés' part of offering the choicest pieces of jewelry as a present to the emperor.[9] The share of the horsemen was about one hundred pesos de oro,[10] and that of others proportionately less. Indignation now burst forth anew, and many scorned to accept their share. The treasurer Alderete was included among those suspected of fraud, and to exonerate himself, cast the blame on Cortés.[11]

ance. Ixtlilxochitl claims to have secured the release of a tortured courtier by expostulating with Cortés, and representing that the Mexicans might revolt if such measures continued. He also sought to procure the release of his brother Cohuanacoch from prison. To this end he ransacked all Tezcuco for treasures, and borrowed from his relatives, and then alone did he succeed. Shackles and confinement had reduced the prince to a pitiable condition. *Hor. Crueldades*, 54–5. He was afterward baptized as Pedro Alvarado. *Cédula*, 1551; *Dicc. Univ.*, iv. 165. The desecration of graves by treasure-hunters had been practised before the fall, and when the central temple was captured a discovery of a grave therein with 1,500 castellanos served to direct cupidity in this direction. *Cortés, Cartas*, 243.

[9] 'Que valia dos vezes mas que la que auia sacado para repartir el Real quinto.' *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit. Oviedo, iii. 424, estimates the total royal fifth at over 50,000 pesos de oro, others at less; while a witness in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 124, 206, states that Cortés defrauded the crown of the fifth due on some 200,000 castellanos of valuables which came in from the provinces. In the account of the royal officials of June, 1522, the total gold melted between September 1521 and May 16, 1522, is given at 164,404 pesos (evidently de oro) including all obtained since the flight from Mexico. The royal fifth on this, on slaves, etc., but not on unbroken jewels, amounted to 48,000 and odd. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 260–8.

[10] 'Cabian los de a cauallo a cien pesos.' *Bernal Diaz*, ubi sup. Judging from former statements this should read pesos de oro. A horse at this time cost from 450 to 500 pesos, a firelock 100 pesos, etc. Probanza de Lejalde, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 417; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 243.

[11] Among the secret charges brought out at the later residencia was that Cortés had the custody of the official dies for marking gold, and by this means defrauded the crown of some 70,000 castellanos. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 165, 267. See also note 9. A little consideration would have shown the credulous soldiers that their estimate of treasures was inordinate. During Montezuma's time, when the treasury was fullest, the surrender of its entire contents, together with contributions from provincial towns and rulers, brought about 600,000 pesos de oro to the expedition coffers. A considerable part of this was carried away by the fleeing army, and a larger portion of it lost in the lake. The present spoil must be assumed to have come from what the Aztecs recovered of the lost portion, and from the contributions since received from the provinces. These must have been meagre, since the towns and rulers had been plundered of most valuables, and since but few would contribute to the now humbled and isolated capital city. From these existing treasures the maraud-

It was readily believed that he had secured for himself, besides the fifth granted to him by the agreement at Villa Rica, and a sum to repay him for certain losses, the richest treasures revealed by the tortured captives. The exaggerated estimate of Aztec wealth, based on native testimony, and impressed by the bombast of the adherents of Cortés, was too deeply rooted in the minds of the soldiers to be eradicated by argument, although a little reflection convinced a few of the more thoughtful how unreasonable their expectations had been.

The general occupied at this time a palace at Coyuhuacan, and on its white coating the soldiers found an outlet for their feelings which they dared not openly express. Inscribed upon the wall, for several mornings, in prose and verse, appeared honest complaints and malicious attacks. Most of them were from the men of Narvaez, to judge from the allusions to Cortés as an upstart and usurper, who had come to reap what Velazquez had sown, and who would soon descend to his proper low level. Priding himself both on his wit and poetry, Cortés stooped to add his couplets of retort, only to encourage the libellers to more outrageous utterances. Finally, at Father Olmedo's suggestion, a notice was posted forbidding such pasquinades under heavy penalty.[12]

The discontent was partly due to the inability of

ing allies must have secured a portion, and the fortunate white sackers another. Hence the amount secured for the expedition cannot be considered much below what should have been expected. Little could have been cast into the lake, or purposely hidden by the Aztecs, although a contrary opinion is still widely cherished even by staid historians. As for the amounts supposed to have been privately secured by Cortés, chiefly from the treasures taken away during the Sorrowful Night, no proof was ever brought to substantiate them. He no doubt took care to obtain a certain share, but he also expended it freely, in sending to the Islands for war stores, horses, and provisions, in supplying agents in bribery, and what not. It is not likely that he could have secured any large amounts for himself from the present spoils.

[12] Bernal Diaz names several Velazquez men who led in this word skirmish. Alvarado, Olmedo, and others proposed that the total treasure should be set apart for the wounded and disabled, and it was hoped that this would induce Cortés to surrender a goodly share; but nothing was done. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 158.

the soldiers to pay for the clothes, arms, and other supplies obtained on credit in Cuba and from supply vessels, or to satisfy doctors and other persons clamoring for money. The remedy applied by Cortés was to appoint two able and esteemed appraisers, who determined upon the validity and amount of every claim, and on finding the debtor unable to pay granted him a respite of two years. Another measure to relieve the financial strait was to lower the standard of gold by three carats, so as to counteract the rapacity of the traders; but the latter raised their prices even more than enough to cover the difference, and the soldiers remained the losers. This gold, known as *tepuzque*, the native name for copper, fell more and more into discredit as unprincipled persons added to the alloy, and some years later it was withdrawn from circulation in payment of certain dues and fines. The name of tepuzque lingered in the vocabulary, however, and was applied also to persons and things having a false gloss.[13]

Further discontent was caused by an order for the surrender of the wives and daughters of prominent Aztecs seized by the soldiers. The demand had been made by Quauhtemotzin and other leading captives, in accordance with the promises extended at the capitulation, and could hardly be ignored, though the efforts to carry out the order were reluctant enough. Many of the fair captives were hidden; others had already been reconciled to a change of lords with the aid of baubles and blandishments, and the rest were nearly all induced to declare their unwillingness to

[13] In Guanajuato silver of inferior standard is still called *plata de tepuzcos*. *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 158. The municipality of Mexico on April 6, 1526, ordered the coinage of tepuzque gold into pieces of 1, 2, and 4 tomines, and 1, 2, and 4 pesos. By August nearly 3,000 pesos had been issued. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. The remedies were extended also to the soldiers at Villa Rica and other places, whose share in the spoils had been made equal to that of the active besiegers, in order to keep them content with garrison life. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 5–10. In the following pages is given the text of the contract between Cortés and the expedition forces, wherein he is granted one fifth in consideration for his duties and extra expenses. It is dated August 6, 1519.

return, chiefly under the shielding excuse that idolatry had become unendurable after the revelations of Christian doctrines and practices.[14]

The question of paramount interest now was, what to do with the captured city, and in order to settle it a conference was held at Coyuhuacan. A stronghold was certainly needed in the valley to assure its possession, and since this must evidently become the capital of the new empire, the site required careful consideration. The majority at once inclined toward Mexico, endeared to their mind by the recollection of her architectural beauties and by her striking situation, all enhanced by the difficulties and cost of life connected with the capture. This bias was supported by the undeniable strategic value of the position in being protected on all sides by water, the primary inducement, indeed, which had led the Aztecs to choose the site. This also afforded free play to the movements of the imposing fleet, both for defence and for controlling the lake districts. There were several persons, however, who objected to the site. In case of revolt the natives might cut the causeways, and by aid of the besieging manœuvres taught by the Spaniards render their situation on the island most precarious. Even if the fleet prevented this danger to a certain extent, it would be difficult to obtain supplies, and, above all, the cavalry, the most effective instrument for intimidation and control, would be rendered useless, while allies would be less able to coöperate. A minor objection was the prospect of inundations, which afterward became the most serious danger of the city. This party preferred Coyuhuacan, or rather Tezcuco, which, strengthened with a wall on the land side, and open to the lake, offered equal facilities to fleet and cavalry movements, and to intercourse with allies,

[14] 'Y desta manera no lleuaron sino tres.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 158. Duran assumes that most of those taken during the last days of the siege weres urrendered. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 510.

while supplies would be cheaper and of ready access.[15] Cortés decided in favor of the majority, however, and maintained that the prestige of the city throughout the country was also a matter of consequence.[16]

Mexico being accordingly chosen for the capital, municipal officers were appointed by Cortés from among the leading men, with Pedro de Alvarado as leading alcalde.[17] Prompt measures were taken to open the streets and remove the ruins. Before this a host of natives had been sent in to take away the dead and clean the houses, while large fires throughout the infected quarters assisted to purify the atmosphere. These sanitary measures were the more necessary in view of the prospective diseases to follow in the wake of dispersing denizens of the capital, and to arise from

[15] *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 97. These objections were renewed at intervals, and in a letter to the king of Dec. 15, 1525, Contador Albornoz represented that a number of the citizens desired a removal to either Coyuhuacan or Tezcuco, using in the main the arguments given. The removal could be effected within six months, and the name of the city might be retained. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 506–8. Later projects for removal were based on the danger from inundations as will be seen, though the extent then acquired by the city made it more difficult. See *Cepeda, Rel.*, i. 4–6.

[16] This he adduces as a main reason in the letter to the king. *Cartas*, 262, 310. 'Por tener alli sugetos á los Yndios por que no se le rebelasen mudando sitio,' is the additional reason of Duran. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 513.

[17] As such he figures already in Dec. 1521. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 30–1, so that the rebuilding must have begun in that year, and not later, as many suppose. Owing to the loss of the first year's record in the fire of 1692, the names of the first regidores are unknown. At first no regular book was kept, wherein to record their acts, 'sino papeles e memorias.' *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., Dec. 20, 1527. The first of the preserved records is dated March 8, 1524, and gives the attending members of the council as: Francisco de las Casas, alcalde mayor, Bachiller Ortega, alcalde ordinario, Bernaldino Vazquez de Tapia, Gonzalo de Ocampo, Rodrigo de Paz, Juan de Hinojosa, and Alonso Xaramillo, regidores, Francisco de Orduña acting as secretary. The sessions were for a long time held in Cortés' house. The most interesting are those from 1524 to 1529 inclusive, which take up the history of Mexico, so to speak, from the time Cortés leaves it in his celebrated letters, recording the acts of the eventful interregnum periods under Salazar, Ponce de Leon, Aguilar, and Estrada, and including the doings of the first audiencia. My copy, quoted as *Libro de Cabildo*, is a manuscript in 260 folio pages, taken from the volume rescued by the savant Sigüenza y Gongora from the fire of June 8, 1692, started by a hungry rabble. Besides the notes from his hand, it contains autograph annotations by the learned Pichardo, and forms a gem in the collection obtained by me from the Maximilian Library. By royal decree of October 22, 1523, Mexico was allowed 12 regidores, as a token of favor, and two years later the sovereign himself appointed one in the person of Alonso Perez. *Mex., Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 2, 3, all of which relates to the decrees touching the city. Later, all leading cities were allowed 12 regidores. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 33.

a scarcity of provisions in the valley, where the fields had been ravaged to some extent before the siege, and since despoiled by army foragers.[18]

A plan was drawn for a Spanish quarter, centring round the square already preëminent with imperial palaces and the leading temple in Anáhuac, once consecrated to Christian worship. This was the aristocratic Tenochtitlan, a name long preserved even in official records under the corrupt form of Temixtitan. It was separated by a wide canal from the Indian quarter, which centred chiefly round Tlatelulco, regarded as plebeian long before the conquest. Only a small part was covered by the plan,[19] beyond which the houses afterward extended in striking irregularity as compared with those in the older quarters. In addition to the three regular causeways two more were added, the support along the aqueduct from Chapultepec being enlarged to a road.[20] The Tlacopan road, or rather Tacuba, as it was henceforth termed, soon became a sort of elongated suburb, owing to the numerous vegetable gardens which sprang up on either side of it. The famous levee which protected the southern front of the city from the waters of Xochimilco Lake, and had served as a resort for traders and promenaders, was strengthened and named San Lázaro.[21]

The quarter was laid out in rectangular blocks, the

[18] 'La tercera plaga fué una muy gran hambre luego como fué tomada la ciudad,' is Motolinia's strong description of it, and even the Spaniards were pressed for want of maize. *Hist. Ind.*, i. 17.

[19] The limits appear to have been nearly, Calle de la Santísima on the east, San Gerónimo or San Miguel on the south, Santo Domingo on the north, Santa Isabel on the west. *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 198.

[20] Vetancurt writes toward the close of the 17th century: 'Entrase en la Ciudad por seis calsadas, las tres antiguas de Guadalupe á el Norte, de Tacuba al Poniente, y la de S. Anton al Medio dia, y por otras tres q̄ hizieron los Españoles, por la de la Piedad, por la de la Chapultepec, y la de Santiago asia el Poniente.' *Trat. Mex.* Cepeda, *Rel. Mex.*, i. 3, 4, half a century earlier, gives the Santiago road a length of 5,500 varas and a width of 10; the San Anton, 7,000 by 10; its Iztapalapan extension 5,200 by 11; the Chapultepec 3,000 by 7; the Tacuba 2,500 by 14. The latter is now known as San Cosme.

[21] It was 9,000 varas long, and 6 wide, and had 7 openings, corresponding to so many canals which passed through to the lake. These canals were from 1,000 to 3,800 varas long. *Id.* See *Native Races*, ii. 560, et seq., for descrip-

eastern extension being twice as long as the northern,[22] and distributed among the intended settlers, with the usual reservations for public buildings.[23] In the central part hardly any of the filled canals were reopened, but beyond the main channels were left intact, and spanned by stone bridges.[24] Of the two squares in the Spanish quarter by far the largest was the former central temple court, serving now also for market-place, round which were reserved sites for church, convent, gubernatorial palace, town-hall, prison, and other public buildings.[25] The town-hall was begun in 1528, only, and finished four years later, enlargements having speedily to be made.[26] Private houses were erected on a scale proportionate to the means and aspirations of the owner, both large in so far as an abundance of free labor and material was concerned. The main

tion of old Mexico. Orozco y Berra incorrectly places the central temple between the main southern and northern avenues instead of facing both. This and some other minor errors are probably due to a misreading of Libro de Cabildo. I must express my admiration for the researches of this scholar.

[22] The streets were but 14 varas wide, sufficient for the traffic of early days, but uncomfortably narrow in later times, so much so that Revilla Gigedo, in the eighteenth century, proposed to widen them, though the scheme was not carried out. See *Vetancvrt*, loc. cit.; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 199.

[23] Every conqueror received two lots, other settlers one. *Cortés, Cartas*, 310, with the condition of building a house, and holding possession for 5 years. By cédula of 1523 two *caballerías* of land were granted to each conqueror near the town chosen for residence. The conditions were frequently evaded by paying an indemnity. See *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., March 15, April 1, 8, 15, June 10, November 4, 1524, and passim; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. ii. The term of residence was afterward reduced to 4 years. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 39; see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 496–9, for laws concerning the founding of settlements.

[24] One reason for filling the smaller channels was the fetid odors which rose from their shallow waters. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 235–6. Cedar piles were used in soft places.

[25] Torquemada's description in the beginning of the seventeenth century is interesting. The plazas are 3, all connected, the principal being in front of the cathedral. The northern extension is the Plazuela del Marqués, so named from Cortés' houses, while the south-eastern is the *plazuela del virey*, formerly known as *el volador*, and now also known as *de las escuelas*, from the schools, the first name coming from the viceregal palace with its officers. The western side of the main plaza was occupied by traders, the southern by the city-hall and prison. *Monarq. Ind.*, i. 299.

[26] The first reservation for it covered 6 lots. The neglect to build caused the lots to be occupied by citizens, but a decree of December 16, 1527, restored them to the city. Building began April 17, 1528, and the council took possession May 10, 1532. Adjoining buildings were purchased at different times, 30 to 50 years later, so as to contain also public granary and slaughter-house. In 1692 the building was fired by a famine-stricken mob. See *Libro de Cabildo*, MS.; also Mexican supplement to *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 527.

effort was to render the buildings strong in case of an uprising, and with this view stone and masonry work was the rule, and towers could be erected at each corner, which assisted to give them an imposing appearance. The pains bestowed on architectural embellishments, wherein churches and convents afterward took the lead, proved a salutary example to the community, to judge from Cortés' enthusiastic assurance to the emperor that within a few years the city would take the first rank in the world for population and fine edifices.[27]

The general himself built two fine houses on the sites of the old and new palaces of Montezuma, located respectively in the western and south-eastern parts of the ancient square.[28] They were constructed with great strength, particularly the south-eastern, which contained more than one interior court, and was protected by a projecting tower at each corner, and liberally provided with embrasures and loop-holes. Seven thousand beams are said to have been employed in the construction.[29] Strength was not the only object of these centrally located houses, but also profit, the lower story of one at least being divided into shops,

[27] 'De hoy en cinco años será la mas noble y populosa ciudad que haya en lo poblado del mundo, y de mejores edificios.' *Cartas*, 310. 'Niuna città in Spagna per si gran tratto l'ha migliore ne piu grádc.' Anon. Conqueror, in *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 309. He extols particularly the later Dominican convent.

[28] Sec vol. i. chap. xvi. In the royal cédula of July 1529, granting to Cortés these sites, the new palace is described as bounded by the square and the Iztapalapan road, and (south and east) by the streets of Gonzalcz de Trujillo and Martin Lopez the shipwright. The old palace is bounded by the new street of Tacuba, and that leading to San Francisco, and (westward) by the houses of Rangel, Farfán, Terrazas, and Zamudio. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 28–9; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 213–14. The new palace-site was sold by Cortés' son to the government on January 29, 1562, and the viceregal palace rose upon it. The old palace bounded to the side and rear by the streets of Plateros and La Profesa, or San José el Real, served up to that time for government purposes. *Ramirez, Noticias de Mex.*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., No. 6, 309, et seq; *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 221–2. The Iztapalapan road was afterward called del Reloj. Calle dc la Celada, leading to the rear of the new palace, southward, was so called from an ambush during the siege. *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 203–12, 257–8. Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, i. 190, misleads Prescott and others about the location of the old palace, and places the new where the old really stood.

[29] 'Que vna viga de cedro tenga ciento y veynte pies de largo, y doze de gordo...quadrada.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 235.

which yielded a considerable revenue.[30] Very similar to the houses of Cortés was that of Pedro de Alvarado, situated in front of the arsenal. This proximity was objected to by the royal officers, who suspended the construction till potent reasons were produced to overrule the order.[31]

A great proportion of the material was obtained from the existing edifices and ruins, the incentive for tearing them down being increased by the hope of finding treasure. At this part of the work the Spaniards were foremost, and in their vandalistic strife monument after monument of Nahua art was razed, particularly the finer edifices. Even the huge pyramidal structures supporting the temples disappeared, for within them were graves of princes and nobles, known to contain treasure. Materials, especially for façades, were also obtained from the many quarries in the neighborhood, notably tetzontli, a red, porous, yet hard stone, and a kind of porphyry.[32] Oak, cedar, and cypress were abundant round the lake, and in the surrounding hills. Although there was no lack of carriers to fell and convey timber, the Spaniards, with a disregard fostered by the nude and arid soil of Castile, allowed the groves and forests near the lake-shores to be ruthlessly cut down, thus increasing the evaporation which soon left the lake ports high and dry, bordered by salt-marshes.

The first and most important structure in the city was the arsenal, with its fortified docks for sheltering the fleet. It was situated north-east of the main square, at the former terminus of the Calle de la Perpetua,[33] round a basin which had been used for

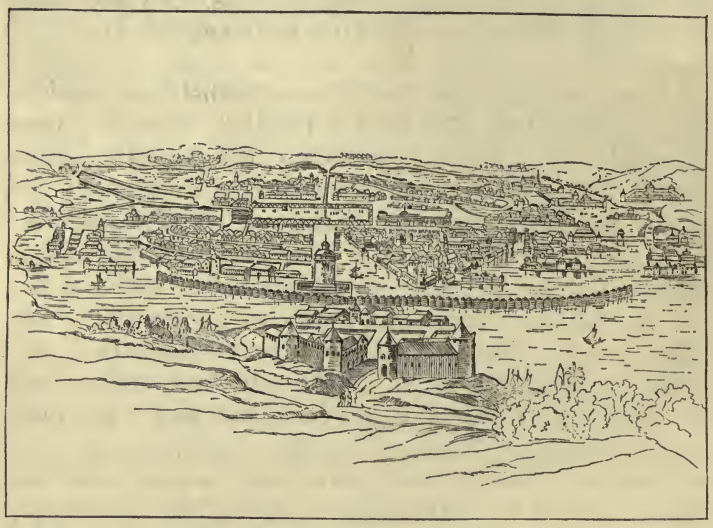
[30] Fifteen thousand castellanos a year, says a witness during the later residencia. Another points to the strong construction, with towers, as a sign of disloyal intentions on Cortés' part. The two houses occupied 24 lots, and were erected with aid of crown slaves—both exaggerated statements as will be shown afterward. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 47, 90, 111–12.

[31] The marriage of governor Estrada's daughter to Jorge de Alvarado. *Id.*

[32] 'A feld-spath vitreux et dépourvu de quartz.' *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 177. See also *Native Races*, ii. 557.

[33] This was at first called the street of the atarazanas (arsenal). The direction is pretty clear in *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 90, 101, 210, 221, 226, in con-

a harbor by the Aztecs. Two battlemented towers protected the entrance to the dock, and formed the extremes of the strong walls leading to the arsenal, which faced the street. The main feature of this building was a large tower, known properly as the fort, the strongest in the city. Pedro de Alvarado appears to have been the first commandant; and Rodriguez de Villafuerte took charge of the fleet.[34] The



Mexico Rebuilt.

fort concluded, Cortés regarded the city as secure; and

nection with grant of lots, yet Father Pichardo, one of the highest authorities on the history of Mexico city, places it at the terminus of Santa Teresa street, 3 blocks below, wherein he is followed by many writers. The eastern location was required to give the fleet free access to the lake, without hinderance from causeways.

[34] Oviedo, iii. 517. He went for a time to Zacatula as lieutenant. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. viii., intimates that Villafuerte was also made commandant, but not so Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 158, whose indication of Alvarado is supported by the fact that he erected his house in front of the fort. Pedro de Salazar de la Pedrada was sent out in 1526, by the emperor, to take charge of the fort, and secure it from the suspected partisans of Cortés. Samaniego was lieutenant. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 371; *Cortés*, *Escritos Sueltos*, 114–15. Cortés describes the reception place for the vessels as 'un cuerpo de casa de tres naves,..y tienen la puerta para salir y entrar entre estas dos torres.' *Cartas*, 310. The fleet was long preserved for service, to judge by Motolinia's statement, 'están hoy dia en las atarazanas.' *Hist. Ind.*, i. 16.

took formal possession with the army. No effort appears to have been made to erect a church, and for several years a hall in Cortés' house served for chapel.[35] This seems a strange neglect on the part of men who came in the guise of crusaders. They were more attentive to temporal comforts as manifested in particular by the eagerness to introduce water. Indeed, one of the first measures had been the restoration of the aqueduct which in Aztec times brought water from Chapultepec, about two miles distant.[36]

"Raze and tear down, ye slaves, but all must be rebuilt with your own hands for the victor!" Such had been the taunting prophecy frequently thrown into the teeth of the allies as they paved a way for the Spaniards through the city of the Aztecs, and truly was it fulfilled, for the task of rebuilding was ruthlessly exacted from the lake allies, though the Aztecs had to share in it. It was also necessary to populate the city to obtain hewers of wood and drawers of water and other purveyors for the comfort of the victors. As the best means to promote

[35] Testimony of Tapia and Mejía, and others, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 48, 91, 162, et seq. Vetancurt leaves the impression that this chapel was dedicated to St Joseph: 'Parroquia vnica que era de Españoles.' *Trat. Mex.*, 6.

[36] The original was constructed on a causeway of solid masonry 5 feet high and 5 feet broad, the water running through 2 pipes of masonry to different reservoirs and branch pipes, as described more fully in *Native Races*, ii. 565–6. The pipes were not wholly restored, so that the water flowed partly in open canals. This proving objectionable from dust and refuse, portions were ordered to be covered, and on August 26, 1524, Juan Garrido was employed at a salary of 50 pesos de oro to watch over it, additional men being appointed as the need became apparent. Part of the beautiful grove of Chapultepec was actually cut down to prevent leaves from falling into the spring. The aqueduct did not extend beyond the first houses on the Tacuba side of the city, and it was proposed in 1527 to repair the aqueducts of Coyuhuacan or Huichilobusco, and extend them to the southern suburb. This appeared too costly, and efforts were made to extend the Chapultepec aqueduct to the centre of the city, as appears from contracts with the municipality, one dated April 17, 1528. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 17, 23, 193, 221, etc. Nothing appears to have been done, however; for the procuradores in Spain demanded special legislation, and by order of September 22, 1530, the extension to the main plaza was decreed, the cost to be apportioned among Spanish and native settlers. 'De lo (water) que se perdiere, se podra hazer vn molino para propios de la dicha ciudad.' *Puga, Cedulario*, 64; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 287–91. This work was concluded only in 1537. The fine aqueduct Tlaspana was not in operation till the middle of the following century.

the return of the inhabitants, and assure their good conduct, at one time by no means submissive, the cihuacoatl, or lieutenant, of Quauhtemotzin, whom Cortés had known in Montezuma's time, was given a similar position under Cortés, with instructions to bring back and settle the people, and rule them according to native laws, modified to some extent by Spanish regulations. Some of these involved privileges which tended greatly to reconcile the natives to the new rule. Special districts, with certain franchises, were also granted to different chiefs so as to encourage them to introduce their tribes.[37] Other natives were also allured by similar offers, while certain lords and towns were ordered to supply and maintain during the rebuilding a number of laborers and artisans, the largest force coming from Tezcuco, in accordance with an agreement made by Ixtlilxochitl on being raised to the long-desired throne of his ancestors.[38] One of the wards, called Tlascaltecapan in commemoration of its capture by Tlascaltecs, was granted to settlers of this people, who rendered good service in maintaining order among the Mexicans.[39] While the latter settled throughout the city, Tlateluco became the head-quarters for the Aztecs.

The rebuilding progressed rapidly, the natives swarming in and relieving their work with songs and witticisms, almost frivolous in their oblivion of past troubles, and regardless of the fetters they were still continuing to forge for themselves. Their great number made the task-master's whip less needful, and the only apprehension seemed to be about food, which became so scarce as to give rise to diseases under

[37] *Cortés, Cartas*, 308–9. Gomara associates Pedro, the son of Montezuma, with the cihuacoatl, and gives each a ward to populate and rebuild. *Hist. Mex.*, 235; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. viii.

[38] His namesake magnifies the number of men supplied by him to 400,000. *Hor. Crueldades*, 60. 'Haciendo á los Chalcos, Tezcucanos y Xuchimilcos y Tepanecas tragesen...materiales.' *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 512.

[39] It is now called San Juan Bautista ward, says Panes. *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 61. Neither name appears on present maps.

which quite a number succumbed.[40] The superintendence of the different branches of the work was intrusted to Spanish artisans and officers, who instructed the natives in the use of iron tools, in transporting and lifting material, and in building, the native Americans everywhere proving apt learners.

So rapid was the growth of the city[41] that, from representations made in 1522, the sovereign was pleased to award it official recognition by conferring a coat of arms, representing a water-blue field, in allusion to the lake of Mexico, having in the centre a gilt castle to which three paved causeways led. At the end of the two lateral, not connected with the castle, stand two lions rampant, each grasping the castle with its paws, in token of Spanish victory. A gilt border surrounds the field, containing ten maguey leaves, and a crown surmounts the shield.[42]

The native arms represented a maguey plant in the middle of a lake, and thereon an eagle with a snake in its bill. This was also permitted to be used in certain connections,[43] though with some changes, in accordance with the more or less bigoted ideas of the authorities in Mexico. At times all allusion to the native eagle and maguey was forbidden as of demoniacal influence.[44] Seven years later the city was ac-

[40] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. viii. 'Era tanta la gente que andaba en las obras que apenas podia hombre romper por algunas calles.' *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, i. 18.

[41] In his letter of October 1524, Cortés indicates 30,000 settlers (vecinos), *Cartas*, 309, which must include many temporary dwellers, for about 80 years later Torquemada, i. 299, assumes as a high estimate 7,000 Spanish and 8,000 native settlers or families. Gomara, who wrote about 1550, mentions 2,000 Spanish settlers. *Hist. Mex.*, 236. Some 20 years before this the anonymous conqueror speaks of 400 leading Spanish houses. *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 309.

[42] This was granted July 4, 1523, in consideration of the city being 'tan insigne y Noble, y el mas principal Pueblo, que hasta ahora, en la dicha tierra, por Nos se ha hallado.' *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 67–8; *Mex., Extr. de Cédulas*, MS., 3, 13.

[43] *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 43. In recognition of the city having been the capital of the country. Vetancurt describes this coat of arms with the addition of a castle with 3 towers, and 2 lions supporting the shield, which is surmounted by a crown. *Trat. Mex.*, 5, 6.

[44] Archbishop and Viceroy Palafox caused the eagle to be replaced with a cross. The changes and mixtures thus introduced in the course of three centuries of colonial rule, as represented on coins, standard, and seals, are almost

corded the same preëminence in New Spain as that enjoyed by Búrgos in old Spain,[45] and in 1548, the title of "very noble, great, and very loyal city."[46]

innumerable, and this accounts for the cut in *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 1, which accords with none of the above descriptions. In view of these changes the crown issued a decree in 1596, ordering preference to be given to arms granted by the sovereigns. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 25.

[45] The first vote in national council, 'y el primer lugar, despues de la Justicia, en los Congresos.' *Id.* This decree was dated June 25, 1530. The regidores by this time numbered 12, in accordance with a decree of October 22, 1523, granting this number to 'Ciudades principales' in the Indies, other towns to have only six. *Id.*, 33. By decree of 1539 the municipality was granted jurisdiction within a circuit of 15 leagues. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 25.

[46] On July 4. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 43; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 544. A much esteemed distinction. The city was fortunate enough to obtain a big bone of Saint Hippolytus, which enjoyed great veneration, adds Calle. In addition to the standard authorities quoted, the following works bear more or less fully upon the subject of the chapter: *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 17, 358–67, 389–97, 506–8; *Siguenza y Góngora, Anotaciones Crit.*, MS., 1 et seq.; *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 233–47; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 58–61, 73–5, 83–5; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 76 et seq.; *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 374–8; *Archivo Mex., Doc.*, i. 61 et seq.; ii. 218–21, 257–79, 303–4; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 49 et seq.; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 76–80, 293–5; *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, ix. 391, 429; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 17; *Concilios Prov.*, 1555–65, p. vi.; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, ii. 375–81; iii. 166–7, 544; *Id.*, MS., 86, 263; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro*, i. 1, 7; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 15, 16, 23–6, 60, 65, 73; *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, x. 155 et seq.; *Nueva España, Respuesta*, MS.; *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 25; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 4, 67; *Monumentos Hist. y Pol.*, MS., 1 et seq.; *Mex., Estractos de Cédulas*, MS., 3, 13, 14; *Leyes, Varias Anot.*, MS., 111–12; *Salazar y Olarte, Conq. Mex.*, 6–9; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 43; *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, i. 5; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 125–7; *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 5, 6, 40, 71–2; *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 208–59; *Id.* (Mex. ed.), notes, passim; *Helps' Cortés*, ii. 118–22, 132–5; *Bustamante, Necesidad*, 41–4; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 149–98, ii. 197–322; *Cepeda, Relacion*, i. 3–6; *Sammlung aller Reisebesch.*, xiii. 453 et seq.; *Lacunza, Discursos*, 453–4; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 193 et seq.; *Holmes' Annals*, i. 53; *Armin, Alte Mex.*, 339–56; *Liceo Mex.*, i. 68–72; *Alm. Calend.*, 1839, 26; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 51–65, 93–101, 137–50, 472; *Pimentel, Mem. Lit.*, 94–6; *Solis, Hist. Mex.* (Mad. 1843), 457–60, 492, 509–12; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 121–2; *Poinsett's Notes*, i. 65; *Pap. Var.*, v. no. ii. 8; xlvi. no. viii. 31–44; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 80–5; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 300–5; *Conder's Mex. and Guat.*, 80; *Album Mex.*, ii. 466; *Abispa de Chil.*, 59–60; *Zerecero, Rev. Mex.*, 4–8; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, i. 241–2.

CHAPTER II.

PREPARATION FOR FURTHER CONQUEST.

1521–1522.

CENTRALIZATION AND ITS EFFECT—A FALLEN ATHENS—REWARD OF A TRAITOR—CAREER OF A PRECOCIOUS PRINCE—IXTLILXOCHITL'S DISAPPOINTMENT—POLICY TOWARD NATIVE PRINCES—TEZCUCO AND ACOLHUACAN—TLASCALA AND HER REWARD—NEW CONQUEST PROJECTS—SEARCH FOR AMMUNITION—CLIMBING A VOLCANO—DESCENDING INTO THE BURNING CRATER—CASTING CANNON—TOCHTEPEC EXPEDITION—A BOASTER'S DISCOMFITURE—GOLD-HUNTING IN XALTEPEC—ESPÍRITU SANTO FOUNDED—ZAPOTECAPAN AND MIZTECAPAN—THE MYSTIC PROPHET—OROZCO INVADES OAJACA—ANTEQUERA ESTABLISHED—COCIYOPU'S DILEMMA—ALVARADO OVERRUNS TUTUTEPEC—SEGURA FOUNDED ANEW.

THE exaltation of Mexico tended to eclipse the other native towns in the valley even more than her rise under Aztec supremacy. There was no longer a series of capitals, to be sustained by kings and minor lords, all prepared to rival one another in pomp and embellishments. The only capital now was Tenochtitlan, which the Spaniards felt obliged, for the safety and interest of themselves and the crown, to make the main stronghold and point of concentration. The revenues of the native rulers could no longer be employed according to the dictates of their fancy for palaces and similar works, since the greater part passed into the hands of the encomenderos and the treasury officials. New diseases, enslavement, and different methods for employing the natives, all added to the causes for decline among their lately flourishing towns, only too many of which have entirely disappeared from the maps, or dwindled to petty hamlets. Mexico also declined, for that matter, in extent and population, according to the admission of

the conquerors, and the evidence of ruins.[1] She was no longer the centre of a vast continental trade, or the residence of a brilliant court, whose despotic sovereign obliged provincial lords to congregate there with vast retinues, and expend their income for the benefit of Aztec jailers. Trade drifted into other channels, and the humbled caciques hid from oppression and indignities in remote villages, where they might still exact a semblance of respect from equally oppressed vassals.

Among the suffering towns, though it dwindled hardly so fast, was Tezcuco, renowned not alone for ancient glories, but for the beauty of its buildings, and for being the chief seat of native learning, the Athens of the continent.[2] Like savagism, aboriginal civilization declined when brought into contact with foreign culture, whose exponents both despised it and looked upon the embodying records as demoniacal, fit only to be destroyed. As for the population, a large proportion was drafted for the rebuilding of the queen city, particularly of artisans, there to perish or remain. The obsequious Ixtlilxochitl was only too eager to anticipate the wishes of the patronizing and grasping Spaniards. He who had not hesitated the sacrifice of his country and religion to personal ambition, as modern Mexicans not unjustly term his Spanish alliance, did not scruple to aid in enslaving his subjects. Resistance on his part would not have saved them; still, the role he had voluntarily assumed, and been obliged to sustain, must ever brand his memory in the minds of patriots. The reward for his long devotion was now to come. His brother, King Fernando, died from wounds received during the siege, it seems,[3] to the deep regret of the

[1] See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 276, this series.

[2] See description in *Hist. Mex.*, i. 425–7, this series. Within a few years the population is said to have dwindled to one third, and 60 years later to one ninth. The Spanish population in 1858 numbered 100 (families) only. *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 111.

[3] 'Después que se tomó la ciudad de Tenuxtitan, estando en esta de Cuyoacan, faleció don Fernando.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 270. This passage has evidently

Spaniards, to whom he had become endeared by his gentle manners, his fine, fair presence, resembling that of a Castilian rather than of a native American, and by his devotion to their interests. The Tezcucans hastened to elect for successor Ahuaxpitzactzin, afterwards baptized as Cárlos, a not fully legitimate son of Nezahualpilli; for the scheming and unpatriotic Ixtlilxochitl does not appear to have been liked in the Acolhua capital, whatever his influence in the northern provinces which he had wrested from the rest. This independent conduct of the electors did not please Cortés, who might have approved their choice if submitted with due humility, and so he persuaded them to reconsider the selection in favor of his well deserving protégé Ixtlilxochitl, baptized as Fernando Pimentel, though generally referred to under the former name, now the cognomen of his family.[4]

Although but twenty-one years of age, Ixtlilxochitl could point to a career almost unparalleled for one so young, and one that might, under different circumstances have placed his name among the most illustrious in Nahua annals. At his birth already astrologers drew strange portents from the stars. The child would in the course of time become the friend of strangers, turn against his own blood, change laws and institutions, and even rise against the gods. He should be killed. "Nay!" replied the king, "have not the gods willed his birth, and this as the time approaches for

escaped both Prescott, *Mex.*, iii. 46, and Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 465, who, following a confused statement in Ixtlilxochitl, place this rather prominent event before the beginning of the actual siege.

[4] See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 572, this series, wherein is explained the confusion of the other writers on this point, some misled by the careless wording in *Cortés, Cartas*, 270, which appears to give him the name of Cárlos. The name Fernando is, however, too clearly fixed by the family records and archives used by Ixtlilxochitl. See *Hor. Crueldades*, 13, 74, and *Relaciones*, 390, 410, 414, 433–4, and above note on p. 572. Gomara and Herrera confirm the error by copying Cortés. Duran, like many another, overlooks the intermediate kings since Cohuanacoch's time. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 493. Cavo assumes with much probability that the appointee offered the inducement of sending large forces to aid in rebuilding Mexico. *Tres Siglos*, i. 15, 16. García de Pilar asserts that the appointment was procured by heavy bribes to Cortés, some 80,000 pesos, besides other presents, Ixtlilxochitl selling his subjects both to slave-dealers and butcher-stalls to obtain the money. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 218–19.

the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies!" These referred to the coming of the children of fair Quetzalcoatl from the region of the rising sun.[5] The boy displayed a remarkable precocity united to a cruel disposition. Out of pure mischief, or because his nurse happened to offend him, he pushed her into a deep well as she bent for water for him, and then attempted to quiet her drowning shrieks by casting stones upon her. When called before the king to answer, he pleaded that the deceased had broken the law which forbade female attendants at the palace to speak with a man. He had merely punished her for the transgression.[6] This seemed just, and the wondering judge bade him go. At the age of seven he organized a company of boy soldiers, and sent his tutors to collect weapons wherewith to spread terror among the citizens, his plea being that he was training warriors for the commonwealth. Two counsellors objected to these dangerous pranks, and expressed the conviction that such mischievous spirits as the prince and his companions should be killed ere they created more serious trouble. Some of his associates expressing fears for their safety, young Ixtlilxochitl marched to the dwelling of the counsellors and caused them to be strangled. He thereupon presented himself before the king and assumed the responsibility of the deed, which was simply an anticipation of the fate meditated by the counsellors against himself, who had never injured them. Nezahualpilli wished to be just, even if the life of a son depended upon it, but in his admiration for the promising qualities of the boy as a leader and advocate, he could find no reasons for condemning him; nor did any of the ordinary judges venture to raise their voice against the imp. When fourteen years of age he joined in the Tlascala campaign, and three years later his gallant behavior had secured for him the insignia of 'great captain.'

[5] See *Hist. Mex.*, vol. i. chap. vii., for a full account of the myths and omens.

[6] He was then but three years old, says Ixtlilxochitl. *Hist. Chich.*, 275–6. Certainly a remarkable child.

page 23-24
missing

been given was his own, since it had never been taken from him. After the services he had rendered, and the hardship he and his people had undergone for the Spaniards, it was but right that he and his successors should be left in undisturbed possession of the kingdom.[9] Cortés recognized the justice of the claim, but he remembered Ixtlilxochitl's tardy extension of aid after the flight from Mexico, and was probably fully aware of the motives which prompted his alliance. All this afforded strong reasons for not yielding to the demands of this and other allies. To acknowledge every such claim would materially reduce his own credit and the value of the conquest. The native rulers had served his purpose, and being no longer indispensable they must gradually learn to recognize their true position as nothing more than leading personages among the half-civilized race he had conquered. In the present instance he gave no definite answer, and Ixtlilxochitl was left nominally in possession of what he claimed, till circumstances revealed the shadowy nature of his title and possessions.

On returning to his kingdom, after being released from further attendance at Mexico, he availed himself of his position to reward with grants and other honors the most deserving adherents, and others whom policy commended to his notice. He also employed the captive slaves[10] that had fallen to his share to aid in repairing the damage inflicted on Tezcuco during its recent occupation as Spanish head-quarters, notably the destruction of the royal palace and other edifices by the Tlascaltecs on first entering the city and on passing through it after the fall of Mexico. All these efforts, however, failed to reconcile the inhabitants of the capital and lake districts, whose treatment by the Spaniards had made them more than ever averse

[9] In the version of Ixtlilxochitl's *Relacion*, 429, etc., published by Bustamante under the title of *Horribles Crueldades*, 60–1, the editor has misunderstood the meaning of the text, and ventured to substitute Cortés where it should read Ixtlilxochitl, thus changing the sense.

[10] Two thousand in number, says Ixtlilxochitl.

to a prince hateful to them from boyhood. The return from captivity of the deposed Cohuanacoch had created a sympathy which soon turned the current of popularity in favor of one who had suffered so much for the national cause. Aware of the feeling with respect to himself, Ixtlilxochitl felt it almost a matter of necessity to leave his brother at Tezcuco in enjoyment of the regal honors accorded him before his very face. He even thought it politic to assign him a certain portion of the revenue. He withdrew to his former northern domains, establishing his capital at Otumba, where a new palace was erected.[11]

Not unlike the rewards of Ixtlilxochitl were those of the Tlascaltecs, to whom the Spaniards owed a vast debt—their lives, and the moral and physical aid which sustained them in adversity, and in the initiatory operations which led to ultimate success. In this act of forging fetters for adjoining peoples, fetters which were also to shackle themselves, they had been impelled not alone by a hatred of the Aztecs, more intense and exalted than that of the Tezcucan prince, but by a friendship based on admiration, and cemented by Cortés' politic favors. At the opening of the Tepeaca campaign they had certainly been led to form great expectations,[12] and promises flowed freely when

[11] According to Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 61, he agreed with Cohuanacoch, out of brotherly love it seems, to divide the kingdom with him: the brother to rule as king at Tezcuco, and control Chalco, Quauhnahuac, Itzucun, Tlahuac, and other provinces as far as the South Sea, while Ixtlilxochitl retained the northern provinces, and those extending toward the North Sea. This assumed division is based on the former limits of the Chichimec empire. It is not likely that a Tezcucan monarch received even nominal honors in half the provinces named. See *Native Races*, v. 395–6, for boundaries assigned by the terms of the tripartite alliance in 1431, which had become practically obsolete before the Spaniards arrived. Ixtlilxochitl seeks to magnify the power of his ancestry to promote his claims. He allows his namesake to take possession of the northern kingdom on March 19, 1523, and to build palaces also at Teotihuacan and at Tecpitpac, a site given him by his father. *Hor. Crueldades*, 53. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 563–4, assumes that while Cohuanacoch received the tribute and nominal sovereignty of all the kingdom, the brother controlled the general administration and the armies, to prevent any revolt.

[12] By a craftily worded document issued to them by Cortés, wherein flow-

they were dismissed to their homes after the fall of Mexico. The first instalment thereof was exemption from the tribute exacted in all other provinces, and from being given in encomiendas;[13] then came certain titles which sounded so well, but were worth little more than their cost to the crown. Thus their capital was made the seat of the first diocese, honored by the name of Carolense, and their alcalde mayor, elected from among themselves, was permitted to call himself governor.[14] Huexotzinco shared slightly in these privileges, and the cacique received a coat of arms for assisting the fugitive Spaniards in 1520.[15] And this was about all. The fault lay greatly with Cortés, who for the sake of his own credit never admitted the real extent of his obligation to these faithful allies.[16] Their very devotion and prowess were to assist in destroying them, since nearly every expedition in early times for opening new regions, or suppressing revolts, took away a number, of whom many

ing words fed their hopes without committing himself. The only substantial promise recorded, aside from the share in booty, appears to have been the conservation to them of lands and local government. Several modern writers harp on the contract made with them, but their only authority is Camargo, who is doubtful. See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 525, this series.

[13] Even to the crown. This exemption was confirmed through Cortés when in Spain, so that grasping officials might not prevent it. By decree of 1535 the province was as a special mark of favor declared an inalienable part of the crown of Castile. *Ordenes de la Corona*, ii. 4. 'Porque parezca que tienen alguna mas libertad,' is Cortés' significant allusion to the flimsiness of the favors. *Cartas*, 332.

[14] Diego Maxixcatzin was governor in 1534. Motolinia describes fully the elaborate festivities in 1538, when the new arms of the city were first displayed. *Hist. Ind.*, 81. The laws in *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 199–200, confirm to them certain customs, exempt them from the obligation to serve beyond their province, and from monopolies in wines and meats, which must be let at public auction as in Spain. The viceroy is enjoined to honor them and their towns in every way, and they are further given the touching privilege of freely making representations and complaints—the royal waste-basket was capacious enough.

[15] The cédula, dated 1534, calls him Aquiahuateuliti, baptized as Francisco de Sandoval y Moreno. *Panes*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 73–5. They were for a time given in encomienda to Cortésians. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, serie ii. tom. v. 187. Father Juarez obtained their incorporation under the crown. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. x. cap. vii.

[16] This is intimated in the opening cédula concerning them, *Id.*, 199, wherein their prompt submission to church and king is indicated as their chief merit. In another cédula, however, they are commended for 'services rendered during the pacification of the country.'

perished, while others were distributed as settlers to support the Spaniards in controlling different districts. Diseases and other adjuncts of the new civilization made inroads upon them as they did on all the natives, and so they dwindled to a handful, impotent even to raise their voice against the abuses to which unscrupulous officials submitted them.[17] Their only real friends were the friars, who did what they could to protect their rights, and confirm them in their devout and loyal disposition.

While the rebuilding of Mexico served to occupy the more contented spirits who had decided to settle there, supported by the encomiendas granted them in the valley, Cortés found the better remedy for the rest to be expeditions, which would not only advance the common interest, but enable them to achieve their own rewards and at the same time remove turbulent characters to a safe distance. Actual campaigns were little called for, since the mere report of the fall of Mexico sufficed to summon neutral or even hostile caciques to render homage to the victors. Nevertheless it was necessary to actually occupy the surrounding provinces, ascertain their condition and wealth, and, above all, to extort tribute and presents on the strength of the ridiculous requirement issued by the sovereign in the name of the pope, and to be used in demanding submission from the natives.[18] To this end the tribute-rolls of Montezuma proved of value, by indicating the kind and amount of taxes exacted by the rapacious Aztec collectors. An exhibition of the rolls with

[17] The king found it necessary, at the instance of the friars, to repeat more than once the order against their compulsory service beyond the limits of their province. 'Tambien los hizo esclavos; digna recompensa por cierto de unos hombres viles, verdugos de su misma pátria,' is the patriotic outburst against them by Bustamante. *Abispa de Chilpancingo*, 59. See also his *Necesidad*, in *Pap. Var.*, xlvi. MS., 8, and his *Tracts*, 41–2. He overlooks that they acted with a motive which to them was pure. They were made tools by a superior mind. By a viceregal decree issued at their request in December 1537, no slaves were allowed within their territory. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 202.

[18] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 397–9, this series.

the alluring facts was enough to bring forward the needed volunteers for any of the proposed expeditions.

A primary measure, however, was to replenish the ammunition, for hardly any powder remained. In this dilemma Cortés bethought himself of the smoking Popocatepetl, where Ordaz had discovered sulphur in 1519. Encouraged by the fame of his ascent, Francisco Montaño offered himself for the venture.[19] Four Spaniards and a number of natives accompanied them, and as they approached the volcano their train had swelled to thousands of sight-seers, aglow with excitement at this second storming of the infernal regions, which promised to be far more daring than the first. Many built huts near the foot, there to await the result of the battle. The ascent began about noon, several attendants following with the necessary ropes, bags, and blankets. When night came on they dug a cavity in which to shelter themselves from the piercing cold, but the sulphurous exhalations became so unendurable as to drive them forth. While groping about in the dark, half benumbed, one of the Spaniards fell into a crevice, and but for a friendly icicle he would have been dashed into an abyss several thousand feet below. Finding the locality unsafe they halted until dawn, despite the chilling blast, and then hastened forward. Half an hour later an eruption shook the mountains, and sent them scampering for the friendly shelter of some crags. The shock proved not wholly unwelcome, however, for a heated stone rolled toward them, by which they were enabled to warm their stiffened limbs. Soon afterward one of the men became so exhausted that he had to be left behind to await their return. They were already approaching the goal, when a fresh eruption took place,

[19] Francisco Mesa, an artillerist, is named as one of the companions, and Juan de Larios appears to have been another. In the petition of Montaño's heirs the event is placed during the siege, and Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 251–2, dates it while Cortés was at Segura; but both are too early. In his relation of May 1522, Cortés states that he sent the men from Coyuhuacan, so that it must have been shortly after the siege, while preparing new expeditions.

with a shower of stones and ashes that caused them to drop their burdens and rush for shelter.[20]

After a while they ventured forward again, and reached the summit, and as they gazed apprehensively into the crater, nearly half a league in width, the clearing smoke occasionally disclosed seething masses hundreds of feet below,[21] while the oppressive fumes sent a shiver almost of horror through their frames, mingled with unspoken regrets for having undertaken the evil adventure. Their reputation was at stake, however, and among the four who had persevered so far, none wished to show cowardice. The difficulty was to descend into the crater to collect the sulphur which was lying there in abundance. At last a spot was found, and lots being drawn, it fell to Montaño to take the initiatory step. With a rope round his waist he descended into the abyss for a distance of several hundred feet,[22] according to his own statement, with swimming brain, oppressed by deadly fumes, and in danger from eruptive substances. It seemed indeed a slender support and one which at any moment might part and abandon him to the glowing fire beneath. After delivering a bagful of brimstone seven times, he was relieved by one of his companions, who made six trips,[23] increasing the output to three hundred pounds. This was deemed sufficient; and eager to escape from their threatening position, they began the return journey, which proved not a little difficult, burdened as they were. At times they were threading a deep crevice, at times sliding down a snow-covered surface, stumbling against some sharp projection, or sinking into a treacherous aperture. The abandoned

[20] *Cortés, Cartas*, 270. Herrera ignores this allusion to a flight and reascent, and states that the party reached the summit at 10 A. M. dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. ii.

[21] 'Q estaua ardiendo a manera de fuego natural, cosa bië espantosa de ver.' *Id.* 'Tan gran hondura, que no pudieron ver el cabo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 270.

[22] 'Setenta ó ochenta brazas.' *Id.*, 312. Herrera makes it only 14.

[23] So runs the statement in Herrera; and Cortés also writes that the men were 'lowered' 70 fathoms into the crater; but it is more probable that their colored story reduces itself to a mere descent along the incline of a crevice. Juan de Larios is said to have made the last descents.

comrade was picked up, though he could render no aid in conveying the burden. As they approached the camp at the foot the natives came forth with enthusiastic cheers to bear the doughty adventurers on their shoulders. Their journey to Coyuhuacan was a triumphal march, and Cortés himself came to welcome them with an embrace, wreathed in abundant promises. Montaño was too humble an individual, however, to receive the same attention as Ordaz, who used his less valuable performance, magnified by influence and position, to obtain a coat of arms and grants. An encomienda, scanty even for his ordinary services as participant in the conquest, and a brief term of office as corregidor, was all that his repeated appeals could secure.[24] The sulphur proved most acceptable, but no attempts were made to obtain more from the volcano, because of the danger.[25]

Another want was cannon, both for expeditions and for the different strongholds to be established in their wake. Iron was unknown to the natives, but copper could be obtained in abundance, and an alloy was alone needed to produce a serviceable metal. The rich possessed a little tin in the shape of dishes, estimated indeed equal to silver,[26] and small pieces circulated as money. By following this clue it was found that at Taxco, some distance south-west of Quauhnahuac, mines of this metal existed. Use was at once

[24] The encomienda comprised half the village of Zapotitlan, altogether insufficient for the maintenance of his large family of 10 sons and 7 daughters. His appeals produced an order to the viceroy, years later, to reward him, and he received the office of corregidor of Tonalá in Miztecapan, with a salary of 200 pesos. His term expired after 2 years, and, although his residencia proved good, no other office was given. He now fell into want, and had to mortgage his house. His appeals appear to have received little attention, for his descendants continued to clamor as late as 1593. A son-in-law then obtained an allowance of 200 pesos, which was exchanged for better rewards. *Montaño, Peticion,* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 480–3; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. app. 148–54.

[25] 'Que nos provean de España, y V. M. ha sido servido que no haya ya obispo que nos lo impida.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 312. Good saltpetre had already been found. For later ascents, see vol. i. 257, this series.

[26] 'Compro los platos dello a pesos de plata.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 237. See *Native Races*, ii. 382, 473.

made of the discovery, which led also to finding rich silver and iron deposits. Casting at once began under the direction of an experienced gunner, and with the artillery already on hand, they had soon a hundred cannon.[27]

During the general uprising that followed the expulsion of Spaniards from Mexico in the previous year, some fourscore adventurers had been surprised and slaughtered in Tochtepec,[28] a mountainous region on the upper waters of Rio Papaloapan. No measures being taken to chastise the perpetrators of the deed, the inhabitants grew confident in their strongholds. After the fall of Mexico a number of Aztec fugitives sought refuge there to keep alive the spirit of freedom. With no lack of men at his command, Cortés now resolved to uproot this hot-bed of sedition, located as it was in a country reputed rich in gold. A force of thirty-five horse, two hundred foot, and some thirty thousand allies, was accordingly despatched at the end of October 1521, under Sandoval, attended by Captain Luis Marin, and others, with orders to reduce the whole region, and secure possession by founding the necessary colonies.[29] The first demand for submission by so formidable an army, flushed with recent victories, brought forth the natives in humble supplication. All that remained to be done was to pursue the hostile refugees and chief

[27] Thirty of these were brass, the rest iron, and they had been obtained chiefly from Narvaez, Ponce de Leon, and others. 'De falconete arriba, treinta y cinco piezas, y de hierro, entre lombaras y pasavolantes y versos y otras maneras de tiros de hierro colado, hasta setenta piezas.' The casting began early in the autumn of 1524. In his letter of October 15th he writes that five guns had so far been cast. *Cartas*, 312. Oviedo, iii. 465, differs in the number. The casting of guns was produced by his many jealous accusers as a proof of rebellious projects, several of the pieces being declared suspiciously different from those needed for Indian fighting. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 64, 236–7. He was driven to the measure by Fonseca's prohibition against allowing war material to reach New Spain. *Cortés, Cartas*, 311.

[28] Also called Totepec, preserved in the present Tuxtepec. Mercator, 1569, has *Tochtepec* town; on map of 1574 *Costosta* lies north of it; *West-Ind. Spieghel*, 1624, *Tochtepec;* Kiepert, *Tustepec; Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 510. The massacre has been described in *Hist. Mex.*, i. 511.

[29] Cortés names the provinces Tatactetelco, Tuxtepeque, Guatuxco, Aulicaba. Guatuxco was the first entered. *Cartas*, 260.

who had led in the slaughter of the Spaniards, and who had fled on finding the people intimidated. They were soon brought in, and the leading cacique was summarily burned in the main square of Tochtepec as a warning to his assembled vassals. The rest were pardoned after a salutary suspense.

While examining the mineral resources of the new conquest, Sandoval despatched Captain Briones with a hundred infantry and some allies to subdue Tiltepec and other towns in the adjoining Zapotec territory. Briones was a voluble fellow, as we have seen, lately

MITZTECAPAN AND GOAZACOALCO.

commander of one of the lake brigantines, who had made a good impression on the officers by a boastful exhibition of scars from the wars in Italy.[30] The Zapotecs were made of sterner stuff than the Tochtepecans, inured as they were to danger among their

[30] 'La jactancia suele vivir muy cerca de la cobardía,' hints Salazar, somewhat unjustly. *Hist. Conq.*, 83. He figures even more prominently in Honduras. See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 525, et seq.

rugged cliffs, and reliant on their formidable pikes and stout cotton armor; and when Briones approached with easy confidence, they fell upon him in a narrow pass with a fury that compelled him to retreat, with one third of his force wounded,[31] including himself. Sandoval was not a little disgusted on learning the miserable failure of the boaster, and asked him ironically how he used to fight in Italy.[32] Briones swore that he would sooner meet large armies of Moors than the Zapotecs, who seemed to spring from the very ground in ever-increasing numbers. It would not answer to let the repulse go unavenged, and Sandoval hurried with nearly all the force to restore the Spanish prestige. The previous struggle had been sufficiently obstinate to cause the enemy to hesitate, and the cacique of Tiltepec threw open his gates, which example was followed by the Xaltepecs.

The latter district bordered on that of the warlike Mijes, who were constantly making raids on their territory, and it was chiefly with a view to obtain protection that envoys came with humble mien, though attired in beautiful embroidered robes, to tender submission, and to soften the hearts of the conquerors with presents. Among the gifts were ten tubes filled with gold-dust, which at once aroused an interest in their affairs. While unwilling to give them the soldiers with whom they hoped to terrify their foe, a small party was sent to examine the mines under the pretence of reconnoitring for a speedy descent on the Mijes. So good were the reports that Sandoval immediately secured for himself a town near the mines, from which he obtained a large sum in gold. The other towns and tracts of the conquest were distributed among the members of the expedition,[33] and to

[31] One died of wounds, and several were carried off soon after by disease. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 165.

[32] 'Parece le señor Capitan, que son estas tierras otras que las donde anduuo militando?' *Id.*

[33] Sandoval took Guazpaltepec, which yielded 15,000 pesos de oro from the mines; Marin received Xaltepec, 'quite a dukedom;' Ojedas received

assure control he founded a villa which was named Medellin, in honor of the birthplace of himself and Cortés.[34]

From this point the army proceeded southward to the Goazacoalco country, whose advantages with its port and its fertility had been demonstrated by special expeditions during the time of Montezuma. On reaching the Goazacoalco, Sandoval summoned to him the leading caciques. Several days passed without an answer, and preparations were made for warlike measures. Guided by certain natives he one night fell upon a town and captured a female chief of great influence. This stroke proved effective, and the rest of the country submitted, with offers of rich presents.[35] In accordance with the instructions received, a town was now founded on the southern bank of the river, four leagues from the mouth, and named Espíritu Santo, from the day on which they had crossed the stream and received the allegiance of the people.[36] The prospects of the town as the future entrepot for trade between New Spain and the Islands, and home country, as well as the resources of the district, gave it a strong attraction, and a number of both leaders and soldiers offered to settle, notably Luis Marin, Francisco de Medina, who afterward met so terrible a fate, Diego de Godoy, to whom, instead of Marin, historians have wrongly given the credit of conquering Chiapas, and Francisco

Tiltepec, while Bernal Diaz writes that he refused to his later regret Matlatlan and Orizaba. *Hist. Verdad.*, 165–6.

[34] 'Veinte leguas la tierra adentro, en la provincia de Tatalptetelco.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 313. The founding and the installation of the municipality were hastened by the arrival of Cristóbal de Tapia, who intended to supersede Cortés as governor, as will be told elsewhere. It was soon after moved near to Vera Cruz.

[35] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xi. The people came with a large number of canoes to ferry the army across, Cacique Tochel remaining as hostage. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 166. They paid two years' arrears of taxes, says Ixtlilxochitl. *Hor. Crueldades*, 57. Cortés writes 1520, *Rio de Totuqualquo;* Orontius, 1531, *R. de qualqº;* Colon, 1527, *R. de yasacalcos;* Ribero, 1529, *R. de guasacalco; Munich Atlas*, x. 1571, *Rº de guaqaqa;* Hood, 1592, *R. de Guaca;* Ogilby, 1671, *R. de Guazacoalco;* Dampier, 1699, *R. Guazacoalco* or *Guashigwalp;* Laet, 1633, *R. Guazacoalco;* Jefferys, 1776, *R. Guazacalco*, with the town of *Cayhoca. Goldschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 359.

[36] And because on the former anniversary Narvaez had been defeated, adds Bernal Diaz.

de Lugo. Sandoval, Grado, Briones, Bernal Diaz, and others, also took up either residence or grants here, the latter extending from the Zapotec country to the sea, and from the southern limits of Medellin district into Tabasco.[37]

Hardly had the repartition been made before Sandoval was called away, and when the settlers began to levy tribute, nearly all the districts revolted, several of them being killed. They were pacified after considerable trouble, only to rise again at intervals in different quarters.[38] More settlers came, however, and with fertile and populous grants they prospered so well that the towns to the north grew jealous and obtained a curtailment of the district; later settlements in Tabasco, Chiapas, and Oajaca, laid claim to other portions, and Espíritu Santo soon dwindled.[39]

At the time that Sandoval set forth on the Goazacoalco campaign, another expedition was despatched against Zapotecapan and Miztecapan, a region alternating in fertile valleys and rugged mountains, and covering the modern state of Oajaca; the former lying to the east, round the sources of Goazacoalco, and stretching to Tehuantepec; the latter divided into upper and lower Miztecapan, covering respectively the lofty Cohuaixtlahuacan and the sea-bathed Tututepec. Although distinct in language from the inhabitants of Anáhuac, the people possessed the culture of the Nahuas, and have been hastily classed as an

[37] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 165–7, names a number of the settlers, several of whom did not remain as residents; he also gives the native names of provinces, as Copilco, Cimatan, Tauasco, Cachula, Zoqueschas, Tacheapac, Cinacantan, Quilenes, Papanachasta, Citla, Chontalpa, Pinula, Chinanta, Xaltepec, Tepeca. Cortés names Chimaclan, Quizaltepec, Cimaclan, and others. *Cartas*, 261.

[38] Bernal Diaz relates his narrow escape from death during a parley with rebels. Two of his companions were killed in a sudden attack, and he was wounded in the throat. After hiding a while he was aided by his sole surviving comrade to escape. *Hist. Verdad.*, 177.

[39] At the present day the district has revived, the population centring in Minatitlan, on the northern bank of the river, and about 20 miles from the mouth. Alvarado sought in 1535 to have the port annexed to Guatemala, as a base for supplies. *Cartas*, MS., xix. 35–6; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xi.

offshoot of this great race, descended according to one tradition from the mighty Quetzalcoatl, since in Miztecapan, the 'region of clouds,' lay Tlalocan, the terrestrial paradise. Another account traces to the Apoala Mountains the source of Toltec culture. The more favored province of the mystic prophet was Zapotecapan, where he left tokens of his presence on Mount Cempoaltepec, and on the enchanted island of Monapostiac, and where his disciples founded the sacred city of Mitla, revered even now in its grand ruins. Miztecapan claimed a founder hardly less illustrious in the person of a dryad-sprung youth, who, challenging the sun, compelled him after a day's hard combat, to retreat in confusion beneath the western waters, while he remained triumphant on the field of clouds. The earlier glimpses reveal two hierarchic powers in the provinces, seated respectively at Achiuhtla and Mitla, out of which emerge in the clearer history of the fourteenth century three kingdoms, one centred at Teotzapotlan, and equalling in power and extent the two Miztec monarchies of Tilantongo and Tututepec. Attracted by the wealth of the latter, which stretched for sixty leagues along the shores of the southern sea, and encouraged by jealousies between the three powers, the Aztecs absorbed in the following century the more accessible districts, and entered soon after into sacred Mitla itself, while in 1506 Montezuma's armies added the last free state of Tilantongo to his domains.[40]

Attracted by the golden sands of the rivers, Spanish explorers had early entered the province, and met with a friendly reception, Cohuaixtlahuacan among others sending submissive embassies to the chief of

[40] The main authorities for these myths and events, fully given in *Native Races*, ii. iii. v., are *Búrgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oajaca*, pts. i. ii.; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.; Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, iii. lib. x. et seq.; *García, Orígen de los Ind.*, 327–8; *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Mej.*, i.–iii.; *Torquemada*, and others. Laet, 1633, writes *Zapotecas;* Ogilby, 1671, has *Zapotitlan* and *Zapotecas*, on page and map respectively; Mercator has *Zepotecas* east of Michoacan; Jefferys, *Zapotecas, S. Ildefonso de los Zapotecos;* Kiepert, *Lapotlan. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 464.

the strangers. Subsequent reverses at Mexico, however, changed their minds: the old love for liberty revived, and after killing isolated parties,[41] the hardy mountaineers began to harass even the provinces reconquered by Spaniards. The sufferers appealed to Orozco, the lieutenant at Segura, and with a score or two of soldiers he sought to repel the invaders. His force was wholly inadequate, and the mountaineers grew bolder. The fall of Mexico accomplished, Cortés was able to give attention to the subject, and since the conquest of the region was a needful preliminary to an advance southward, he reënforced Orozco with a dozen cavalry, fourscore infantry, and a large number of experienced allies.[42]

Observing the strength of the army, the Miztecs, against whom the campaign was directed, retired from their several rocky strongholds, and concentrated at Itzquintepec, the strongest of them all, some six leagues from the present Oajaca. Protected by heavy stone walls, fully two miles in circumference, they held forth defiantly for several days, repelling every attack. Water began to fail, however, and under promise of good treatment they surrendered.[43] This, together with the successful operations of a detachment under Juan Nuñez de Mercado,[44] completed the subjugation of the province. The lieutenant sent so glowing a report of the fertility and the products, in-

[41] A number were driven into a yard and prodded to death with long poles. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xi.

[42] *Cortés, Cartas*, 261. Herrera increases the cavalry to 30, and assumes that Alvarado took command, as does *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 150–1. The force left in October 1521, in company with Sandoval, who turned southeastward at Tepeaca, or Segura.

[43] After 8 days it seems. Herrera assumes that Mexican garrisons were the main cause of the resistance, and that they yielded only after receiving an answer from Cortés to their demands. Duran confounds the operations with those of Cortés during his march to Quauhnahuac in the previous spring. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 518–19. Ixtlilxochitl alludes to three hard battles. *Hor. Crueldades*, 57; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 84.

[44] Involving the capture of Tecomovaca, says Herrera. So much prominence has been given to Mercado's operations as to lead several writers to attribute to him the subjugation of Oajaca. *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 245; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, ii. 112; *Alcedo, Dicc.*; and *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, ser. i. tom. x., 287.

cluding gold, that Cortés was induced to reserve for himself quite a large tract, while a number of conquerors sought minor encomiendas,[45] and took up their residence in Antequera, a town founded not long after, close to Oajaca.[46]

To Oajaca, as part of the Zapotec possessions, belonged the coast city of Tehuantepec, for a period the seat of its kings, and at this time the capital of a branch kingdom, recently bestowed upon Cociyopu, the son of the valiant Cociyoeza and the Aztec princess Pelaxilla.[47] Singular omens attended his birth, wherein soothsayers could see naught but disaster. On the coming of the Spaniards, these omens were connected with the ancient prophecies of conquest by a white race, and when the fall of Mexico brought confirmation of the wide-spread fear, Cociyopu besought the oracles for guidance, and was directed to

[45] Tetellan and Hueyapan being given to a woman who accompanied the expedition, and fought bravely, says *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 519–20. Orozco remained in charge till the spring of 1522, when he was recalled to Segura, his command being surrendered to Alvarado. *Cortés, Cartas*, 267; *Oviedo*, iii. 426–7, 433–4.

[46] Mercator, 1574, has Guaxaca, too far north-west; Ogilby, 1671, has *Guaxaca* near *Antequera* city, also *Nixapa;* Laet, 1633, is similar, Nixapa being south-west of the former; Jefferys, *Guaxaca* or *Antiquera. Goldschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 360. 'De la lengua Mexicana, y puesto por vn Arbol crecido de vna fruta de mal olor, llamado Guaxe.' *Búrgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, i. 5. The fruit grows freely on the Chapultepec range above the town. Founded by Nuñez del Mercedo, Sedeño, Badajoz, and others. *Alcedo*, i. 116; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 245; In *Carta del Ayunt. de Antequera*, 1531; in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 182, Sedeño signs as if he were alcalde. The founding appears to have been a measure effected in 1528 by the hostile oidores, to encroach on Cortés' estates. *Id.*, xii. 545. Salmeron recommended its removal in 1531. *Id.*, xiii. 203. During the conquest of Tututepec in 1521–2, the town of Segura there founded by Alvarado was removed to Oajaca by Badajoz and other tumultuous settlers, thus reorganizing a settlement already formed at Oajaca, though not approved by Cortés, because he desired this district for himself. This second settlement appears also to have been disallowed by Cortés. See *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 157, 256; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 219.

[47] For a history of the kingdom, its inhabitants, and its vicissitudes, see *Native Races*, v. 425, 430–7, 534–5. In the *Munich Atlas*, vi., 1532–40, is written *la comisco* and *Tequante paque;* Ramusio, 1565, *Tecoantepech;* Mercator, 1574, *Tecoantepec*, as province, town, and gulf; Ogilby, 1671, has *R. Quizatlan* and *R. Cotalte*, in this locality; Dampier, 1699; *Tecoantepec;* Laet, 1633, *Tecoantepeque;* Jefferys, *Bay of Tecoantepec, Bar of Tecoatepec, Tecoautepec* province. *Goldschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast.* MS., ii. 340–1.

conciliate the mighty strangers with voluntary submission and rich presents.[43]

The ready submission of Tehuantepec was not a little aggravating to Tututepec, a rich province which extended beyond it, northward for some sixty leagues along the Pacific.[49] The two had frequently been at variance, and the least pretext sufficed to kindle anew the strife. The lord of Tututepec had no desire to surrender his wealth to rapacious invaders, and since spoliation was the order, he resolved to seek at least a share of his neighbor's choice belongings before Spaniards came to seize them all. The adjoining mountaineers of the Oajaca ranges were readily induced to join in so tempting an adventure, and together they pounced upon their neighbor, who slowly fell back to protect his capital until an appeal to Cortés should bring him aid. The appeal came most opportunely, and early in 1522[50] Alvarado hastened to the coast with two hundred infantry, two score cavalry, and a large force of auxiliaries.[51]

The intermediate districts were quickly overawed, and within a few weeks he stood before Tututepec,[52] after having subdued some towns on his way. This prompt and irresistible progress disconcerted every plan of the pugnacious lord, and with great humility he led his nobles forth to welcome the Spaniards, conducting them amid protestations of friendship to

[48] 'Casi al fin deste mismo año.' *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 2, meaning 1522, which should read 1521. *Cortés, Cartas*, 262; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 159, 167. One version assumes that the king's father, who ruled Zapotecapan, advised the submission. Cociyopu afterwards accepted baptism as Juan Cortés de Montezuma and proved a generous patron.

[49] *Búrgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, ii. pt. i. 181. On *Munich Atlas*, vi., 1532–40, *Tutalipeg;* Ogilby, 1671, *Tututepec;* Laet, 1633, *Tututepeque;* Jefferys, *Tutepec;* Kiepert, *Tututepec*, near *R. Atoyac.*

[50] Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 219, followed by Galvano and others, says 1523; but he is confused. Cortés states that he left Mexico in January.

[51] From Mexico he took 120 foot and 30 horse, which were reënforced by a part of the Oajaca expedition. *Cortés, Cartas*, 267. Bernal Diaz places the force at 200, including 35 horse; Gomara increases it to 200 foot and 40 horse, with 2 guns.

[52] It has been said that the ruler of Tehuantepec was on this occasion baptized, but this seems to rest on the mere statement of Bernal Diaz., *Hist. Verdad.*, 167, that Olmedo accompanied the expedition. Both circumstances belong to the later movement against Guatemala.

the fine buildings round the central square. The space here afforded for movements was rather narrow, and the roofs were heavily covered with inflammable leaves, altogether dangerous in case of a concerted attack from the densely inhabited houses around. It was also hinted that the lord had formed a plot to surprise them with torch and sword.[53] On the plea that the horses required different accommodation, the army thereupon moved to the outskirts of the town, accompanied by the lord and his son, who were detained as prisoners to answer the charge of plotting the destruction of his visitors. After vainly protesting against the accusation as invented by enemies, they sought to appease their captor with rich presents. The sight of gold only inflamed the appetite of Alvarado, and he began to press his prisoners for more, demanding among other things a pair of stirrups to be made of pure gold. This extortion, together with the terrors of his unjust imprisonment, so preyed upon the lord that he died soon after.[54]

Much of the gold was in dust and grains, giving evidence of rich mines; and informed of this, Cortés ordered a settlement to be formed, or rather the removal there, with a part of its settlers, of Segura de la Frontera, established during the opening campaign against Mexico to secure the Tepeaca frontier, but no longer needed, since Mexico was henceforth to form the dominating stronghold of the country.[55] The apparent wealth of the country caused a ready enlistment of additional settlers, among whom the country was divided in repartimientos as usual, Alvarado being appointed chief encomendero and lieutenant for his chief.[56] The

[53] Bernal Diaz states that Olmedo prevailed on Alvarado to leave so dangerous a quarter. Afterward the natives of Tehuantepec revealed the plot.

[54] 'Dixeron que por sacalle mucho oro, e sin justicia, murio en las prisiones.' Alvarado obtained 30,000 pesos from him. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 168. Cortés admits the gift of 25,000 castellanos. *Cartas*, 268.

[55] Cortés intimates that all settlers of Segura were removed with it. *Id.*, 276–7. Remesal applies the name anew with the reasons given for the original settlement. *Hist. Chyapa*, 2.

[56] By a grant dated August 24, 1522, Alvarado received in repartimiento

appointment, issued at his own request, under the alluring influence of the mines, was obtained at Mexico, whither he hastened with all the treasures so far extorted, leaving to the clamoring soldiers the flimsy excuse that Cortés had written for the gold to send as a present to the emperor. This was the more exasperating since the repartimientos proved far from equal to the expectations formed, while the climate was hot and most unhealthy. So strong became the feeling that even before Alvarado's departure to Mexico a conspiracy was formed to kill him. Olmedo learned the particulars, and the plotters were arrested, two of them being hanged. After Alvarado had gone, the settlers elected alcaldes and other officers of their own, and thereupon removed the town to Oajaca, regardless of the protestations of the captain in charge. Informed of the proceeding, Cortés sent Alcalde Mayor Diego de Ocampo to arraign the offenders, who thereupon took to flight. The principal men were arrested, however, notably Badajoz and Juan Nuñez de Sedeño, and sentenced to death, a penalty commuted by Cortés to banishment.[57]

In addition to this trouble, the natives took advantage of the removal of the town to revolt against their extortionate masters, and Alvarado had to lead another expedition against them. They were readily subdued, however,[58] and severely chastised for the murders committed, whereupon the son of the deceased lord was installed as ruler. Although the repartimientos were confirmed, Segura was not reëstablished; nor did it prove necessary, for the natives never attempted another uprising.

Tututepec, with six towns subject to it, besides Jalapa. See document in *Ramirez, Proceso*, 177.

[57] Even this appears to have been set aside by the emperor. See testimony of Ocampo and others in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 256, etc. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 219; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvii. Ocampo was the first to open the sea route to Peru. *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*

[58] A number being blown from the mouth of cannon. *Ramirez, Proceso*, 15.

CHAPTER III.

RAIDS ALONG THE SOUTH SEA.

1521–1524.

King Zwanga's Warning—First Entry into Michoacan—Montaño's Visit to the Court of Tangaxoan—A Narrow Escape—Tarascan Envoys—Olid Invades Michoacan—Outrages at Tangimaroa and Tzintzuntzan—Colonization Attempted—Visions of the South Sea—Ship-building at Zacatula—The Route to the Spice Islands—Alvarez' Mishap in Colima—Olid Avenges Him—Chimalhuacan Region—Isle of the Amazons—Cortés Hastens to Appropriate a Rich Field—The Queen of Jalisco—Tradition of a Shipwrecked Cross.

It has already been told how the Aztecs in their sore distress appealed for aid to King Zwanga of Michoacan, representing to him the danger of letting ruthless strangers obtain a foothold in the country. Brief as had been their stay, they had revealed their avowed intentions by rapacious extortion and enslavement; by overthrowing the cherished religion of their forefathers, and by slaughtering those who attempted to defend their homes and institutions, going even so far as to shackle the sacred person of the emperor, and finally to murder him. Zwanga was naturally roused, especially at the probable fate awaiting himself, and he hastened to send envoys to Mexico to gain further information and advice before he should trust himself to a people who had ever been hostile to his race, or should venture to face the wrath of the children of the sun. He resolved nevertheless to arm for any emergency, and quickly a hundred thousand men stood prepared, to join, perhaps, in an overwhelming avalanche that should sweep the Spaniards from

the face of Anáhuac. At this juncture the spirit of his dead sister is said to have appeared and warned him against resisting the God-sent strangers, pointing in support of her words to a bright figure in the sky, representing a young Castilian soldier with drawn sword. Several other omens were observed, sufficiently portentous to prevail on the council to join the king in rejecting the Aztec alliance.[1]

Whether this persuasion availed or not, certain it is that another was at hand which could hardly have been disregarded. When Zwanga's envoys reached Mexico they found it stricken desolate under the ravages of the small-pox, which had carried off the emperor himself. Unable to achieve anything, they hastened back in fear, only to bring with them the germ of the terrible scourge from which they were flying; and desolation found another field. Among the vast number of dead was Zwanga. The sceptre was seized by his eldest son Tangaxoan II., whose vacillating character was wholly unfit to cope with the exigencies of so critical a period. His first act, the assassination of his brothers on a flimsy charge of conspiracy, in order to secure the throne, served but to bring odium upon himself and defeat the proposed object by sowing the seeds of disloyalty.[2] Again came envoys from Mexico to urge alliance, but before the king could recover from the pressure of other affairs, or bring his mind to a determination, the crushing intelligence of the fall of Mexico solved all doubt.

Among the men sent forth by Cortés to gather information about the countries adjoining his conquest, and to open the path for invasion, was a soldier named Parrillas, a good talker, and full of fun, who had become a favorite among the natives, and was rapidly acquiring their language. Accompanied by some of them, for the purpose of foraging, he had

[1] Ixtlilxochitl assumes that Zwanga had before this decided on avoiding the Aztecs. See *Native Races*, v. 525–6.

[2] Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 132–3, believes that the youngest brother was spared. *La Rea, Crónica*, MS.

entered Matlaltzinco, a province lying north-west of the lakes. He was induced to go further, however, and reached the border of Michoacan, where the natives gathered in crowds to gaze upon the pale-faced hero who had achieved such wonders in Mexico.[3] His stories, magnified by the interpreters, increased their astonishment, and on his return two Tarascans accompanied him to feast their eyes on Spanish greatness, and to substantiate the accounts of the wealth of Michoacan with specimens of precious metal. Cortés was delighted, and sought to impress them with parades and sham fights, wherein horse and cannon played an imposing *rôle*, and with other evidences of his irresistible power.

Cortés wished to know more about their country, and on going they were followed by Montaño, the volcano explorer, with three comrades, a number of Mexican and Tlascaltec nobles, and interpreters. He carried a number of gewgaws for presents, and was instructed to make his way to the presence of the king, and carefully observe the political and economical features. Impressed by the report of the two Tarascans, the governor of the frontier fortress of Tangimaroa came forth with a large retinue to welcome the embassy,[4] on its way to Tzintzuntzan, the capital. All along the route natives thronged to behold the strangers, who were everywhere treated with distinction. On approaching the capital they were met by an immense procession, headed by several hundred leading nobles, and by them conducted, after the usual tender of flowers and speeches, to large and

[3] Herrera relates that a soldier named Villadiego had already penetrated to this kingdom shortly before, by order of Cortés, but was never heard of again. His guides were supposed to have killed him for his trinkets. dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. iii. Mercator, 1569, *Mechoacan;* Laet, 1633, *Mechoacan,* province and city, with *Guayangareo, Maltepeque, Taximaroa; West-Ind. Spieghel,* 1624, *Mechoacha;* Jefferys, *Mechoacan,* state and city, with *Zurzonza,* etc.; *Gobelschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast,* MS., ii. 476.

[4] The governor even offered his submission, according to Herrera, 'y que crehia, q̄ aquel gran señor (his king) embiaria presto sus embaxadores a Cortés, ofreciendole su persona, casa y Reyno.' *Id.* He leaves the intimation that Montaño went after the Tarascans had left; others make him join their party.

strangely built quarters, where a banquet was served amid great clash of instruments. The king, who had looked on for a moment, came soon after, and, waving

EXPEDITION OF MONTAÑO.

them back, demanded with a stern voice who they were, and what they sought.[5] Though startled at

[5] 'Perchance your own land yields not enough subsistence, and so you come

first by this change of tone, Montaño recovered himself, and proceeded to dilate on the peaceful mission of his countrymen, their power, and the advantages to accrue to Michoacan from intercourse with them. The Mexicans were destroyed because of their treachery. None could withstand the Spaniards, aided as they were by their God. To this the Mexican nobles with him could bear witness. The king seemed impressed, no less by the words than by the fearless attitude which the Spaniards had made an effort to maintain, and he retired with softened mien.

The envoys found themselves closely watched, and restricted by the guard to certain narrow limits within the quarter. For eighteen days no notice appeared to be taken of them by the king or courtiers, who were all this time occupied in celebrating a religious festival. Referring to their own customs, the Mexicans expressed the fear that at the close of it all the party would be sacrificed to the idols, and this was confirmed by more than one hint. On the last day four of the Mexican nobles were summoned to the presence of the king, and suspecting that he was in doubt about the course to pursue and wished to sound these men, Montaño sent the most intelligent, and impressed upon them the necessity, for their own safety, to dwell on the invincible prowess of the Spaniards; their generosity to friends, and the terrible retaliation that would be exacted if any harm came to the envoys, though even the four soldiers of their party sufficed to brave a whole army, controlling as they did the lightning itself. So well did the nobles act their part that the court was thoroughly awed, and after being entertained with the honor due their rank, they returned and reassured their comrades. The leader of the council[6] had not failed to represent it a

to seek it here. What did the Mexicans that you should destroy them? Think you perhaps to do so with me? But know that my arms were never conquered!' *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 16.

[6] Pirowan-Quencandari, as Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes him to be. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 521.

dishonor to kill an envoy who had come on a peaceful mission, and it certainly might prove most dangerous. The consequence was that the king appeared soon after before the Spaniards with a large retinue, all adorned with flowers, yet armed and gesticulating as if about to charge the envoy. A large quantity of game food was brought, and thereupon the monarch addressed the Spaniards. He apologized for detaining them so long, and pleaded the exigencies of the festival. Since it would be unsafe for them to advance farther into the interior, they should return to their leader with the offer of his allegiance, which he would soon present in person.

The following day twenty carriers appeared with parting gifts of curiously wrought stools, embroidered fabrics and robes, and gold and silver ware. The latter, valued at a hundred thousand castellanos,[7] was placed in the middle of the room, and declared to be for Cortés; the other presents piled in four lots, in the different corners of the room, were for the four envoys. The king extended a farewell, and recommended to Montaño's care eight prominent nobles whom he wished to accompany him. Soon afterward he sent to demand from the Spaniards the greyhound owned by Peñalosa, for it had taken the royal fancy. None wished to lose the faithful animal, but it was thought prudent to yield, without accepting the compensation offered. Fearing that the royal fancy might seek wider indulgence, the envoys hastened to depart, attended by several hundred carriers to convey their presents and provisions. Two days later they learned that the hound had been sacrificed amid solemn festivities, as one possessed of human intelligence, thus to appease the wrath of the idols, whose appetite for Christian blood had evidently been whetted.

Cortés gave the party a demonstrative welcome,[8]

[7] For a description of the presents see *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. vi.

[8] Among others the interpreter was rewarded with the caciqueship of Xocotitlan.

and in order to duly impress the Tarascan nobles he received them in full state, richly dressed and seated in an arm-chair, with his officers standing on either side. They delivered the message of their king, who would soon personally place himself and his kingdom at the disposal of the white chief. Cortés assured them that it was well, for he would war upon all who failed to submit.[9] After entertaining them for a few days with sham fights and similar impressive scenes, he distributed some presents and sent them home, accompanied by two Spaniards, who were instructed to penetrate to the shores of the great sea that was said to extend beyond Michoacán.

So alluring seemed the report of the nobles to their sovereign that he felt inclined to hasten and behold for himself the wonderful stranger; but his fears being roused by the council, with allusions to the fate of killed or captive princes of Mexico, he was induced to send instead his surviving brother Huiziltzin,[10] well provided with presents, and attended by a large retinue, including more than a thousand servants.[11] Cortés received him with great pomp, and seated him by his side, although but half content with the assurance of the king's early visit;[12] nor were the presents equal to those tendered before.[13] This induced him

[9] *Cartas*, 258. He as well as Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 217, writes as if this were the first notice of Michoacan.

[10] Herrera says Vehichilzi. According to the *Relacion de los Ritos*, MS., the Tarascan form of this Mexican name was Cuini-Aguangari. Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that his cousin Aguiga was sent, but his account varies so much from the explicit statements of Cortés, and from other sources, that his entire version becomes doubtful.' In another place he calls Aguiga the brother. He is too ready to give credit to obscure manuscripts, rather than to Spanish standard authorities. Prescott, *Mex.*, iii. 236; Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 11; and Zamacois, *Hist. Mex.*, iv. 66–8, 71–2, are all loose or confused with regard to the different embassies to and from Michoacan. Ixtlilxochitl alludes only to one, and assumes a share in the offers for his namesake. *Hor. Crueldades*, 55.

[11] 'Y muchos caballeros que llevaron otras tantas.' *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.* iii. 40.

[12] Brasseur, who allows Olid to invade Michoacan before this, causes the prince to invent a story of the king's death, and procures from Cortés a promise of the appointment of another brother as successor. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 533.

[13] Of alloyed gold, 5,000 pesos de oro; alloyed silver, 1,000 marks, all in jewelry and plate; and fabrics, feathers, etc. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap.

probably to make the display of Spanish strength more impressive than usual, and during the cannonading a tower was demolished to prove the efficiency of the lightning-boxes, although the ruins of the capital spoke volumes in themselves, impregnable as the city had ever been regarded. The prince, indeed, shed tears of compassion as he beheld the desolate capital.

On hearing from his brother what he had seen, and how well he had been treated, the king concluded to redeem his promise and visit Cortés as had been desired. To this end he prepared a large amount of presents, for Huiziltzin had been made to understand that by these would be measured the attentions he might receive, and the concessions for his kingdom, now menaced by an expedition already preparing at Mexico. The latter, indeed, proved the main impulse for the visit, by which the conqueror was to be conciliated. His retinue and march befitted those of a king, and couriers were sent daily to report at Mexico his advance. Cortés came forth with a brilliant escort, and as they met, the clash of music celebrated the meeting, wherein Tangaxoan offered himself as vassal to the Spanish sovereign, and won admiration by the brilliancy of his gifts. While his suite appeared in rich attire, he himself was clad in humble garments, in token of submission.[14] He was lodged in the palace at Coyuhuacan, and feasted with Spanish dishes, the wine greatly delighting him. In addition to the usual military spectacles, a brigantine was launched in his presence, followed by an excursion on the lake, no less novel to him than it had been to Montezuma. Before leaving, he promised to open his kingdom to any colonists who might wish to settle, and to extend his protection to them.

viii. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 217, allows Olid afterward to receive these or similar presents.

[14] 'De dõde los Mexicanos...le llamaron Cazonzin, que significa alpargate viego.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. viii. But this name was a title, as fully explained in *Native Races*, v. 516, 525; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 91; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 78.

Cortés would before this have sent troops to secure possession of so promising a country, but pressing affairs intervened, such as the arrival of Tapia, and it was not till the middle of 1522[15] that he despatched Olid with seventy cavalry, two hundred infantry, and a number of allies, who also assisted in conveying the artillery.[16] If the country proved as desirable as represented, he was to form a settlement at Tzintzuntzan,[17] and investigate the resources.

On arriving at Tangimaroa, the troops found the people occupied with a religious celebration, arrayed in their finest dresses and adornments. The display proved too tempting for the greedy soldiers, and jewelry and other valuables were extorted and stolen, in addition to other outrages, wherein the allies took a prominent part. The people actually rose to hostile demonstrations, but a volley from the arquebusiers, followed by a charge from the no less dreaded horses, put them to flight, the leaders being captured.[18] These were reassured by Olid, who pretended to deplore the outrage, and now sent them to the king with peaceful protestations. Tangaxoan was not a little startled by the reports, and with the vision of the smoking ruins of Mexico before his eyes, dark forebodings crept upon him. His council was equally perplexed. Some of the members, headed by Timagé, the king's uncle, urged resistance to the last rather

[15] No account is given of an expedition in the letter of May 1522, only of the visit of the king's brother; but in the relation of October 1524 he speaks of it, and so early therein as to indicate that it was sent not long after the despatch of the previous letter. *Cartas*, 275. 'Algunos meses despues de vuelto el Rey,' says Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 49; but it is probable that the king did not come until the expedition had entered Michoacan. Alegre assumes that it accompanied the king's brother, but this is too early. *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 92, although according well with Bernal Diaz' loose intimation. *Hist. Verdad.*, 159.

[16] Gomara reduces the force to 40 horse and 100 foot. *Hist. Mex.*, 217, and Ixtlilxochitl adds 5,000 Tezcucans. *Hor. Crueldades*, 55.

[17] It is frequently referred to by the Mexican name of Huitzitzitla, and its corrupt forms of Chincicila, etc.

[18] Brasseur de Bourbourg places this occurrence wrongly before the king's brother is sent to Mexico, and assumes that as soon as news arrives of their approach a regular army is sent by the king to repel the invaders. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 526.

than to yield their liberty to the destroyers of Tenochtitlan; others counselled a retreat to some stronghold till circumstances should indicate the proper course, for after the submission tendered, and the peaceful assurances of the invaders, resistance might stir these demons to desolate the whole country. Concerned chiefly for his own safety, the irresolute Tangaxoan hastened with a portion of his family to seek refuge at Uruapan, instructing his confidants to spread the rumor that he had been drowned.

Meanwhile Olid advanced on the capital, and although Timagé had sought to rouse the people to defence by bloody sacrifices to the idols, and other measures, yet their hearts failed, and a delegation was sent to welcome the army, and conduct it to the palace. Encouraged by the success at Tangimaroa, the soldiers and allies were not slow to again follow their rapacious bent, and, a good pretext being found in the idolatrous practices to be seen on every side, they began with a raid on the temples; a number of these edifices were fired, while in others a destruction of idols completed the pillage. These excesses were promoted by the flight of a large proportion of the inhabitants, particularly the women and children, after looking in vain for any manifestations of the divine wrath which such desecration seemed to challenge. Private dwellings were now broken into, and while some of the burglars turned into ghouls, to increase their spoils with presents consecrated to the dead, others spread over the neighborhood to continue the raid in fresh fields.[19]

While not unwilling to permit a certain amount of

[19] In the *Relacion de los Ritos*, MS., the spoils of gold and silver and ornaments are estimated at forty cofferfuls in one place, at twenty in another, etc. As for Cortés, he mentions merely a gift of 3,000 marks in silver, and 5,000 pesos de oro. *Cartas*, 275. The army naturally kept the larger part, and the leaders did not think it advisable to expose the excesses of their men, even Cortés being content to share with them and keep quiet. Gomara lowers even Cortés' estimate of the treasure received. *Hist. Mex.*, 217. Herrera and Beaumont abstain from mentioning any figures. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 532, assumes that the king's brother, or cousin, as he at times calls him, is sent with a portion of the spoils to Mexico, on the first visit, which Cortés dates long before Olid is despatched to that region.

pillage, wherein he might share, Olid thought it both dangerous and impolitic to go too far, and accordingly took strict measures to check the disorder. The soldiers considered this rather an unwarrantable interference, and rose in open mutiny. This was quelled, and the ringleaders received due punishment; but harmony could not be restored, and the majority loudly protested against remaining in garrison duty supported only by repartimientos, while their comrades at Mexico were preparing to invade the rich regions to the south. Their minds were still too much occupied with the acquisition of treasures to rest content with the quiet life of encomenderos, and since the gold and silver in the Tzintzuntzan district had been well-nigh exhausted, the country possessed no further attraction. So energetic were the protests that Cortés gave orders to abandon the colony, those desiring to return to Mexico being permitted to do so; the rest were ordered to Zacatula.[20] It was not his intention, however, to abandon so promising a region, or to lose control of a powerful monarch, and some time later he sent Olid again to reëstablish the settlement, though not to remain in charge, since more trouble might arise with the colonists. The control was assigned to Andrés de Tapia, assisted by a municipality appointed by Cortés himself, and while Olid passed on to install a similar body at Zacatula, that officer proceeded to reconcile the Tarascans to the return of the white men, promising that no outrages should again mar their intercourse. The promises brought from Cortés reassured Tangaxoan, and under

[20] *Cortés, Cartas*, 276. 'Pacificamẽte se fue entreteniẽdo por algũ tiẽpo,' says *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xi., adding that Olid sought to introduce intercourse and culture. This vagueness assists Brasseur de Bourbourg to assume that the colony remained, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 538, contrary to Cortés' positive statement, supported also by Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 49, though the latter adds, 'sin tener lugar de poblar.' Cortés would never acknowledge the abandonment of the only colony in a rich kingdom, unless obliged by truth to do so. Zamacois goes so far as to appoint a municipality which remains in the country, *Hist. Méj.*, iv. 74; but he anticipates, as will be seen. Bernal Diaz assumes that Olid was anxious to return to his newly wedded wife at Mexico. *Hist. Verdad.*, 161, 164.

his protection the colonists began actively to engage in mining. With Cortés' departure for Honduras, and the consequent disorders at Mexico, the king again took alarm, and sought to restrict the coming of the settlers, though no serious difficulties occurred.[21]

One of the most alluring pieces of information brought by the many embassies which tendered homage at the feet of the victor was the existence of a great sea to the south-west. The report thereof roused in Cortés a series of tumultuous feelings, intensified by the dazzling result of Vasco Nuñez' famous discovery. Visions arose of pearl and spice islands, of long extended shores cut by Pactolean streams, of the veiled Indies, of a strait to the south or north through which the fleets of Spain should bear away the prize of Oriental trade, and enrich her people—this and more dreamt the great conqueror as he figured himself the laurel-crowned hero of the age.[22]

The first attempt to gather information about the sea appears to have been through the two Spaniards who accompanied the Michoacan envoys to their country. Immediately after, two small parties were despatched to the south and south-west, one of them reaching the sea of Tehuantepec, each taking possession for the king and church, planting there the cross. The rumor had preceded them of the achievements of white men in overthrowing the feared Aztecs, and everywhere the explorers received marked attention, proof of the same being brought to Mexico in costly presents of gold and pearls, and in specimens of choice

[21] Alluding to these objections, Contador Albornoz urges the arrest of the king and his supporters. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 71–2; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 502–3. This restriction is probably at the bottom of the statement in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 89, that all traces of a rich mine discovered in 1525 were soon after lost. This may be identical with the 'sierra de plata' of the royal cédula in *Puga, Cedulario*, 24. 'Y siempre quedaron amigos,' is Herrera's concluding allusion to Tangaxoan. dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvii.

[22] 'Y estaba muy ufano, porque me parecia que en la descubrir se hacia á V. M. muy grande y señalado servicio.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 259.

products from the provinces through which they passed.[23] To Cortés these valuables served to stimulate the desire for exploration by which a strait might be disclosed, and a route found to the Orient, and with this object he sent another party to examine the coast for a suitable harbor, with timber for ship-building convenient.[24] This was found at the mouth of Rio Zacatula, in the province of Zacatollan,[25] and Villafuerte[26] was thereupon sent with fully forty Spaniards, chiefly shipwrights, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and sailors, to form a settlement, and build two caravels and two brigantines, the former for sea expeditions, the others for coast exploration. A large number of allies joined, especially such as had been trained in work connected with the building of the first fleet.[27] Some were employed in carrying spikes, cordage, sails, and other material from Vera Cruz and Mexico. The colony was reënforced from the abandoned settlement at Tzintzuntzan, and became now the head-quarters for

[23] In *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. ii., Juan del Valle is mentioned as the discoverer of Tehuantepec, for which he obtained a coat of arms. In dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvii., a discovery expedition to Tehuantepec under Guillen de la Loa, Castillo, Alferez Roman Lopez, and two others, is spoken of as if subsequent to the above, their route being through Zapotecapan, along Chiapas, and through Soconusco, a distance of 400 leagues. Chico and three others are said to have explored the coast from Tehuantepec to Zacatula, but this is doubtful, since the intermediate Tutupec was hostile. Others sent through Jalisco never returned. Cortés states that his two parties numbered two Spaniards each, but they may have been leaders, and were certainly accompanied by Indians. They appear to have returned before the end of October. *Cartas*, 259, 262. In *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 118–19, Juan de Umbría is said to have been leader of one party. On his return he was imprisoned for two years on the charge of having omitted Cortés' name in taking possession of the sea. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 219, assumes that two parties went through Michoacan, and Prescott hastily amplifies the achievements of one party, although the chroniclers never mention even what became of it. *Mex.*, iii. 237.

[24] According to Herrera this should have been the Chico party, but it is doubtful.

[25] *Native Races*, ii. 109. Mercator, 1574, has *Cacatula; Munich Atlas*, vi., *Cacatola*, same name a little farther north; Ogilby, 1671, *Zacatula;* Laet, 1633, *R. Zacatula* and *Zacatula* city; Jefferys, 1776, *Zacatela*, province and city; Kiepert, *Sacatula. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 384.

[26] Evidently Juan Rodriguez, the leading brigantine captain, vol. i. 615, though Bernal Diaz alludes to him as if he were a different man. *Panes*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 59.

[27] Chiefly Tezcucans, says Ixtlilxochitl, *Rel.* 429. Zurita speaks of oppression and hardships to which these allies were subjected. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 414.

Spanish forces in the south-west. Additional men were brought by Olid in connection with his second expedition to Michoacan,[28] including the municipal officers appointed by Cortés, and the town was now formally established on the site already chosen, a league and a half from the sea,[29] and named Zacatula, after the river. One reason for Olid's coming was to aid in reducing to obedience the Indians who had been appropriated in repartimientos, but who had refused to pay tribute, and even killed several collectors.

The emperor had expressed great interest in the projects opened by the discovery of the South Sea beyond New Spain, and by cédula of June 1523 he enjoined Cortés to hasten the search for a strait.[30] The latter needed no prompting, but the building of the vessels progressed slowly, owing to the difficulty and delay attending the furnishing of certain material. Finally, when this was obtained, a fire reduced nearly everything to ashes.[31] Without being in the least discouraged, Cortés hastened to repair the loss, and toward the end of 1524 such progress had been made that he expressed the hope of despatching the vessels in the middle of the following year. "With them, God willing, I shall make Your Majesty lord of more kingdoms and seignories than are as yet known to our nation."[32] The search for the strait should receive the first attention, however, since the sovereign so desired it, for by it the route to the Spice Islands would

[28] 'Mas de cie Españoles, y quarenta de cauallo, y Mechuacaneses.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 220. Bernal Diaz reduces the force to 45 men. *Hist. Verdad.*, 167. On the way he was attacked and suffered a loss of two killed and 15 wounded. Herrera makes the force larger than Gomara, and allows Villafuerte to come at the same time. dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvii.

[29] Herrera, *Id.*, cap. xviii., associates Simon de Cuenca with Villafuerte as a leading man.

[30] In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xxiii. 366–7.

[31] 'Me cuestan hoy los navíos, sin haberlos echado al agua, mas de ocho mil pesos de oro, sin otras cosas extraordinarias,' says Cortés in his letter of October, 1524. *Cartas*, 308. Testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 27, etc., assumes that the delays were on purpose, since Cortés had built the ships as a means to escape from the country with his embezzled millions.

[32] 'No le quedará á V. Excels. mas que hacer para ser monarca del mundo.' *Cartas*, 308.

be greatly shortened.[33] While hopeful that it would be found he suggested that the trade might in any case be secured by this western route, if New Spain were made the entrepôt, goods being readily conveyed overland by the aid of the natives.[34] The departure of Cortés for Honduras, in pursuit both of Olid and the strait, delayed the proposed expeditions by sea, although the smallest vessel was sent by one of the officials on a short vain search for certain islands which aboriginal tradition placed to the south.[35] It was but the delay of bitter disappointment.

On the disbandment of the first colonists in Michoacan, those destined for Zacatula set forth in that direction under Álvarez Chico,[36] to the number of a hundred foot and forty horse, and a force of Mexican and Tarascan auxiliaries. On the way they received confirmatory accounts of the wealth of Colima, a province extending along the South Sea to the north of Zacatula, and of which glowing rumors had reached them at Tzintzuntzan. They were in search of treasures, not of garrison life at Zacatula, and so without permission they turned aside to enter the coveted province.[37] A dispute arising, a portion of the forces

[33] The interesting speculations concerning the strait, its position and value, and the expeditions to which the search gave rise, are fully treated in *Hist. North Mex. States*. See also *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.

[34] *Cortés, Cartas*, 315. The means and desirability are more fully entered into by Albornoz, *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 62–3, and Oviedo, iii. 466. The route would present less difficulties than that used by the Venetians.

[35] Albornoz, ubi sup., intimates that had he been given the power to send the vessels forth, the route to the Spice Islands, and perhaps richer lands, would by this time have been discovered. Besides the brigantine, two larger vessels lay prepared before the close of 1525.

[36] A man who figured prominently on the first arrival of the Spaniards at Villa Rica. See vol. i. chap. ix. So Bernal Diaz calls him in one place, while in another he applies the name Juan Velazquez Chico, *Hist. Verdad.*, 159–60, 166–7, which Panes transforms into el Chico. *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 59. Beaumont adopts the Velazquez form, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 502, and Gil, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 475–6, attempts to show that no Álvarez Chico exists, though Mota Padilla adopts the name. *Hist. N. Gal.*, 69. See also *Hernandez*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép. ii. 478; iii. 187.

[37] Mota Padilla assumes that Ivarez was specially commissioned by Cortés to undertake the conquest. Several follow him, though they place the date earlier than his 1526. But Cortés clearly indicates the version of my text,

separated from the main body, and, proceeding by a different route under Ávalos, they obtained the coöperation of several caciques,[38] who were dissatisfied with the king of Colima, and extended their raid over a large tract, notably the northern region which in honor of the leader obtained the name of Ávalos' province.[39] Álvarez had meanwhile, with more ambitious views, advanced by a southern route on the capital, only to be waylaid in a ravine by the allied forces under Zoma and Capaya, caciques of Jicotlan and Autlan, and to be driven back with considerable loss;[40] whereupon he hurried crestfallen upon his original mission to Zacatula.[41]

Informed of the disaster, as well as of the hostility of Impilcingo, a province between Zacatula and Colima, which had probably been stirred by the Spanish defeat, Cortés sent the able Olid with twenty-five horsemen and about eighty foot-soldiers,[42] to chastise this province, restore order in Zacatula, and, reënforced by a part of its troops, to subjugate Colima. The rugged nature of the country, which made cavalry useless, and the warlike spirit of the

without naming the officer. *Cartas*, 276. Bernal Diaz gives the name, and agrees upon the time. The main cause for the general confusion of writers is Herrera. An analysis of the main historians reveals his errors. dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xi. xvii.; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 29–31. Mercator, 1569, *Colima; Munich Atlas*, xii., 1571, *Collima*, repeated northward; Ogilby, 1671, *Colima;* Dampier, 1679, *V. Colima;* Laet, 1633, *Colima;* same in *West-Ind. Spieghel, Colom*, Jefferys; Kiepert writes volcano and city. *Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 472.

[38] Such as those of Zapotlan and Sayula.

[39] *Mota Padilla*, loc. cit.; *Gil*, ubi sup. Jacotepec, Zacoalco, and Axixic, appear among the subjected districts. The chief inducement for joining the Spaniards was to escape the heavy tribute to the king, one third of all produce.

[40] Three Spaniards and many allies. *Cortés, Cartas*, 276. Gomara, followed by Herrera and Beaumont, throw on Olid the blame for this operation. 'Peleo muchos dias. Al cabo quedo vẽcido,' etc. *Hist. Mex.*, 220. Tello names the allies who supported the king, all of which Mota Padilla reproduces. *Conq. N. Gal.*, 69. Beaumont differs somewhat in regard to the allies. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 502. Owing to their confusion about early events little reliance can be placed on the names connected with the invasion.

[41] Not to Mexico as the above writers assume. 'Sabido por mí, mandé traer preso al capitan, y le castigué.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 276. Success would have obtained reward for the disobedience. Ávalos is said to have held out in his district, but this is uncertain.

[42] Herrera, followed by Beaumont and others, gives the same force as Cortés, but places it under Sandoval. dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvii.

mountaineers, prevented success in Impilcingo,[43] and he passed on to Zacatula. Increasing his force to about twice its original strength, he thereupon marched on Colima. After a hotly contested battle at Alima, he compelled the king and his allies to retire to the mountains,[44] with heavy loss. The rest of the country hastened to submit[45] and to assure possession he founded a town named Coliman after the country, for which Cortés appointed a municipality. Olid thereupon returned with a rich booty, including some pearls, Ávalos being left in charge of the colony, numbering about one hundred and fifty Spaniards, and a force of allies.[46] As in Michoacan, the settlers speedily grew discontented at the rapid dwindling of the much lauded wealth of the country, and many deserted. This encouraged the still hostile royalists in the mountains, and when the remaining colonists demanded their tribute from the repartimientos they found most of the natives united in a general revolt.[47] An appeal for aid was made to Cortés, and this time he despatched Sandoval, who so effectually suppressed the revolt that none was ever again attempted.[48]

This conquest opened the gate to the fertile regions northward, since known as Nueva Galicia, extending from the east in a succession of green plains and smiling

[43] 'Le mataron dos soldados, y le hirieron quinze, e todauia les venció,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 167, contrary to Cortés, *Cartas*, 287.

[44] Bernal Diaz believes that Álvarez perished during the campaign, perhaps in the battle, and Beaumont assumes heavy losses for the Spaniards. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 158. Cortés acknowledges only wounded. Minotlacoya, lord of Zapotlan, appears to have fallen while aiding the Spaniards.

[45] Including Aliman, Colimonte, Ceguatan, says Cortés. Herrera gives varied spelling, and adds Impilcingo.

[46] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvii.

[47] 'Y los pocos soldados que estaban. . .tomaron refugiarse en las provincias de Ávalos,' adds Mota Padilla. *Hist. N. Gal.*, 69.

[48] Bernal Diaz places this expedition in the autumn of 1522, and boasts that Sandoval took with him a mere handful of veterans. *Hist. Verdad.*, 167; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 93. Salazar, *Hist. Conq.*, 95, swells the number a little. Herrera's final episode under Olid and Villafuerte is entirely out of place, and has helped to increase the general confusion among later writers. Villafuerte does not appear to have approached Colima. His knowledge of ships and ship-building caused him to be sent in command of the first colony to Zacatula, some time before the disbanded colony from Michoacan made the first entry into Colima.

valleys, watered by numerous streams which expand at intervals into a series of the finest lakes in all these parallels. On the west the Sierra Madre rises in picturesque outlines to form a sheltering barrier, and beyond it the more rugged region of Chimalhuacan descends to meet the southern sea. Ávalos was gradually extending his limits into this country, allured by its natural beauty and resources, and when Olid returned to Mexico from his campaign he brought a most glowing report, confirmed by a glittering display of pearls. A little beyond Colima, he said, were several rich provinces, and ten days' journey to the northwest an island rich in gold and pearls, inhabited solely by women, who permitted only occasional visits from men, and ruthlessly cast forth all male children born among them.[49] He also reported that there was a fine port in this region, doubtless the later Navidad. Tales so interesting must be investigated, and in the middle of 1524,[50] when he found his hands somewhat free, Cortés resolved to seize so promising a region, and to this end commissioned a kinsman, Francisco Cortés[51] as one trustworthy, to overrun and subdue it. In view of the importance of the expedition, minute instructions were issued. No attack was to be made, save in extreme cases, peaceful submission having to be sought with promises and gifts; a general disregard for pearls and gold should be affected, so as the more readily to acquire information about the condition and riches of the country,[52] and

[49] 'Relacion de los señores de la provincia de Ceguatan,' adds Cortés to excuse his evident belief in the Amazon story. *Cartas*, 288. Gomara suggests that it may have originated from the name of a district there, Cihuatlan, meaning place of women. *Hist. Mex.*, 220–1; *Oviedo*, iii. 447–8.

[50] Mota Padilla, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 70, followed by Gil and Hernandez, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 476, 2da ép. ii. 479, give the date 1526–7, but the instructions of Cortés are dated 1524, and he alludes to such an expedition two months before his departure for Honduras. *Cartas*, 491; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 149–53. Francisco Cortés figured besides during 1525–6 as representative for this north-west region, as will be seen later.

[51] 'De San Buenaventura.' *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 480. Some sort of cousin, no doubt, though Gil hastily calls him nephew.

[52] 'Porque no lo escondieren creyendo que lo terneis en poco.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 157.

finally, when the mask was thrown aside, the treasures disclosed by this artifice should be secured.[53] Invested with the power and rank of alcalde mayor of Colima, and of governor's lieutenant, Francisco Cortés set out with about eighty men, twenty-five having horses,[54] and, after passing through Colima and Autlan, he crossed the Sierra Madre range to Ameca and Etzatlan, after defeating the natives in one or two encounters, and intimidating the rest into submission.[55]

The main object being exploration, Francisco advanced north-westward through Istlan and Ahuacatlan.[56] A little further at Tetitlan a numerous army was met under Hujicar and easily vanquished, though with the loss of one Spaniard. This had a salutary effect on the districts beyond, notably Jalisco, well known for its opulence and beauty, which was ruled at the time by a queen, during the minority of her son. She hastened to send an invitation to the powerful strangers, and came forth herself in state to welcome them at an arbor embellished with flowers, half a league from the town. Her warriors here formed a circle, and game being driven in from the neighborhood, they exhibited their skill in bringing it down, and tendered the result to the guests. This performance was followed by

[53] The instructions are given in full in *Pacheco*, ubi sup., and *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*.

[54] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, loc. cit. Mota Padilla makes it a round 100, and allows friars Padilla and Boloña and Br. Villadiego to join. *Hist. N. Gal.*, 70. But they had not yet arrived in New Spain.

[55] 'Hobo ciertos recuentros, y apaciguó muchos dellos,' says Cortés briefly. *Cartas*, 492. One version, followed by Navarrete, *Hist. Jal.*, 24, assumes that Capaya was defeated at Autlan, but Mota Padilla writes that ruggedness of country offered the sole obstacle. Etzatlan, he adds, was given in encomienda to Juan de Escarcena, the second in command, it seems. A report of 1579 ascribes the conquest of Amecan, or more probably the encomiendaship, to Juan de Añesta, who is said to have arrived about 1528, and lived four or five years at Colima, enjoying there his tributes from Amecan. *Hernandez*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép., ii. 465–6. Among those who submitted is named Guaxicar, cacique of Xochitepec, later Magdalena.

[56] 'Donde quedó por encomendero Alonso Lopez,' says Mota Padilla; but this leaving of isolated men in semi-hostile countries is doubtful. He also assumes that Cortés committed so hazardous an act as to divide his forces the better to explore the country, and adds Mexpa and Zoatlan to the places visited. Gil assumes a detour back to Amecan before Istlan was reached, but this is scarcely possible.

religious ceremonies at the temple in the town, a pyramidal structure some sixty steps high, dedicated to Piltzinteolli, the 'child god,' to whom sacrifice was offered in simple fruit and flowers.[57] The army was lodged in the palace and its gardens, and welcomed by as many women as there were Spaniards. This thoughtful consideration on the part of the queen was not appreciated, for Francisco, after beholding the women, sent them back, and enjoined his men to observe good conduct. Assisted by a young neophyte from Father Gante's school, he thereupon sought to convert the queen, who professed great interest. Whether she was actually converted is not clear, but she certainly tendered an offer of allegiance.

Francisco Cortés did not find so much gold as he had expected, and although the provinces of Centizpac and Acaponeta, to the north of Tololotlan River,[58] were reported rich, he resolved to return along the coast.[59] After two days' march southward, he came upon an army of some twenty thousand warriors drawn up in battle-array, their bows adorned with little flags of cotton of different colors, though chiefly purple, a dye obtained from a shell-fish left by the retiring tide on the rocks. This appearance caused the Spaniards to name the locality Valle de Banderas.[60]

[57] A description of this curious temple, and the subject sacrifices, are given in *Native Races*, iii. 447–8.

[58] Rio Tololotlan, Santiago, or St Jago. Ogilby writes, 1671, *R. Baranica;* Dampier, 1699, *R. St Jago*, near its mouth *St Pecaque;* Laet, 1633, *S. Iago;* Jefferys, *R. Barania*, or *St Jago*, near by *Sintiquïpaque, Guaxacatlan;* Kiepert, 1852, *Rio St Jago Tololotlan.* It is also known as *Rio Grande*, and *de Lerma. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 532.

[59] Cortés had ordered him to proceed up the coast 150 to 200 leagues, but he went only 130, owing to insufficiency of force and grass. Ten days' journey beyond flowed a large river, probably a strait, of which curious things were said. Ports also existed. *Cartas*, 492. This distance covered no doubt the turnings of the route, and a stretch of imagination, and gives no idea of the point attained. Beaumont assumes that the army did go as far as Acaponeta, where Cacique Xonacatl peacefully submitted, convinced by oracles of the heavenly mission of the strangers. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 480–1. Mota Padilla allows Cortés to turn back, but he leaves at Jalisco the neophyte, Juan Francisco, to carry on the conversion till friars should be sent. Juan Aznar, of the party, offered to return with friars if the place were granted him in encomienda. This was done, but Aznar failed to come back. *Hist. N. Gal.*, 72.

[60] *Munich Atlas*, 1532–40; *Banderas;* Dampier, 1699, *Valderas;* Jefferys, 1776, *Banderas Bay, Valle de Banderas;* Kiepert, 1852, *B. Ameca.*

As they prepared for the encounter, with no little misgiving, in view of the number before them, bright lights are said to have emanated from the cross and the virgin image on the standard, whereupon the astonished natives became instantly quiet, and even followed the example of the soldiers, who knelt to render thanks for the miracle.[61]

At Tuito, to the south, they were met by a procession of natives bearing crosses in their hands. At their head marched the chief, dressed like a Dominican, while his followers wore a kind of scapulary, and had the hair cut like that of friars. As he approached, the chief kissed his cross, and thus reassured the soldiers, who at first held back on seeing that the Indians carried bows. All thereupon kissed the cross and fraternized; and questioned about the Christian-like ceremonies, the chief related that according to a tradition of their forefathers a water-house from across the sea had stranded on their shore. Fifty men landed from the wreck, and were hospitably received, introducing in return the dress and ceremonies observed. Finally their authoritative manner became unbearable, and one night all were surprised and slaughtered by the oppressed natives. Nevertheless the worship of the cross had proved so comforting and effective in time of trouble as to be retained.[62] After a brief stay, Francisco continued his march to Colima, there to maintain possession as lieutenant during the absence of his chief in Honduras.[63] On the return of the latter, preparations were made to resume the exploration, but obstacles interfered with the project,[64]

[61] *Mota Padilla, Hist. N. Gal.*, 73. Another version substitutes musketry, fire, and smoke for lights with which to startle the Indians into obedience.

[62] A rusted anchor, some nails, and a wooden cross were pointed out in proof of the story. *Id.*, 73–4. This authority believes the shipwrecked crew to have been Englishmen. Navarrete, *Hist. Jal.*, 27, gives the preference to Iberians. The reader may choose to regard the whole as a pious hoax.

[63] He attended the session of deputies at Mexico in 1525, as will be shown, during which time Avalos, or perhaps Chavez, as Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, MS., 245, asserts, held control. See also *Tello, Fragmentos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 359–60. Francisco was still in charge in 1527. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 149–50.

[64] Letter of Cortés, September 1526. *Cartas*, 492.

and nothing more is heard of this region for several years.[65]

[65] Supplementary list of authorities containing additional matter of more or less value relating to preceding chapters: *Puga, Cedulario*, 8, 20, 24, 43, 86; *Oviedo*, iii. 424–39, 446–8, 461–7; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 62, passim; xxvi. 149–59; *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 23–6, 42–51, 149–50; *Archivo Mex., Docs.*, i. 53, 157–8, 236–7, 417; ii. 118–19, 255–6; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 464–9; *Ramirez, Proceso*, 15; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 287–8; série ii. tom. v. 187; iii. 182; *Squier's MS.*, xix. 35–6; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 78–107; *Las Casas, Hist. Apolog.*, MS., 30–2; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 518–21; *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, ix. 427–9; *Monardes, Hist. Medic. Occid.*, 23 et seq.; *Moreno, Fragmentos*, 27–30; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 330–6, 347–50, 373–4, 382–5; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 4–6; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 1, 2; *Prescott's Mex.*, ii. 48–9; iii. 237–9, 270–2; also notes in Mex. editions; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 673–4, 691; *Helps' Cortés*, ii. 154–7; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 59; *Vetancvrt, Menologia*, 105; *Salazar y Olarte, Conq. Mex.*, 43–101; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 161–3, 191–3, app. 148–54; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, 16, 17; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 380–5, 516–72; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, 78–101; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, ii. 112; *Barcia, Hist. Prim.*, i. 171–3; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 80–1; *Jalisco, Mem. Hist.*, 20–3, 168; *Medina, Chrón. de San Diego de Mex.*, 245–6; *Rivero, Mex. in 1842*, 7–11; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, i. 251; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 11–15; *Voyages, Selection of Curious*, 31–2; *West-Indische Spieghel*, 268–73, 315–19; *Galvano's Discov.*, 151–2; *Santos, Chronologia Hospitalaria*, ii. 489–90; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 468, 478–9; iv. 640–2; vi. 197–204; vii. 160–1, 187–8; viii. 475, 477, 532; *30th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Com. Rept. 145*, pp. 128–32; *Nic. Municip. Independ.*, 8; *Orozco y Berra, Geog.*, 276; *Stevens' Notes*, 45; *Overland Monthly*, xiii. 365–7; *Findlay's Directory*, i. 259–60; ii. 132–3; *Cortesii, von dem Neuen Hispanien*, ii. 46–5; *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, x. 253–83; *Spaggiari, Libel Bimest*, xxxix.–xlviii.; *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 702–4; *Burney's Hist. Voy.*, i. 119; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 733–5; iv. 65–90, 177–8, 307–8, 383–5, 507; *Carriedo, Estudios Hist.*, 92; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 49; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, ii. 195; *Harris, Col. Voy.*, i. 272–3; *Giordan, L'Isthme Tehuan.*, 12–14; *Bussierre, L'Emp. Mex.*, 331–49.

CHAPTER IV.

TAPIA'S DISCOMFITURE.

1521–1522.

VELAZQUEZ STILL LONGING FOR MEXICO—A GOVERNOR SENT FROM SPAIN—INTRIGUES OF TAPIA—COUNTER-INTRIGUES—CONFERENCE OF CEMPOALA—THE CLAIMANT OUSTED—BONO DE QUEJO'S MISSION—REVOLT OF THE AZTECS—A TERRIBLE LESSON—CONSPIRACIES AGAINST CORTÉS—NARVAEZ AT HIS FEET.

IN the midst of these operations, tending to the increase of Spanish dominion, and as Cortés was about to despatch a force to take possession of that bone of contention, Pánuco,[1] in the beginning of December 1521, startling information arrived from Villa Rica which caused the postponement of the expedition, and any other movements involving a diminution of available forces. Velazquez had never for an instant relaxed his efforts to overthrow the ambitious lieutenant who had robbed him of the gain and glory connected with the conquest of New Spain, and as reports grew eloquent on its immense extent and resources, his efforts increased, as did the number and zeal of his party, stimulated by shares in all these riches. It is even said that he projected a descent in person on New Spain, with a fleet of seven or eight vessels. He must have been encouraged by the assurances of malcontents who had been allowed to return to Cuba, after the Tepeaca campaign, and who affirmed that the presence of the governor of Cuba, supported by profuse promises of favors and

[1] For this, 25 horsemen and 150 foot-soldiers stood prepared. *Cortés, Cartas*, 264.

grants, would be sufficient to win back to his standard the troops of Narvaez, which formed the majority of the army of Cortés. These would swell his forces to irresistible proportions, and taught by the mistakes of Narvaez, he would have no difficulty in defeating Cortés, and reaping the results of his intrigues and campaigns. While all this was alluring, the governor had too great a regard for his portly form to willingly expose it to the skill of Cortés, and yet it would be useless to intrust a lieutenant with the expedition. Whether this prudent consideration was sufficient to cause the abandonment of the project, is not clear, but it certainly was abandoned.[2]

The friends of Cortés had not failed to point out to the emperor the necessity of sustaining so energetic and able a captain in his efforts to extend the domains and revenue of the crown, and since the argument was supported by the eloquent plea of golden treasures, his Majesty felt induced to take a lenient view of the offence committed. While not exactly approving it, he left the case in the hands of his council, to be decided by future circumstances.[3] Occupied with the affairs of his German empire, he gave comparatively little attention to discoveries in the remote west, and the India Council managed these interests according to its pleasure. While this body was controlled by the regency, Cardinal Adrian was too much distracted by nuncial affairs, particularly the *comunidad* troubles, to exercise fully his authorty. During the varying course of Cortés' suit, therefore, Fonseca, as president of the council, managed to direct the inflowing testimony to his own advantage, identical with that of his protégé, and prevailed on his associates not to let the unscrupulous Cortés pro-

[2] Oviedo, iii. 540, states that the expedition did start, but on coming in sight of Yucatan the timid counsels of Licentiate Parada so alarmed Velazquez that he turned back, 'con infamia suya y con mucho gasto y pérdida.' Herrera also intimates that the fleet sailed. dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xviii. But the affair is nevertheless involved in doubt.

[3] See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 173, this series.

ceed wholly unchecked in a career which, so dishonestly begun, might lead to disloyal acts. The previous efforts of the president to obtain the appointment of an agent to assume at least partial control of the new region, and investigate the question, had failed on the ground that such interference might endanger the progress of conquest, or even drive the leader to desperate measures prejudicial to the crown. Now the emperor was absent, however, and Fonseca carried his point by issuing a commission to his adherent, Cristóbal de Tapia, inspector of smelting works in Española,[4] to proceed at once to New Spain, and take charge of the government of the countries granted to Adelantado Velazquez, without prejudice to his claims; and further, to investigate the conduct of Cortés toward Velazquez and Narvaez, and his usurpation of office as governor and captain-general. To this end he was empowered to arrest him and any accomplices, and attach their property, refraining, however, from passing sentence, which would be pronounced by the crown in accordance with the evidence sent in.[5] He was also provided with letters for Cortés and leading officers, wherein the president of the council urged them to aid Tapia in his duties as governor and judge, promising favors and intercession with the sovereign if faithful, otherwise the royal displeasure should fall heavily upon them. A large

[4] 'En Santo Domingo.' Some say he was commandant of the fort there. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 159.

[5] This document, dated April 11, 1521, was signed by Cardinal Adrian, who ruled for the absent emperor, and countersigned by the bishop of Búrgos. It begins by relating how Cortés had assumed for himself the fleet with which Velazquez had sent him to trade and settle in the countries discovered by this governor, and alludes also to Narvaez' maltreatment of Oidor Aillon which must be investigated. Cortés, Velazquez, and other captains are instructed to aid Tapia in his duty, under penalty of 1,000 ducats for each neglect. *Provicion de Tapia*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 36–42. Although this was not signed by the emperor, later cédulas confirmed Tapia indirectly as governor of the lands discovered by Velazquez. See for instance that issued to Garay in the same year, wherein he is informed that Tapia had been instructed to settle the boundaries of the respective grants of Velazquez, Ponce de Leon, and his own. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 148. This order to Tapia must have followed him to New Spain, though Herrera, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvi., includes it in the other instructions.

number of similar letters, unaddressed, were issued to enable Tapia to select useful adherents.

Elated by the possession of these dignities, Tapia hastened on his mission, in one small vessel, and almost unattended, regardless of the warnings imparted by the audiencia of Española, which had declared that the sovereign should be informed of what had happened in New Spain since last advices, before a step was taken that might create an uprising, and injure the royal interests.[6] On arriving at Villa Rica, Tapia exhibited his credentials to Gonzalo de Alvarado, who had replaced Rangel as lieutenant,[7] and demanded recognition. Gonzalo appears to have been somewhat intimidated by the documents, and accorded no little deference to their possessor.[8] He would undoubtedly be obeyed, but it was necessary that he should address himself to Cortés. Tapia sought with promises and threats to draw the officials and settlers on the coast to his side, but, warned by former occurrences, the general had taken the precaution to intrust the guardianship of the coast to loyal persons, and, although a few malcontents appeared, yet bribery failed with the controlling majority.[9] Under these circumstances the commissioner deemed it unsafe to penetrate the interior, whose occupants were still more devoted to his rival, and thus place himself entirely at his mercy. Narvaez, still a prisoner at Villa Rica, appears to have increased his fears by pointing out that if he, a general of repute with a strong army, had been

[6] 'Le quisierõ quitar el oficio la audiencia y governador, porque fuera a reboluer la nueva España, auiẽdo le mãdado que no fuesse so gravissimas penas.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 221. Till the sovereign should have been informed of what had occurred in New Spain. *Cortés, Cartas*, 267. It is not likely that this body ventured to do more than warn him. Bernal Diaz writes that he came with two vessels.

[7] Rangel, the former alcalde mayor, having been removed through some disagreement, says Bernal Diaz.

[8] So much so that his brothers accused him of willingness to comply with Tapia's demand, and Cortés dismissed him from office. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 252, 326, ii. 15, 56–7.

[9] By the time of the residencia in 1529 different grievances had increased the malcontents, who then pretended, perhaps for prudential reasons, that they had been compelled to ignore Tapia.

ignored and attacked, the unattended agent could expect little consideration.[10] Tapia accordingly contented himself with writing a carefully worded letter to Cortés, informing him of his mission and leaving it to his decision whether their meeting for the exhibition of credentials should take place at Mexico or on the coast.

Already informed of the arrival, the general had instructed the authorities at Villa Rica to entertain the claimant till he should meet him, always courteously and peaceably, so that the royal service should not suffer. He now wrote to Tapia, whose polite letter was wholly eclipsed by the neatly turned sentences and flattering assurances of the king-maker at Tenochtitlan. Nothing could exceed his joy in welcoming so esteemed a friend; and there was none whom he would rather see installed as governor. Unable for the moment to leave the capital, he had commissioned the bearer of the letter, Friar Melgarejo, the highly respectable comisario de la cruzada, to inform him of the condition of affairs, and confer with him on the necessary measures for carrying out the royal wishes. For greater effect, Cortés impressed the friar, in presence of the royal treasurer, who was regarded as an unfriendly spy, with the most loyal commendations for the entertainment of Tapia.[11]

This preliminary farce arranged, Cortés prepared to take more efficient measures for the management of an affair too delicate and important to be intrusted to any but the most skilful hands. It is scarcely necessary to say that he had no intention to surrender the results of his achievements, the aim and hope of his life, at the first bidding of this interloper. Nor

[10] The liberty accorded Tapia freely to commune with such men as Narvaez, and to exert his persuasion, must have been the main cause for dissatisfaction with Gonzalo de Alvarado. The desire to obtain his release must have struggled in Narvaez' breast with jealousy of success on the part of an inferior man like Tapia.

[11] To whatever place he might go appropriate treatment should be accorded; 'fuesse tratado como cõuenia,' is Herrera's significant expression. dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvi.

were his many adherents willing to leave to the friends of Velazquez the distribution of rewards, now swelling to vast proportions under inflowing tributes, and rumors of rich developments in different quarters. Indeed, they would probably be deprived even of what they had acquired, as abetters of an usurper. Cortés took occasion to increase this feeling, and to dispel the fears and doubts of less determined persons, by letting it be known that the commissions of Tapia were not signed by the king, but by Fonseca, the patron of Velazquez, and consequently issued without due authority. This revelation made his plan the more simple. At first he thought it better to meet the commissioner himself, but finally he concluded that it was not advisable to let him display his imposing credentials at Mexico, where so many malcontents would muster in his favor under the leadership of Treasurer Alderete. He would direct operations against the claimant at a distance, where his own hand would be less apparent. Who could question his loyalty if he left the disposal of Tapia to a council of delegates representing apparently the whole country!

The first step was to announce his intention to go and receive Tapia, and to cause a number of delegates to formally protest against his departure. The unconsolidated government would be imperilled by his absence and encouragement given to the scarcely subdued natives to create trouble.[12] Deceived by the manœuvre, Alderete joined in the protest and the recommendation that deputies be selected to confer with the new governor. Cortés yielded, and appointed Diego de Soto and Diego de Valdenebro to act for him in unison with a council of delegates from the

[12] This requerimiento, made in the name of Pedro de Alvarado, alcalde of Tenochtitlan, Bernardo Vazquez de Tapia, regidor of Villa Rica, and soon after the enemy of Cortés, and Cristóbal Corral, regidor of Segura, was dated December 12, 1521, before the notary at Coyuhuacan. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 30–5. Cortés magnifies the danger of a native revolt in explaining the motive to the emperor. *Cartas*, 265. Herrera does not perceive the trick of Cortés, but assumes that he really wished to treat personally with Tapia, rather than trust the affair to others.

different Spanish settlements. Sandoval, then pacifying and settling the Goazacoalco region, was told to attend the conference to be held at Villa Rica in his character of alguacil mayor. He was also secretly instructed to take a respectable force, and further, to immediately install a municipality at Medellin, so as to increase the number of trustworthy delegates and render the issue more sure.[13]

Accompanied by Andrés de Tapia and a considerable force, Sandoval met the commissioner and Father Melgarejo at Jalapa, on the way to Mexico whither the prospect of a strong support from Alderete and his party seems to have called him. The latter spared no argument or threat to induce Sandoval to join him; but the loyal lieutenant replied bluntly that he would never stoop to treason against his leader,[14] who for that matter did not oppose his claims, but had summoned the different local authorities to examine them and accord due obedience. From what he had heard of Cortés' summary way of treating opponents, Tapia was pleased with having to deal only with his representatives. In any case there was too much persuasion in Sandoval's tone, with bristling accompaniment, for Tapia to do aught but return to Villa Rica. The lieutenant's first step was to appease with appropriate favors those of the settlers who appeared to have greeted the new-comer with too much cordiality. Further, in order to withdraw the council from all pernicious influence, he caused it to assemble at Cempoala.[15] The members consisted of Francisco Álvarez Chico, alcalde of Villa Rica; Jorge de Alvarado, and Simon de Cuenca, regidores; Bernardo

[13] While mentioning this, Herrera assumes that Cortés instructed Andrés de Tapia to leave Villa Rica for the purpose of establishing the town. Mejía agrees with Bernal Diaz that Sandoval founded it, though he states that it was done now, to give authority to the alcaldes and regidores appointed by Cortés. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 83–4.

[14] 'Que los Gouernadores de Castilla, que lo auian embiado estauan mal informados... y no tomauan el camino necessario.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvi. But Sandoval was too prudent to make so meddlesome a reply.

[15] Some believe it to have been held at Villa Rica; others, like Oviedo, iii. 517, at Jalapa; but its lately published records mention Cempoala.

Vazquez de Tapia, factor; Pedro de Alvarado, alcalde and delegate for Tenochtitlan; Cristóbal Corral, regidor and delegate for Segura de la Frontera; Andrés de Monjaraz, alcalde and delegate for Medellin; Soto and Valdenebro, agents for Cortés, and Sandoval.[16]

On the 12th of December Tapia presented before this assembly his credentials and orders, which were received with the customary respect, but he was notified that they would have to be examined and discussed before the nature and manner of the compliance could be determined. Four days later he was informed that petitions had been sent to Spain by the representatives of the country concerning the very governorship claimed by Tapia, and pending the reply, which would settle several other important questions, the interests of the sovereign demanded that the credentials be left in abeyance. This was the more imperative since the documents were not signed by his Majesty, or his secretary, a defect which implied that the Council of the Indies had not acted in accord with their royal master, whom it was their duty as loyal subjects to obey above all. There were besides certain misstatements in the documents which made it evident that they had been issued under false representations. This mode of avoiding compliance with royal orders may be regarded as flimsy when it is considered that Cardinal Adrian, who signed them, was the appointed representative of the king of Spain; yet a plausible reason existed in the fact that representations affecting the question at issue had been addressed directly to the king, and this made it undesirable to act on the orders of his agent before the answer came. The present noncompliance was far less flagrant than many other instances of disobedience to royal decrees, so frequent in the Indies, owing to the distance from Spain, and to

[16] Cuenca is called Ramon in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 36–7, a misprint evidently for Simon. See *Icazbalceta*, *Col. Doc.*, i. 452. Some of the first-named members were probably a little doubtful in their adhesion, so that the appointment of a delegate for Medellin became rather a necessity for swelling the majority of Cortés.

the neglect or difficulty of punishing the culprits. The delegates no doubt felt greatly sustained by the report that the audiencia of Santo Domingo had objected to the decree.[17]

Tapia lodged a formal protest against the decision, which made them liable to the heavy penalty named in his commission.[18] The delegates replied by repeating their objections, which they would submit to the sovereign, together with a petition. His reasons were invalid, and they did not recognize his power to impose any penalty.[19] They further declared his presence dangerous to the tranquillity of the country, and ordered him peremptorily to depart. The latter message was delivered by Sandoval, with the blunt intimation that if he did not, he would be mounted on an ass and made to leave. He still lingered, however, breathing defiance, and giving rise to no little anxiety among the friends of Cortés, who feared that a delay might enable a faction to take up his cause and create trouble. Some, indeed, counselled that a bribe be given him, but this would have been a needless expenditure of treasure; still, it was thought expedient to offer a liberal price for the horses, negroes, and some other effects,[20] so that no reasons should exist for further delay. This succeeded, and with a sigh of relief his vessel was seen to disappear, burdened, however, with a growing array of complaints to be used in retaliation.[21]

[17] 'Que las prouisiones eran fauorables y falsas: y el incapaz e indigno de tan grande gouernacion,' says Gomara curtly. *Hist. Mex.*, 221.

[18] He mentioned among other reasons that the royal seal confirmed its validity. The omission of the secretary's signature was an accident.

[19] The records of these proceedings, which lasted till January 6, 1522, are given in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 30–58.

[20] Bernal Diaz declares that a gold bribe was actually given, and one of the vessels bought, *Hist. Verdad.*, 160, but this statement rests no doubt on the purchase alone, which in a sense was bribery. 'Se boluio por donde fue con grande afrenta, no se si con moneda,' says *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 221. Narvaez is said to have advised him to convert available effects into money and hasten to Spain, where the very insult offered the supreme authorities in his person would raise a strong movement in his favor. Cavo has a confused story that Tapia was induced to settle at Medellin, where a fortune could speedily be made. Internal troubles arising, he sought to avail himself thereof to advance his pretensions; whereupon Cortés caused him to embark. *Tres Siglos*, i. 20.

[21] Most authorities intimate a voluntary embarkation, but testimony in

The indirect bestowal of a bribe to hasten the fleet of Tapia was by no means misplaced, as it happened. Not long after he had left Villa Rica the good people at Medellin were startled by the appearance of a sail at San Juan.[22] Surely the commissioner was not returning to stir anew the quarrel in this locality. The anxiety was not lessened by a summons for the authorities to meet Juan Bono de Quejo, the bearer of important despatches for Governor Tapia, with greetings from Adelantado Velazquez. The mere presence of Quejo boded no good, for he was a hard-headed Biscayan,[23] who, after sharing the first mishaps of Narvaez on this coast, as one of his officers, had left to plead his cause. Several cédulas having arrived from the king himself, after Tapia's departure, containing not only additional instructions but confirmation of his powers, it was deemed necessary that they should reach him as soon as possible, for even the authorities in Spain could not fail to recognize that objections might be raised to their signatures among the cavilling officials in the Indies. When the despatches reached the Islands, Velazquez placed a small vessel at Quejo's disposal.

These confirmatory documents, signed by the king, were not a little perplexing, and the coast officials could only refer him to Cortés. The latter expressed regrets at the departure of Tapia, which made it impossible to obey the mandates, and by a combination of suave language and glittering jewels he completely won the heart of the messenger, who quietly placed in

Cortés, Residencia, ii. 14, 15, 144, states that he was 'conducted' on board, by the orders of Alcalde Alvarez. Corral is said to have taken the leading part in the previous altercation. According to Cortés and others Tapia received a severe reprimand in Española for his attempt to create troubles in New Spain. If he failed to enjoy the office, he certainly received his salary as governor. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. iii.

[22] At Medellin, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 167, whither he summoned the authorities from Goazacoalco. The municipality of Medellin had probably not yet taken up their abode there. San Juan de Chalchiuhcuecan, or de Ulua, served as port for Medellin. This summons may account for Cortés' statement that he arrived at Espíritu Santo. *Cartas*, 279.

[23] Master of one of his vessels. *Cortés, Cartas*, 279.

his pocket the cédulas and accompanying packet of unaddressed letters with which fresh adherents were to be allured, and abandoned himself to the amenities of his situation. A little later he proceeded with well filled pockets to report in Spain the futility of his mission.[24]

In explaining to the emperor the treatment accorded to his governor, Cortés prudently throws the responsibility on the popular representatives, who decided in the case as they considered best for the crown; but he seeks to defend their course by relating that the apprehended danger from this attempt of a stranger to assume the administration did actually come to pass. The mere report of an impending change engendered conspiracy among the Indians, which, if successful, would have been more serious than any preceding revolt. It extended through the districts of Mexico and Coyuhuacan, and broke out also in Tututepec and Meztitlan, to the north-west.[25]

The main obstacle at Mexico was the presence of the terrible Cortés, and with a view to remove this, and to enable the warriors to assemble, it was arranged to induce the general, by means of a false report that twenty vessels had appeared off the coast, to depart for Villa Rica, and permit them to join his banner with a large force.[26] Informed of the movement by spies, he seized the accused ringleaders, and since the safety and interests of the Spaniards demanded a severe example to similar malcontents, punishments

[24] 'Cortes le ayudò para la costa,' is Bernal Diaz' significant allusion to the departure. *Hist. Verdad.*, 167. Had Tapia still been in Mexico, observes Gomara, there would have been great trouble, in view of the imposing letters and cédulas brought. *Hist. Mex.*, 221. One Hernandez declared that Quejo become so intimate with Cortés that he proposed new marriage relations for him with Fonseca's niece. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 358, 372. This declaration would indicate that the messenger was still in Mexico in the middle of 1522.

[25] This Tututepec is called del norte to distinguish it from that on the South Sea. 'Se rebelaron los Cuixtecas, y los de Coaçacoalco y Tauasco, y otros que les costo caro,' is Gomara's account of it. *Hist. Mex.*, 222; *Cortés, Cartas*, 278.

[26] In support of the story they brought him a painting of the fleet. *Cortés, Cartas*, 266.

were inflicted which were long remembered in New Spain. Some of the minor culprits were suspended by the noose among the ruins left by the invaders, while the leaders, according to the native historian, Ixtlilxochitl, were exposed in an amphitheatre, like bulls, to the attacks of infuriated blood-hounds, which tore them in pieces, and even devoured their flesh.[27]

At Tututepec and Meztitlan the uprising was soon smothered by a large force of Spaniards and allies. A few encounters brought the inhabitants to their knees, and Cortés was even induced to pardon the captured caciques.[28] The revolt appears to have been long planned by the Quauhtemotzin party, probably since his torture, and had in view his restoration and the quick disposal of the Spanish leaders, so as to make the soldiers a readier prey. Nevertheless it could not have been of great extent, though Cortés seeks to make the most of it, and to connect it with the presence of Tapia, a man wholly unfit and inexperienced to cope with such movements, as he pointedly observes. While influenced by purely selfish motives, there is no doubt that his procedure served the best interests of the crown, for at this early period a man of his sagacity, influence, and skill as ruler and leader, was needed to maintain and advance the conquest of the country. The toleration of factions would have been dangerous. Of this Velazquez and his patron and adherents were fully aware; but envy and ambition blinded them to their own inefficiency, and to prudence.

The revolt was not the only danger to Cortés ascribed to the Tapia episode, if we may credit Herrera. Disgusted with the disposal of the commissary, and encouraged by the evident wishes of the sov-

[27] *Hor. Crueldades*, 61–2. This writer, whose statements cannot always be relied upon, adds that King Ixtlilxochitl saved his brother Cohuanacoch, one of the accused, from the dogs, regardless of the soldiers. The Spanish writers naturally allude to no cruelties. Gomara refers to the revolt on two occasions, with evident confusion. *Hist. Mex.*, 222, 235.

[28] The campaign cost the lives of two Spaniards and a few allies. *Cortés, Cartas*, 278–9.

ereign manifested in the cédulas of Quejo, Alderete, the royal treasurer, is said to have promoted two plots against the general's life, one being to assassinate him while kneeling at mass, the other to blow him up at his quarters. Informed of the plan, Cortés summoned the official to his presence and revealed it. Alderete was thoroughly crushed by the disclosure, and could only throw himself upon his mercy. Magnanimity had proved a politic virtue before this, and it was again exercised, both to avoid dangerous complications, and to neutralize the opposition of a strong party.[29]

Among the orders brought by Tapia was one wherein the Council of the Indies forbade the audiencia of Santo Domingo to deal with the outrage of Narvaez on Oidor Aillon, and signified its desire that he should no longer be kept in durance. Cortés accordingly instructed Rodrigo Rangel, who had replaced the vacillating Gonzalo de Alvarado as lieutenant at Villa Rica,[30] to send him to Coyuhuacan. The long confinement at the coast fortress, exposed to the jeers of every passer-by, had tended not a little to humble the arrogant leader, so much so, indeed, that when Cortés came forth to meet him he knelt to kiss the hand of his former despised rival. The latter had good reason for remonstrating against this self-abasement, as he had for coming forth to meet a man whose reascending star appeared so significantly in the cédulas concerning him. He not only raised him from the ground, but offered with fraternal embrace a seat by his side, and showed the most marked attention. Narvaez, on his side, spoke with humble feeling of the glowing achievements which had effected

[29] Such at least must be the conclusion if we accept the story. Alderete died not long after. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 188. 'Vn Clerigo llamado Leon, assi mismo descubrió, que con barriles de poluora, querian bolarle en el aposento.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvi. The phrasing would indicate that Alderete was not supposed to have managed both the plots.

[30] With Pedro de Ircio as aid. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 159.

the conquest of so vast and rich a country, with such numerous and strong cities. His own defeat had, indeed, been a trifling matter in comparison. Magnificent rewards must surely flow from the sovereign, and to this end he would devote his own efforts in the behalf of Cortés. With such words did he mask the burning hatred that awaited only opportunity.[31] The opportunity came when toward the close of 1523 he was permitted, partly through the influence of Garay's pleadings, to leave New Spain.[32] Thereupon he hastened to court to stir up afresh the enemies of Cortés.

[31] The gossips circulated a story that Cortés gave Narvaez 50,000 ducats wherewith to compensate Velazquez for his losses through the expedition to Mexico, but this deserves little credit, says Herrera, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xv. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 160–1. Nor is it likely that Cortés would have given the money to Narvaez, who would have kept it for his own claims.

[32] His obsequious flattery of Cortés had no doubt assisted at the liberation, as well as the pleadings of his rich wife María de Valenzuela, who appears to have known the conqueror. Narvaez was even given 2,000 pesos de oro, probably in payment of certain effects taken from him, and he left with humble protestations. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 170. Among the scores to be remembered by him against Cortés was the execution of Diego Diaz, a shipmaster, who sought to procure his escape from Villa Rica early in 1521. The record of the trial is given in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 287–97.

CHAPTER V.

AFFAIRS OF CORTÉS IN SPAIN.

1522.

CORTÉS FINDS FAVOR WITH THE AUDIENCIA—HIS THIRD LETTER—TREASURES FOR THE EMPEROR—AN OMINOUS LOSS—CHASED BY CORSAIRS—WHAT KING FRANCIS SAID—THE CURSE OF MONTEZUMA—CARDINAL ADRIAN INTERFERES—CORTÉS' CASE BEFORE THE SOVEREIGN—HIS ACHIEVEMENTS REVIEWED—REFUTATION OF CHARGES—VELAZQUEZ CRUSHED AND FONSECA HUMBLED—CORTÉS APPOINTED GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN GENERAL.

ANY fears which Cortés may have entertained with regard to his treatment of Tapia were quieted by the arrival, during the spring, of Alonso de Ávila, the commissioner whom he had sent to Santo Domingo more than a year before, to obtain concessions from the audiencia, and war material for the army.[1] The audiencia gave him authority to conquer the whole of New Spain, to brand slaves in accordance with prescribed rules, and to distribute encomiendas. Although this was provisional, subject to the royal decision, it nevertheless gave authority to the acts of Cortés, and he received further encouragement in the fact that the audiencia had recommended him to the emperor in a manner that promised to be more effective than any representation so far made. One great advantage the audiencia had, namely, means to hide their despatches from the bishop of Búrgos, with whom they were not wholly in accord, and have them presented direct to the royal person, nor could their intimations against the bishop's policy fail to have weight.

[1] Bernal Diaz places the return after the Pánuco campaign, which is doubtful. *Hist. Verdad.*, 163.

In return for his success, Ávila received a valuable encomienda, together with presents and promises, all of which bound him ever closer to his patron.[2] So pleased indeed was Cortés with his ability and loyalty as commissioner, that he caused him to be appointed procurador to the court of Spain, jointly with Antonio de Quiñones, his captain of guards.[3] They were to support the other agents in obtaining a confirmation of his grant of lands, natives, and offices, and other acts, together with his own tenure of office, as partly advocated in letters intrusted to them, notably the third of his Relaciones. This is dated at Coyuhuacan, May 15, 1522, and narrates the operations since October 1520, beginning with the Tepeaca campaign, continuing with the siege and fall of Mexico, and ending with the expeditions to formally occupy surrounding provinces. The latter he describes in a manner intended to impress the value of his achievements, and the wealth and extent of the additions thus made to the royal domains. He does not fail to allude to the prospects opening before the maritime exploration for which he is preparing a fleet on the South Sea. One of the main objects of the letter, which had probably hastened its conclusion, was the Tapia affair. While explaining that the course taken had been to save the country and the royal interests, as proved by the attempted revolt of the natives, he points out the injustice and danger of such interference, particularly on the part of selfish and unscrupulous persons like Velazquez, wholly oblivious of their duty to the sovereign.[4] In an accompanying note he commends the

[2] He had formerly been an adherent of Velazquez, and this sufficed to rouse Bernal Diaz against him, as a suspected person, who might have been dangerous had he been present when Tapia arrived. The encomienda embraced Quauhtitlan, with a large rental. *Id.*

[3] Who had assisted to save the life of Cortés during the siege.

[4] In a later letter he goes so far as to propose to arrest the Cuban governor. 'Pienso enviar por el dicho Diego Velazquez y prenderle, y preso, enviarle á V. M...cortando la raíz de todos males.' *Cartas*, 318. Bernal Diaz wrongly attributes this proposal to the present occasion. It may certainly be called capping the climax of the injuries heaped upon the unfortunate governor, though he deserves little sympathy.

agents to the emperor, and points out the painful anxiety in which he has been left by not receiving any reply to his many dutiful applications.

The local officials also addressed a letter to the emperor in the name of the army and settlers, extolling the deeds and loyalty of their leader, defending their treatment of Tapia, instigated as he was by the hostile Velazquez, and urging the prior claims of conquerors to grants and appointments. Father Olmedo supported these representations in a special letter, wherein he reviewed the prospects of conversion and requested that religious teachers be sent out. To add weight to the petitions, they received the usual accompaniment of treasure, in addition to the regular fifth. The present consisted of the choicest specimens of fabrics, feather-work, curiosities, and jewels, set apart from the late repartition, and increased from the subsequent influx of tributes, worth fully one hundred and fifty thousand ducats.[5] Its notable features were a number of pearls and an immense emerald, as it was supposed to be,[6] and trinkets, which wholly eclipsed the already familiar specimens of native goldsmiths' work, in the form of fishes with scales of different metals, of birds and other animals with movable heads and tongues, masks with mosaic ornamentation, and a variety of pieces after European models. Several large bones were also sent, uncovered at Coyuhuacan,

[5] 'Aunque otros dizen dos tanto.' *Gomara, Hist. Conq.*, 216. The jewels, fabrics, etc., 150,000 ducats, the gold and silver as much more. The part set aside from the repartition after the fall of Mexico was worth more than 100,000 pesos de oro. *Oviedo*, iii. 468, 517. A list of the valuables sent to Spain is given in *Memoria de Piezas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 253–68, 345–9. See also *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. i.

[6] 'A fine emerald the size of the palm of a hand, of pyramidal shape.' *Id.* 'Perlas tamañas algunas dellas como auellanas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 163. This author alludes to a number of chalchiuites, 'like emeralds,' which can hardly include the stones called emeralds by others, for chalchiuites were never regarded as of much value by the conquerors, though the natives prized them above any other stones. The emerald referred to was a mere jade or serpentine, for Mexico possessed no emeralds. *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 159. In Peru they did have this precious stone, but the test to which the early adventurers submitted them—hammer blows—caused as a rule the rejection of the genuine stones, which were smashed in pieces, while the false ones were accepted.

which in accordance with the common native tradition and the declaration of the doctors were pronounced to be the remains of giants; also two jaguars, or tigers as they were called, which proved an unfortunate shipment, for one escaped from the cage when on board, and fiercely attacked a number of the crew, whereupon it was lost in the sea. Two of the bitten men died from their injuries, and to obviate another disaster the second jaguar was killed.[7]

As special agents for Cortés went his secretary, Juan de Ribera,[8] with whom was associated Friar Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea, both to act in concert with his father, Martin Cortés, to whom was sent a power of attorney to act in all affairs for the son.[9] This document was accompanied by a few thousand ducats, which the malevolent magnified to large amounts, a portion of the vast treasures that Cortés was said to have secreted. One story current was that he himself supervised its transmission to Tezcuco in several canoes. When fairly out in the lake a sudden gale capsized the boats, and half a dozen men were drowned; the rest, including Cortés, narrowly escaped by clinging to the wrecks. Divers were afterward sent to search for the treasure, but not a trace could be found.[10] The same agents carried a portion of the remittances sent by the conquerors to friends in Spain, amounting in all to nearly a hundred thousand castellanos, and showing that recent expeditions must have greatly increased the distribution shares, and promoted contentment among the lately irate soldiers.[11]

[7] Gomara mentions 'three tigers,' but accounts only for the fate of two. *Hist. Mex.*, 216.

[8] A man full of tricks and unfair at the gaming-table, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 190–1, and he certainly proved unreliable.

[9] Dated May 8, 1522, *Poder Otorgado*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xii. 458–70. A relative named Francisco de las Casas is appointed substitute in case Martin Cortés fails to act. This Casas, a relative, figures ably in the conquest of Honduras. See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 537 et seq., this series.

[10] Peralta applies this statement to the treasures intended for the emperor. *Not. Hist.*, 130–2, but it appears to be based on an event which occurred in connection with Cortés' own departure for Spain in 1528. Gomara affirms that the sum sent to the father was 4,000 ducats. *Hist. Mex.*, 216.

[11] 'Ochenta y ocho mil Castellanos en barras de oro.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist.*

The commission set out in June[12] 1522, in three vessels,[13] which safely reached Terceira, of the Azores group. Hardly had they again set sail, however, when they were attacked by a fleet of French corsairs, six ships in number, hailing from La Rochelle.[14]

Resistance on the part of the small vessels from New Spain was deemed useless, but they nevertheless did their utmost to escape, regardless of the cannon-balls that whistled around them. The chase became exciting, the more so when splinters began to fly and blood to flow. Finally the French overtook two of the vessels having, in charge of Ávila, the greater part of the treasures, which were conveyed to France. The choicest jewels were sent as a present to Francis I., who was not a little surprised at the extent and quality of the wealth flowing in on Spain. "The gold from his western possessions alone must suffice to sustain his campaigns against us," he observed. "But I should like to see the last testament of Father Adam which entitles my brothers of Castile and Portugal to the exclusive ownership of those regions, or which forbids me from thus helping myself to a share."[15]

Ávila was kept behind prison bars for a long time in the vain expectation of a heavy ransom, corresponding to the estimate formed of one having in his charge so large a treasure. He managed, however, to forward the despatches, which greatly promoted the cause of his chief.[16] Learning from him or his companions that

Verdad., 163. Herrera names Diego de Ordaz, of volcano fame, as one of the passengers, while others say that he had gone with the previous mission to Spain.

[12] December 20th, according to Bernal Diaz, but this must be a slip either of memory or pen, which has misled several writers. A receipt for some of the treasure is dated at Seville, November 8, 1522. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xii. 258–60.

[13] Caravels, says Herrera. Bernal Diaz mentions only 2. One of them was the *Santa María de la Rábida*, commanded by Juan Baptista. *Id.*, 253, 258, 260.

[14] Under command of Juan Florin, or Florentin.

[15] 'Que mostrassen el testamento de nuestro padre Adan, si les dexó a ellos solamente por herederos, y señores de aquellas tierras que auian tomado entre ellos dos sin dalle a el ninguna dellas, e que por esta causa era licito robar, y tomar todo lo que pudiesse por la mar.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 164.

[16] The neglect to secure his liberation nettled him greatly, and he is said to have expressed delight at the loss to the court of so much treasure. On

the third vessel, which had escaped him, contained additional treasure, the French pirate returned with three of his ships to watch for her. This time fortune turned against him, for near Cape St Vincent he encountered a Spanish fleet sent in search of him, and after a brief but sharp battle he was captured and conveyed to Spain, there to be condemned to the gallows.[17]

Ill-luck seemed to attend the spoils of New Spain, both in their capture and afterward. The curses of the dying Montezuma and the agonized Quauhtemotzin had clung to them ever since they left the palace-vaults of Tenochtitlan. Miserably perished during the Noche Triste most of those who sought to convey it forth, while the Aztecs who recaptured a portion paid the bitter penalty during the horrors of the following siege. Strife and trouble arose at the distribution of the remnant after the fall of the city; a gale swept a portion into the lake, together with several of its attendants. Its capture by the French involved the imprisonment of Ávila and the death of several companions, soon to be followed by the ignominious end of the pirates and the capture of Francis himself. As for the escaped vessel, the *Santa María de la Rábida*, she gained Santa María Island in a somewhat battered condition, with several wounded persons on board, including Quiñones, who died a few days later.[18] Ribera proceeded thence in a Portuguese caravel to Seville to ask for a convoy, and with this

returning to Spain he received for compensation the permit to retain his encomiendas and other property, and the appointment of contador for Yucatan. In 1565 the municipality of Mexico granted his brother's family a lot adjoining their house, in consideration for Alonso's services; but in the following year the house was razed, and the site covered with salt, after the execution of his nephews for complicity in the conspiracy of Martin Cortés. *Datos Biog.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 716–17; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. xx., lib. x. cap. vii.

[17] 'En el puerto de Pico.' *Id.* Sandoval places this occurrence in November 1522, though he is somewhat confused about the facts. *Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 563.

[18] So says Herrera, while Bernal Diaz states that the death of the gallant captain was due to dagger thrusts, which he received at Tercera during a Lotharian escapade. ubi sup.

the remnant of Aztec treasure reached its destination.[19]

By this time the affairs of Cortés in Spain had assumed a new aspect. His friends, including Martin Cortés, Puertocarrero, Montijo, Licentiate Nuñez, relator of the India Council, Ordaz, and others, had for a time accomplished nothing more than to check the proceedings of the Velazquez party, though they had been unable to oppose the appointment of Tapia. Finally, however, they obtained proofs of Fonseca's machinations in favor of Velazquez, from whom he had accepted heavy bribes, including an encomienda of natives, who were compelled under the lash to extract gold for the good bishop in the Cuban mines. The intimacy between these two officials was strengthened by the engagement of the governor to the niece of the prelate,[20] and they concerted to defame Cortés as a traitor, by withholding his despatches, keeping back his agents, and injuring him in every possible manner.[21] It was further shown that the bishop had appropriated a part of the presents sent to the emperor from New Spain. This was wrong on the part of the bishop, and yet, as we well know, Velazquez had far more of justice on his side than Cortés; but success defies all. The great achievements of Cortés had by this time spread throughout the country, fostering the belief that he had not been fairly treated. Among the notable persons who warmly expressed themselves to this effect were the duke of Béjar, one of the

[19] A list of what she brought is given in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 253–60. Herrera relates two somewhat varied and confused versions, and says that the vessel with all its effects was placed under embargo by Fonseca's order, which is unlikely. Dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. i. iii., lib. ix. cap. xx. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 216, disposes quite briefly of the voyage; but Bernal Diaz is more complete and reliable. In a letter to the emperor, Cortés expresses regret at the loss, chiefly on account of the choice nature of the specimens, which would have aided in demonstrating his services, but 'yo trabajaré de enviar otras muy mas ricas y extrañas,' he concludes consolingly. *Cartas*, 317.

[20] Petronila de Fonseca. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 238. Bernal Diaz fancies also that she may have been engaged to Tapia. *Hist. Verdad.*, 183.

[21] The bishop had hidden his reports, 'que no se verià mientras viuiesse.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. iii.

leading grandees, and the German duke of Nassau,[22] whose representations assisted in convincing Cardinal Adrian of the injustice done. Fonseca was thereupon ordered not to meddle in the affairs of Cortés, and the evidence of his conduct was forwarded to the monarch.[23]

Adrian had no time to do much more, for he was elected successor to Leo X., and was obliged to go to Italy in the spring of 1522.[24] The emperor returned from Germany shortly after, however, and Tapia appearing to support the complaints of the adherents of Velazquez, he resolved to investigate the charges both against Fonseca and Cortés; summoning to this effect a special commission which included such men as the grand chancellor.[25]

The plaintiff opened with the charge that Cortés had appropriated to his own ends a fleet fitted out at great expense by Velazquez, in virtue of royal authority, to continue the exploration of the countries already discovered by him. Velazquez had consequently been obliged to spend the remainder of his fortune in efforts to recover his own, notably in the equipment of a second large fleet under Narvaez. Regardless of the lives of his Majesty's subjects, and of his sacred decrees, Cortés had attacked the expedition, killed a number, imprisoned others, and bribed or intimidated the rest into submission, besides tearing

[22] Bernal Diaz says Monsieur de Lasoa, sent by the emperor to congratulate Adrian on his election to the papacy. Nassau certainly proved himself a great friend to Cortés afterward.

[23] It is even said that he suspended the bishop from his presidency of the council; but this was probably left to the emperor.

[24] *Mariana, Hist. Esp.*, vii. 310, viii. 101.

[25] Mercurio de Gatinara; Hernando de Vega, lord of Grijal and comendador mayor of Castile; Monsieur de la Chaux, great chamberlain; Doctor Lorenzo Galindez de Carbajal, an old and eminent jurist; Licentiate Francisco de Vargas, general treasurer of Castile; and Doctor de la Roche, a Fleming. Such are the names given in Herrera, Gomara, Bernal Diaz, and *Cortés, Vida*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 352–3. Several sessions were held. Manuel de Rojas and Andrés de Duero, representing Velazquez, appeared with Tapia on one side, while Licentiate Cespedes is said to have been among those who pleaded for Cortés. Vetancurt, *Teatro*, pt. iii. 153, assumes wrongly that Ribera and Melgarejo arrived in time to be present now, and Prescott adds Narvaez, *Mex.* iii. 246–7. Both confound this trial with subsequent revivals of charges before tribunals and council.

by force from the commander the royal despatches. He had further, by force and fraud, caused himself to be elected leader, ignoring the instructions given him from the audiencia of Santo Domingo through his patron, and punishing even with death those who ventured to oppose him. He had assumed regal powers, made cruel war on unoffending natives to satisfy his greed and ambition, and had distributed encomiendas and slaves for the benefit of his adherents. To this end he had encroached on the royal interests, besides embezzling moneys and treasures due to the crown, assuming also for himself a fifth like the sovereign. Not satisfied with this, he had defrauded the soldiers of their shares, tortured native kings and nobles to obtain more gold, and had tyrannically impressed the people to bring material and build houses for him. Finally he had maltreated and expelled from New Spain the governor appointed by the crown, with criminal contempt for the royal commission, thus confirming the current reports that he intended treasonably to ignore the sovereign as he had his cédulas and his patron, and usurp the country for himself.

To these charges, many of them too true, the agents of Cortés replied that the honor of discovering New Spain pertained to Hernandez de Córdoba, who, disregarding the iniquitous and criminal commission of Valazquez to kidnap natives from the islands, had directed his energies to this nobler aim. Grijalva's expedition, succeeding this, was purely for traffic, as proved by the instructions, and its cost had been defrayed by the participants, although Velazquez managed to secure most of the profit, which he shared with the bishop of Búrgos, besides bribing him to the prejudice of the crown with large allotments of slaves. The fleet of Cortés had been fitted out chiefly at the expense of himself and friends, as demonstrated by the vouchers and testimony produced,[26] with clearly

[26] Probanza de Lejalde, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 411–20; *Hist. Mex.*, i. 57–8, this series.

written instructions to explore, not to colonize. On beholding the vast extent and resources of the country, in products and inhabitants, the commander felt that his duty as a loyal and Christian subject demanded the setting aside of the limited and mercenary commission given him, in order to acquire for his sovereign these lands, and for the church benighted souls. This being recognized also by the members of the expedition, they had insisted upon electing him lieutenant for the king, and voluntarily so since this promoted also their own wishes and interests, hitherto cramped by the avaricious and jealous governor of Cuba. Narvaez' expedition had been sent forth in direct disobedience to the orders of the audiencia of Santo Domingo, a step which merited death, followed as it was by the additional outrage on a royal oidor. Its presence in New Spain was so evident a peril to conquest so far achieved, and to the conversion begun, that not only did the adherents of Cortés unhesitatingly aid him in overthrowing the intruder, after he had rejected every overture, but many of the followers of Narvaez openly or tacitly refused to support his cause, so detrimental was it to the royal interests. As it was, the great revolt at Mexico, followed by the terrible Noche Triste, must be ascribed to his presence and malicious insinuations. The papers taken from the fallen leader had been vouchers, not despatches. The death of a few men on this occasion, and the execution of others at different times, were deplored, but every military organization demands the maintenance of discipline, and is subject to such occurrences, all of which were no less permissible than the warring on natives who obstinately refused to submit to the sovereign and church. Cortés had assumed no royal power, but had made distribution of encomiendas for the sake of assuring the obedience of the native Americans and of maintaining possession of the domains for the crown, to whose superior confirmation the grants were subject. Treasure had

been acquired by legitimate methods, and the royal fifth not only duly set aside, but largely increased by contribution of the finest specimens. If they had not reached the sovereign, the bishop of Búrgos must be held answerable. The fifth assigned to the commander was in consideration for his services and heavy expenses. The torture of the princes was an act of the army, headed by the royal treasurer, and the employment of natives to rebuild the city of Mexico was a measure demanded by the public interests. The arrival of Tapia tended to involve the country in perils similar to those aroused by Narvaez, so much so that the delegates of the colonists and army took his disposal into their own hands, confident that the sovereign would confirm an act dictated in his own interest. Indeed, none but Cortés, with skill and judgment as a general and governor, could have undertaken the conquest and carried it to a successful end, through so many dangers, unsupported by any one save his own followers and his own resources of mind and means, and this in the face of the bitter opposition of Velazquez, Fonseca, and their adherents, who kept back recruits and supplies, seized remittances, withheld his reports and agents, promoted revolts, and misrepresented his every motive and act. The letters from himself, the army, the officials, Friar Olmedo, and others, were filled with proofs of his ability and loyal devotion, while immense domains, larger than any so far acquired for the crown, and teeming with wealth and vassals, stood as eloquent witnesses of his achievements, ever glorious to Spanish fame.[27]

What could be more grand and flattering to the Spanish nation than the quality and extent of this

[27] These and other arguments are produced in Herrera, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. iii.; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 184–6; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 238–9, this latter, strange enough, giving the charges pretty fully, but disposing of the defence with the brief remark: 'Los descargos, razon y justicia que tuuo Cortes...la historia las cuenta.' From these sources later writers form their account.

success! It had already raised in every Spanish heart a strong admiration for the hero, which overlooked everything but his greatness. Nor was the crown insensible to the necessity of justifying the means to such an end. The surpassing fitness of the man for his position was undeniable; besides, none could deny that Velazquez had been also irregular in his conduct, while his rival had suffered enough injury and opposition to justify many an overt act. The natural result was a decision in favor of Cortés, with the recommendation that neither Velazquez nor Fonseca should be allowed to interfere further in his affairs. The claims of the former to his share in the fleet, and other interests, belonged to the province of the court of law just established for suits connected with the Indies. The emperor rendered his decision in accordance, influenced mainly, it seems, by the charge that the Narvaez expedition had been the real cause for the great uprising which ended in the disastrous expulsion of Spaniards from Mexico.[28]

The blow fell with unnecessary humiliation on Velazquez, being heralded on his own island, to the sound of trumpet, by the messengers who bore tokens of royal favors to his rival. His fortune had really been wrecked by the cost of expeditions and efforts against Cortés, which proved the chief means for his condemnation; and now every ambition was crushed, even the lingering hope of vengeance. The offer of regaining a small portion of his losses by appealing to the tribunals seemed irony. In sullen mood he retired to his residence stricken by grief and rage which fast consumed him. Once more he resolved to make fresh representations to the sovereign, and in 1524 he

[28] *Cédula*, October 15, 1522, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 66. Gomara states that both Velazquez and Fonseca were removed from office, though he is not quite clear about the latter. 'Mãdo al Obispo...q̃ no entendiesse mas en negocios de Cortes, ni de Indias, a lo que parecio.' *Hist. Mex.*, 237–8. Bernal Diaz affirms this more strongly. *Hist. Verdad.*, 183, and in *Cortés, Vida, Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 352, the bishop is allowed to retire voluntarily; but the case is doubtful, Remesal declaring that his successor, Loaisa, did not assume the presidency till August 2, 1524. *Hist. Chyapa*, 9.

prepared to support them in person, but death intervened to spare him from further disappointments.[29] Narvaez, who then joined Tapia and others in the old charges with supplementary complaints, received no satisfaction, though he was encouraged by the varying course of his rival's fortune to maintain the suit for some time.[30]

The ambitious Fonseca was even more deeply affected than his protégé by the rebuke of Charles though he had been prepared for it by the check already administered through Adrian, now his pontiff. The presidency of the India Council was an office connected more intimately than any other with the growth of the new world colonies. Its possessor, indeed, might readily have obtained immortal renown as father or patron of America by promoting its exploration, settlement, and administration, with the zeal worthy of a bishop, and the judgment resulting from thirty years' management of affairs. Instead of this, ever since the time of Columbus, he had proved an obstacle to advancement through his partisanship and narrow-mindedness. Columbus, Las Casas, Cortés, and other transatlantic lights incurred successively his pronounced hostility, and he condescended to acts wholly unworthy of his cloth, as if jealous of fame that would obscure his position. He never regained the favor by which he had rapidly advanced from a dean of Seville, through several prelacies, to the dig-

[29] *Oviedo*, i. 541. 'De pesar cayó malo, y dende a pocos meses murió,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 187. His heirs seem to have made no resolute efforts to recover their claims against Cortés, yet in 1562 his descendant, Velazquez de Bazan, demanded the fulfilment of the contract with the crown, granting him and his heir a share in the revenue of the countries he should discover and conquer. In 1584 he offered to compromise for a revenue of 15,000 ducats, and a habit of Santiago for his son. *Velazquez, Memorial*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 232–8. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, x. 80–6; *Panes*, in *Monumentos, Domin. Esp.*, MS., 64.

[30] He was ironically told to bring Ávila from his French prison to prove the charge that he had stolen his commission. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 186. The claim against Cortés presented by his agent Ceballos some years later, for property lost by him and his followers at Cempoala, amounted to 300,000 pesos de oro. This included indemnity for his long imprisonment. *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 437–44; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 87 et seq.

nity of bishop of Búrgos, with still higher prospects before him.[31]

The conduct and measures of Cortés were generally approved, at least in all the main features,[32] and the conquerors were confirmed in the possession of the encomiendas granted them, with the privilege of occupying prominent seats in churches and other public places. In a special cédula of October 15, 1522, the emperor expressed to the leader his appreciation of the services rendered in the conquest of so great a territory, and of the steps he had taken immediately on returning to Spain to become acquainted therewith, through his reports and agents, and to prevent his enemies from creating further mischief. He commends to his loyal zeal and experience the good administration of the country and the care and conversion of the natives. The better to enable him to carry out this measure and in recognition of his services, he is granted the offices of governor and captain-general of New Spain, with full power to appoint deputies and sub-officials throughout its provinces,[33] and with permission to exclude any objectionable person from the country. Cortés was further gratified by

[31] He fell sick with disgust, and appears to have died during the following year. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. xiv.; though Irving says November 4, 1554. *Columbus*, iii. 550. Bernal Diaz states that his troubles were increased by differences with his nephew about the archbishopric of Santiago. *Hist. Verdad.*, 187. Already archbishop of Rosano, and comisario-general de la Cruzada, he might readily have become archbishop of Toledo. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 238. Solis will not believe all the charges against 'un Varon tan venerable y tan graduado.' *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 273. See also *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 168, this series.

[32] Umbría and Cárdenas, who had suffered amputation of the feet for aiding in a Velazquezan revolt, were given encomiendas 'que renten a cada vno mil pesos de oro.' *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit. These and a few other indirect rebukes were the only exceptions.

[33] This commission, bearing the same date as the cédula, alludes to the new country as 'Aculuacan and San Xoan de Olua, llamada la Nueva España,' a name conferred in accordance with Cortés' request. He is to be 'royal judge, governor, justice, and captain-general, without predjudice to any privilege held or claimed by Adelantado Velazquez.' From which it appears that the latter still possessed the right to discover and settle lands, or more probably islands, adjoining New Spain, for instance Yucatan, which is not included in the above cédula. See *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 59–70. Gomara wrongly adds the title of adelantado, which was proposed for him only in 1525. Bernal Diaz misleads several in giving a wrong date. The salary

a letter from Ferdinand, the brother of Charles and regent of Germany, who lauded his achievements and assured him of his good-will.[34]

assigned amounted to a little over 300,000 maravedís, while the royal officials appointed at the same time received 510,000. Cortés complained of this inequality, and by cédula of November 4, 1525, he is told that steps will be taken to satisfy him. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 99–100, 102; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 102; *Cortés, Cartas*, 338–9.

[34] This was in answer to a letter accompanied by presents from Cortés. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 186. The general had evidently made wide-spread efforts to curry favor with the court.

CHAPTER VI.

CORTÉS AND GARAY IN PÁNUCO.

1522–1523.

RIVALRY FOR PÁNUCO—CORTÉS HASTENS TO OCCUPY IT—BATTLE AT AYOTOCHTITLAN—OPERATIONS AT CHILA—NATIVE TACTICS—FOUNDING OF SAN ESTÉVAN DEL PUERTO—A SHIPWRECK INCIDENT—DISAPPOINTING RESULTS—CAMPAIGN IN TUTUTEPEC MOUNTAINS—REJOICINGS ON THE RECEIPT OF CORTÉS' COMMISSION—ALLURING PROJECTS FOR SOUTHERN CONQUESTS—STARTLING NEWS—GARAY PREPARES TO DESCEND ON PÁNUCO—HIS LACK OF ABILITY AND FIRMNESS—MARCH FROM LAS PALMAS—NEGOTIATIONS WITH VALLEJO.

NORTH of Villa Rica extended the fertile province of Pánuco, so called after the ruling chief,[1] whose villages bordered the deep-flowing rivers that seek the sea at the present Tampico. It was skirted on the east by woody ranges from which a number of streams ran down the undulating slopes to a flat and sandy seaboard broken by a series of lagoons. While the shore-line was unhealthy and thinly inhabited, the interior was salubrious, and rumor placed there rich mines of gold. To find this gold had been the chief inducement for the expeditions of Garay, and the hostility of the natives, together with a few thousand pesos obtained by barter, had only served to confirm the rumor.

The revelation that others were intent on establishing an independent government so close to his own, had been a source of anxiety to Cortés ever since the encounter with Pineda in August 1519.[2] He ac-

[1] 'Cuyo rey se llamaua Panuco.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 67. The province was known to the Mexicans as Pantlan or Panotlan. *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, iii. 132.

[2] See *Hist Mex.*, i. 189, this series.

cordingly hastened to inform the king that the natives of Pánuco had already submitted to him; and he intimatèd afterward that it would be not only dangerous for a strange expedition to enter the country, but injurious to the royal interest there and in the settled districts to the south.[3] The claim of submission was based on the allegiance tendered by some towns near Almería, which by way of diplomacy he made extend indefinitely beyond. The reverses at Mexico, and the subsequent siege, called attention away from outlying provinces, but after the subjugation of Anáhuac Cortés took up the matter, although he was prevented from prosecuting it by the arrival of Tapia.[4]

Soon after came news from the Islands that a fresh expedition, promoted to some extent by the admiral of the Indies, was preparing to occupy Pánuco. This was confirmed by a letter from Garay himself, who announced that the sovereign had appointed him governor of that district, and that he would at once enter into possession. Cortés had already made extensive preparations to anticipate his rival, and was not to be held back from a prize now more alluring than ever, and that by the mere indication of cédulas which he had so well learned to circumvent.

The question here involved was similar[5] to that of Narvaez and Tapia. The descent of an armed force so near to Mexico would encourage the natives to fresh revolts which might involve the loss of the entire country, and the slaughter of every Spaniard. His duty to sovereign and comrades demanded that he should prevent such disasters, and he was also bound to protect from other invaders a province which had already submitted to him. Indeed,

[3] *Cartas*, 56, 263–4.

[4] Bernal Diaz states that he did send some men to settle near Pánuco River so as to prevent Garay from taking possession, *Hist. Verdad.*, 160, but this is doubtful.

[5] The cédula issued in 1521 is to be found in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 147. Instructions connected with it, such as the settling of a boundary, appear to have been brought by Bono de Quejo.

the natives had sent to implore him for protection both against strangers and adjoining hostile tribes.[6] An additional reason for occupying the province was the necessity for New Spain proper to control so excellent a country.[7]

The importance of the project demanded that Cortés should undertake it in person, the more so since his leading captains were occupied elsewhere. He accordingly left Diego de Soto in charge at Mexico, with instructions for continuing the rebuilding, and set out with one hundred and twenty horse, three hundred foot-soldiers, a few field-pieces, and some forty thousand Indians from different quarters.[8] A fair proportion of the latter were chosen Aztec warriors, whom he thought it prudent to keep under his own immediate control, rather than expose the capital to the danger of a fresh conspiracy. The quality of the allegiance accorded to the Huastecs,[9] as the Pánuco

[6] Bernal Diaz confirms this, and adds that the greater part of the province had risen and killed the men sent by Cortés. *Hist. Verdad.*, 161. He evidently confounds the time and men with previous occurrences, for Cortés would not have failed to use a slaughter of his own men as an argument. He states that the people of Pánuco came to excuse themselves for killing Garay's men, and later the crew of a vessel, on the ground that they were not his adherents. *Cartas*, 281–2. The petition came probably from the Almería region, which he chose to call Pánuco, for on a previous page he writes somewhat contradictorily that the Pánuco tribes who had formerly tendered allegiance were now warring on vassals of the crown. *Id.*, 263.

[7] 'Mouia le tãbien desseo de vengar los Españoles de Francisco de Garay q̄ alli matarã,' adds Gomara. *Hist. Mex.*, 222.

[8] *Cartas*, 282. One hundred and thirty horse, 250 foot, and 10,000 Indians. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 161. He never allows more than a limited number of natives, desirous as he is to assume as much credit for Spaniards as he possibly can. A part of the force was recruited from Aillon's unfortunate expedition to Florida. Herrera reduces the horsemen to 80, but Gomara increases them to 150; and Ixtlilxochitl follows him as usual, though he assumes the auxiliaries to be composed wholly of Acolhuas and Mexicans. There must have been a large number of Tlascaltecs, Totonacs, and others. The town of Xochimilco claims to have furnished 500 warriors and large supplies. Those who survived this expedition perished under Alvarado in Guatemala. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 294. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, iv. 104, assumes that the incorporation of so large a force of Aztecs was a proof of growing confidence in them, but the truth is that the select warriors were taken away because they could not be trusted, especially after the recent conspiracy. Two years later the same precaution was observed, even so far as to take away on a long journey their princes, who actually proved a burden from the constant watching and care demanded by them.

[9] The Huastecs occupied a large stretch of territory, but afterwards their province was limited on the north-east by Tampico. See *Native Races*, i. 647.

people were properly called, was demonstrated immediately on approaching their territory. Demands for peaceful submission were met by jeers, and at Ayotochtitlan[10] a large force of warriors came to the attack with heedless confidence. Unfortunately for them the ground was advantageous for the cavalry, which fell upon them with an irresistible sweep that scattered the host in confusion. Swamps and forests enabled them to rally, however, and warned by misfortune they presented themselves again in better order, so much so that the allied troops found it no easy matter to complete the rout. Several thousand warriors paid the penalty for resisting the appeal of the Christians, while the invaders lost three soldiers, several horses, and a large number of allies, without counting the wounded.[11]

The lesson proved most effective, since the demand for submission with the promise of pardon and good treatment, extended through the captive caciques,[12] was now promptly responded to, though the accompanying presents were so insignificant as to dampen the ardor of the gold-seekers. After a halt of three or four days the army[13] proceeded to Chila, a large village on the Pánuco River, deserted and partly burned, five leagues from the sea, where Garay's force had suffered disaster. The usual demand, with offers of pardon for past offences, was sent to adjoining districts, but confident in the strength of their position on rivers and lagoons, the inhabitants scorned the appeal, and even killed the messengers together with

[10] The present Coscatlan, says Lorenzana, 25 leagues from Pánuco port. *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 342.

[11] Bernal Diaz has 3 soldiers, 4 horses, and 100 allies killed, with 30 Spaniards and 200 allies wounded. The Huastecs numbered 60,000. He calls the encounter two battles. Ixtlilxochitl increases the allied loss to 5,000 and the Huastec to 15,000. Herrera mentions only 50 Spaniards and several horses wounded, and a number of allies killed; and Cortés as usual refrains from disagreeable details.

[12] Accompanied by Father Olmedo, Marina, and Aguilar, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 161, but it is not likely that persons so valuable would be sent to doubtful foes. Those who had formerly submitted, by sending envoys to Mexico, now confirmed the allegiance, says Cortés.

[13] Bernal Diaz states that only half the army advanced, after a week's rest.

some foragers. During the fortnight required to obtain boats, build rafts, and make other preparations for a semi-naval attack, peaceful overtures were renewed in the hope that the gentle treatment so far observed might win the natives.

Everything being ready, advantage was taken of a dark night to cross the river. One hundred and fifty chosen soldiers, one third mounted, had already effected

PÁNUCO.

the manœuvre when dawn revealed them to the Indians, who had all this time been massed to prevent the passage. They immediately attacked the invaders with a fierceness heretofore unsurpassed, says Cortés, killing two horses at the first onset, and inflicting other damage. The soldiers stood their ground, however, and, reënforced from the other bank, they took

the offensive and quickly routed the natives,[14] pursuing them with great slaughter. Three leagues from camp they reached a deserted village, in the temple of which were hung in ghastly array the dressed skins and apparel of Garay's slain men. Several could still be recognized by soldiers who had known them, and who now with deep emotion consigned the remains to sanctified graves.

The following day the party followed the banks of a lagoon, and near sunset reached a beautiful village, apparently deserted. On entering they were suddenly set upon by an ambuscaded force, though so prematurely as to enable them to form. This was most fortunate, since the natives attacked with great resolution, and fell back in good order after the repulse, throwing themselves into a compact circle bristling with pikes. When the soldiers charged in their turn, a blinding shower of arrows and darts came rattling against them, and though they broke the ring, the warriors formed anew, the front line kneeling. This was repeated three or four times. "And but for the stout armor of the soldiers, I believe that none of us would have escaped," says the general. Observing the unflinching resolution of the soldiers and the havoc repeatedly inflicted, the rear of the foe began to desert by swimming across a river which entered the lagoon just beyond the village. Cortés was too delighted to attempt interference, and sought rather to accelerate the movement into a general flight. The warriors gathered on the opposite bank, while the tired Spaniards retreated within the village and encamped under strong guard,[15] feasting on the slain horses, for they had scarcely any supplies.

[14] The casualties according to Bernal Diaz were 2 soldiers, 3 horses, and many allies, with 30 Spaniards and 15 horses wounded. Chimalpain is much more moderate, *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 93, while Ixtlilxochitl claims 10,000 wounded allies. Cortés involuntarily admits heavy losses so far by saying, 'con hasta treinta de caballo que me quedaron...seguí todavía mi camino.' *Cartas*, 284.

[15] Bernal Diaz, who assumes that the retiring foe was pursued, gives the loss at 2 horses and 3 men, with 4 times that number wounded. Cortés admits the wounding of nearly 20 horses.

Proceeding on their way, they passed through several deserted villages, devoid even of food, though wine was found in the cellars and declared to be delicious. After three days, without seeing either natives or booty, they turned back to Chila, half starved.[16] Instructed by certain natives, Cortés now sent a strong force by night in another direction, both by land and water, and surprised a large village, inflicting a terrific lesson. The wholly unexpected attack, the strength of the place, and the severity of the punishment, all combined to convince the natives that resistance was useless, and with almost one accord they came to submit, the whole province tendering allegiance within three weeks. In order to assure possession, Cortés founded the town of San Estévan del Puerto, a little below Chila, on a lagoon connected with Rio Pánuco, and established a municipality, with Pedro de Vallejo as his lieutenant. The force volunteering to remain consisted of one hundred and thirty men, with twenty-seven horses, and a number of allies,[17] among whom the province was divided in repartimientos.[18] Their comfort and security were further insured by the arrival of a small craft from Villa Rica with stores.

When the expedition set out from Mexico a larger vessel had been sent in advance with supplies; but she foundered at sea during a storm, and only three men managed to reach the shore, clinging to some spars. They found their place of refuge a sandy island, containing nothing but brackish water and a kind of fig. Fortunately it was frequented by manatees, which came to sleep on the sand, and were thus

[16] 'En todo este tiempo entre todos no hubo cincuenta libras de pan.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 285. Messengers were again sent forth to summon the caciques, who replied that they were collecting gold and other presents and would bring them within a few days; but none came. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 162.

[17] Including a part of the Acolhua warriors. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hor. Crueldades*, 64.

[18] Some of these grants are dated at San Estévan May 1, 1523. *Casas, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vii. 308.

easily killed for food. Fire was obtained by the primitive method of rubbing together two pieces of wood. Finding no vessel at Pánuco, Cortés had sent instructions to Villa Rica to despatch the above craft in search of it, and so the three sailors were rescued. The vessel and a small boat were left with the settlers to maintain communication.[19]

The expedition was most disappointing, for hardly any spoils were secured to satisfy the inordinate hopes entertained, while the expenses amounted to quite a large sum, nails and horseshoes costing their weight in gold.[20] Yet the outlay was not in vain, so far as Spanish interests in general were concerned, for a crew wrecked on that coast not long after escaped the slaughter to which they would undoubtedly have been exposed had the province not been subjugated, and later colonists were saved the cost and danger of conquering.[21]

There seems to have been good reason for the claim that the influence of Cortés was necessary to maintain the conquests he had effected, and that his simple presence answered better than armies to control the natives. Of this an illustration was offered at this time. His absence in Pánuco gave rise to the report in some quarters that he had departed for Spain, and

[19] 'Un barco y un chinchorro.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 286. Bernal Diaz adds that when Cortés was about to leave, a conspiracy was revealed among the three leading villages, to lead in a general revolt against the settlers as soon as the general should have left. The villages were burned as a warning. *Hist. Verdad.*, 162. Gomara insinuates that this burning occurred during the campaign, it seems, in punishment for the attack on Garay's men. *Hist. Mex.*, 222–3.

[20] 'Valian los clauos a peso de oro, de quinze quilates, y cada quatro herraduras, y cien clauos, costãua cincuenta y quatro Castellanos de buen oro,' and the horses cost 1,500 to 2,000 castellanos. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xviii. 'The cost to me alone was 30,000 pesos de oro,' says Cortés, 'and as much more to my companions for outfits and supplies.' *Cartas*, 286. Bernal Diaz raises the amount to 70,000. When the general afterward claimed reimbursement from the crown, the treasury officials objected on the ground that he had incurred the expense merely to forestall the legally appointed governor. *Hist. Verdad.*, 161, 163.

[21] This applies to Garay's expedition, and Cortés himself points out the gain to the emperor.

the troublesome mountaineers of Tututepec,[22] a district between Cempoala and Pánuco, took advantage of his supposed absence, encouraged also by false information from Huasteca. Not alone did they rebel, but they made a raid on the adjoining peaceful territory, burning more than twenty villages. Cortés was on the way back from San Estévan, when messengers from the ravaged district came with their complaints. Both time and proximity favored them, and the general resolved to personally inflict a lesson that should be lasting. It was no easy task, however, for the march led mostly across rugged mountains, alternating with narrow defiles and dense forests, so much so that a number of horses died from exhaustion. The line was besides exposed to constant assaults on flank and rear by the unencumbered and agile foe, which on one occasion inflicted quite a serious blow on the carriers' train, and escaped with a large part of the baggage. Nevertheless the persevering Spaniards achieved their object, and captured the ruling lord, together with the general, who were promptly hanged for having a second time broken their oaths of allegiance. As a further warning to other provinces, the captured natives were enslaved and sold at auction to cover the cost of the horses lost during the campaign, or rather, a portion of the cost, for the proceeds of the sale were comparatively small.[23] The lord's brother was installed as ruler, and the expedition turned homeward by way of Villa Rica.

Costly as had been the campaign, however, both men and leader were to receive a reward which should forever obliterate their late severe troubles. This came in the form of the commission appointing Cortés

[22] Another Tututepec existed near the coast, west of Tehuantepec, and the name has also been applied by careless chroniclers to Tochtepec, or Tuxtepec, on Papaloapan River, creating much confusion.

[23] Herrera, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xviii., assumes that only 200 slaves were sold, while 20 horses perished. Cortés says 10 or 12 horses. *Cartas*, 279. 'Era compensacion religiosa y cristiana, hombres por caballos!' observes Bustamante. *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 95.

governor and captain-general.[24] It had been intrusted by his agents in Spain to Rodrigo de Paz and Francisco de las Casas, two near relatives of the general, who hastened on their way in the fastest vessel they could secure. Nor did they fail to touch at Santiago de Cuba,[25] and there flaunt in the face of Velazquez, with great fanfaronade, the decrees which crushed forever his aspirations and rendered powerless his sting. Their arrival was greeted throughout New Spain with wild demonstrations of joy, with processions, salvos, and prolonged festivities. And rightly so; for the cédulas implied the culmination of years of deferred hopes, of victory achieved after long and varied struggle for all that was worth possessing. The triumph alone was soothing to these adventurous spirits, and how much more when it dispelled the weighty cloud of royal displeasure, removed the brand of outlaws, and placed them before the world as acknowledged heroes, assured in the enjoyment of their lands, their slaves, and treasures, and looking forward with confident exultation to fresh conquests, now more resplendent than ever with prospective gain and glory.[26]

Their anticipations were now not based on flimsy rumor, but on one of the richest presents laid at the feet of Cortés since the fall of Mexico. It was brought by an imposing embassy of one hundred persons, from Utatlan and Guatemala, the result of Alvarado's demonstrations along the southern sea the year before. Gold-ware, pearls, rare plumes, and choice fabrics were offered in token of the friendship tendered by

[24] Remesal leaves the impression that this had called Cortés to Villa Rica, on the way from Tututepec to Mexico. *Hist. Chyapa*, 3.

[25] In May 1523, says Gomara.

[26] The usual reward to bearers of good tidings was this time distributed with princely liberality. Paz was made chief mayordomo of his great kinsman; Casas received a captaincy, to which was soon added the large encomienda of Anguitlan, and the office of alcalde mayor, an office for which his ability fitted him. Both men figure quite prominently during the following years. Their voyage companions were also remembered, and the captain who had brought them across, says Bernal Diaz, received a new vessel, so that he returned quite rich. *Hist. Verdad.*, 187.

the distant monarchs. The hearts of the soldiers warmed with delight as they beheld these specimens of wealth, magnified tenfold as they drank with covetous souls the stories of the attendant Spanish messengers of cities and palaces surpassing those of Mexico in size and beauty.[27] The experiences in Pánuco had already divested the unknown north of its main allurement, and now it was wholly eclipsed. All attention turned toward the pearl-lined shores bathed by the southern sea, to the mysterious Quiché kingdom, and beyond to the coast of Hibueras where gold was so abundant that fishermen used nuggets for sinkers. Cortés had additional reasons for his allurement in the absorbing hope of discovering the much sought strait, which might possibly be found even in the south among the numerous inlets which penetrated into the narrow strip of land. To gain this and other laurels for his wreath he must hasten, however, for already the Spaniards of Panamá were moving northward and might forestall him.

Preparations were accordingly made to carry out both aims, by two directions, along the north and south seas, so as to render them quicker and surer of attainment, and to enable the expeditions not only to aid each other in their pacifications, but to present a stronger front to the approaching Spaniards from the south. The importance of the enterprise demanded the best military talent. The choice was easily made, however, for who could come before the often tried adherents the redoubtable Alvarado, second only to the leader himself, the impressive Olid, and the admirable Sandoval, all able, brave, zealous, and evidently devoted. To Alvarado, who had already initiated the conquest in the direction of Guatemala, fell naturally its continuation, and Olid, as next in age and standing of the trio, had the best claim to the Hibueras command. The distance of this province, and the uncertainty of the land route, made it advisable that Olid

[27] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 624 et seq., this series.

should proceed by sea, while the other party advanced along the already disclosed path. By August 1523 both expeditions were ready, Alvarado's rendered imposing by a considerable force of cavalry, with four field-pieces,[28] the more needful in view of reports of hostile movements in the border province of Soconusco. Olid was less thoroughly equipped, but funds had been sent to Cuba to secure the needed horses and stores, which he would there take on board.[29]

Thus stood matters when a messenger from San Estévan appeared among the captains at Mexico with the startling intelligence that Adelantado Garay had arrived there with a large force to assert his claim as governor of the province. While this was most aggravating, Cortés congratulated himself on not having as yet despatched the expeditions. After expending so much money and labor in conquering Pánuco, and that in the face of royal orders, he had no intention of abandoning it, especially since he perceived behind the intruder the portly figure of Velazquez, and the meddling admiral of the Indies, with the prospect of never-ending intrigues, attended by encroachments and probably worse troubles. His fears and his ambition allowed him no rest; and broken in health as he was, and lame in one arm through a fall from the saddle, he resolved to lead all the prepared forces in person against the arrival.[30]

Garay's expeditions to the north-western gulf coasts had by no means been encouraging, what with comparatively meagre results from barter and loss of men in encounters with the natives.[31] The gold obtained was nevertheless regarded as a specimen of riches which must be great, as the inhabitants were so eager

[28] Cortés enumerates his force as 80 horse and 200 foot. *Cartas*, 289–90.

[29] The purchases were intrusted to Alonso de Contreras. *Oviedo*, iii. 459; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 229, 243.

[30] He was bedridden. *Cortés, Cartas*, 291. 'Vn braço, que se le quebrò en vn regozijo, por el mes de Setiembre.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. v. The fall must have occurred earlier than September.

[31] See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 189, this series.

to defend them. This belief was confirmed by the magnified treasures which Cortés had obtained on the adjoining coast, and despatched to the emperor. Garay had therefore hastened to ask for fresh cédulas, whereby he should be empowered to approach more closely to Anáhuac, the evident centre of wealth. With the aid of his patron, the admiral, and other friends, these were readily obtained from the regent Adrian, permitting him to colonize the province of Amichel, which embraced the much coveted Pánuco.[32] The fate of Narvaez and Tapia had not failed to impress the adelantado with the danger of treading on the corns of the formidable Cortés,[33] but if he entertained any serious fears, they were dissipated by the arguments of Colon and Velazquez, who were deeply interested in the success of an expedition which might pave the way for their own plans; sufficiently so to prompt even assistance.

Preparations were actively pursued, and about June 24, 1523,[34] Garay set sail from his island domain of Jamaica with a fleet of eleven vessels, well provided with artillery, and carrying nearly six hundred soldiers, one hundred and fifty of them mounted, and the rest largely composed of arquebusiers and archers. Stores appear to have been provided in a careless manner, or left to the discretion of different captains.[35] Touching

[32] The cédula is dated at Búrgos, 1521, and signed by the cardinal and admiral. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 147–53. It contains the usual instructions for good government and extension of the faith, and stipulates that 'repartimientos of Indians shall under no consideration be made,' as this has been the cause of all the evil in Española and other parts. Should his reports prevail on the crown to extend the privilege to him, after the condition of the country is known, he must strictly conform to regulations for such repartimientos. Instructions like these amounted to nothing, for they were always evaded with more or less assurance, and by this time the Pánuco people had been enslaved.

[33] In reply to a letter announcing the projected expedition to the gulf coast, Cortés had congratulated him and tendered his services, but this was not supposed to be sincere. Indeed, it was intimated that the wily conqueror rather sought to induce Garay to come, so that he might win over his men, and seize, or buy for a trifle, the outfit. *Lucas*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 275–6. This was an idle rumor, no doubt, but it illustrates the opinion entertained of Cortés and his wiles.

[34] 'Dia de San Johan,' writes Oviedo. June 26th, says Herrera.

[35] Garay declares 11 vessels 'navíos,' though the phrase is peculiar, and may

at Jagua in Cuba, he learned of Cortés' entry into Pánuco and his appointment of governor in New Spain. While notifying the men of prospective resistance, he pointed out their irresistible strength, and his own rights, and encouraged them with prospective rewards, whereof he gave a foretaste by appointing alcaldes and regidores of the Villa Garayana to be founded in the new region.[33] The adelantado was a well meaning man, but too pliable for the scheming adventurers who swarmed to the Indies. Of a good family, he sought to maintain his name and position by initiating some of the many enterprises which flitted through the brains of his companions, but he lacked both ability and character to direct them, and possessed no military experience with which to impose upon the swaggering horde. The more he heard of the wiles and exploits of Cortés, from the mouths of victims who hardly cared to mention their defeat, the less confident he grew in his project, though Velazquez did all he could to encourage him. He resolved to seek a compromise with his great rival, and directed himself to Licentiate Zuazo, an upright and highly respected judge, who had been sent to Cuba by the audiencia of Santo Domingo to take the residencia of the governor. Though unable to leave Cuba just then,

be interpreted as 12. The word navíos may exclude smaller craft. His officers declare 'about 600 men.' *Provision*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 97–103. Lucas, who shared in the expedition, mentions 11 vessels, 150 horse, and 400 foot. *Cortes, Residencia*, i. 275. Cortés writes 120 horse and 400 foot, and several cannon. *Cartas*, 290. This is supposed to be the number which arrived in Pánuco, reduced by losses. Gomara specifies 9 larger vessels and 2 brigantines, 850 Spaniards, with 144 horses, 200 arquebuses, 300 crossbows, a few Jamaican natives, and an abundance of stores and merchandise. *Hist. Mex.*, 224. An exaggeration, no doubt, though the men are increased by the crews. Not to be outdone, Bernal Diaz enumerates 11 larger vessels, 2 brigantines, 136 cavalry, 840 infantry, chiefly arquebusiers and archers. *Hist. Verdad.*, 168. A royal cédula based on a report from the audiencia of Española mentions 16 large and small vessels, 600 men, and 150 horses. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 497–8.

[36] Where, is not said. It was probably left for events to determine. *Provision*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 115–16. Gomara places this incident already at Jamaica, saying derisively, 'Hizo vn pueblo en ayre que llamo Garay.' The alcaldes were Alonso de Mendoza and Fernando de Figueroa, and the regidores Gonzalo de Ovalle, Diego de Cifuentes, and one Villagran. *Hist. Mex.*, 224.

the licentiate promised soon to undertake the mission.[37] As an additional precaution Garay took a special oath of allegiance from the men to uphold his cause, and then somewhat relieved he resumed the voyage. After being tossed by a storm, he entered Rio de las Palmas[38] on St James' day, July 25th, and sent Gonzalo de Ocampo[39] to explore. Their report was so unsatisfactory that the soldiers demanded vociferously to be led to Pánuco.[40] Unable to resist the appeal, and not particularly captivated by the country, he landed the greater part of the force and proceeded southward, keeping close to the shore, while Juan de Grijalva conducted the fleet to Rio Pánuco. For two or three days they floundered through a swampy country, and crossing a wide stream[41] in some shaky canoes, they reached a recently deserted village, wherein an abundance of provisions rewarded the toilers. Some Indians who had been at the Spanish settlements were brought in, and conciliated with presents to advance and reassure the natives. On reaching the next village, however, the soldiers began to pillage, regardless of appeals from the leader. Either intimidated or naturally mild, the natives remained to serve the army and to assist it onward. The route proved so bad that a number of horses

[37] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. v. A letter from Bono de Quejo, instigated no doubt by Cortés, assisted not a little to frighten the adelantado.

[38] The present Rio la Marina, or Santander. On the map of Fernando Colon, 1527, *Las Palmas;* Ribero, 1529, *R. de Palmas; Munich Atlas*, 1535, *palmas;* Agnese, 1540, *palmas;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *Rº de Palmas;* Hood, 1592, *R. de Palmas;* Ogilby, 1671, *R. Escondido*, marked near the head-waters, *Culias Vachus Gracos S John Enda;* Laet, 1633, *R. de Palmas*, and south, *R de Montanhas;* Jefferys, 1776, *Rio de las Palmas*, at the mouth *Esmotes L.*, tributary *Rio de las Nasas;* Kiepert, 1852, *Rio Rapido*, or *Iglesias. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 602–3. It must not be confounded with Rio de la Palma in southern Vera Cruz, as a careless writer appears to do in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép., i. 474.

[39] A relative, says Gomara.

[40] A declaration in *Provision*, ubi sup. 103, states that several persons wished him to settle there, but he refused. There is no doubt that the soldiers objected to remain in a region devoid both of gold and superior culture, so that Garay had to yield. Bernal Diaz places here the creation of a municipality, and the renewal of allegiance.

[41] Named Montalto from its source in the high mountains five leagues off. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 225. This is evidently the Montanhas of Laet's map.

perished, and the incapacity of the captains increased the danger. At one wide stream the horses, arms, and baggage were transferred and left almost unattended on one bank while the army camped on the other for the night. A few resolute warriors might have killed or carried off the whole train, and on other occasions the men were almost wholly at their mercy.

On approaching Pánuco, where rest and plenty had been looked for, Garay found the villages deserted and bare of food, due chiefly to alarm at the approaching host of starvelings. Informed by interpreters that the cause was Cortésian raids, he sought to win them back by promising to avenge their wrongs, and drive out the oppressors, as governor of that country.[42] The announcement might have been left unsaid, for his famished soldiers were already spreading in different directions under impulse of hunger and greed. Little they found to appease the former, while for the latter nothing remained after the careful gleaning of the other party; and hearing from a deserter of the glories at Mexico, they felt prepared for any change that would take them nearer to the imperial city. If there had been any real meaning in the words of Garay, it did not take long to discover the difficulty of enforcing it in view of the growing insubordination. Now that the point of destination was reached he had no definite idea what to do with the expedition fitted out at such trouble and expense; nor had he the resolution to carry out any effective plan. Why had he come?

Something must be done, however, and Ocampo was sent to confer with Vallejo, the lieutenant at San Estévan, and announce that Garay came provided with a commission to settle and govern the province, as adelantado. Vallejo received the envoy with great courtesy, and expressed delight at the prospect of

[42] The natives were urged to support Garay in driving away the retainers of Cortés. *Provision*, ubi sup., 125 et seq.

having so esteemed a company for neighbors. He would willingly show them every attention, but as for recognizing any other ruler over Pánuco than Cortés, that was out of the question, since the latter had not only conquered it at great expense, but had received the appointment of governor. Nevertheless he would write to his chief at Mexico for instructions, and forward Garay's letter wherein he proposed a peaceable arrangement, to avoid losses to themselves and the sovereign. Meanwhile he agreed to let the newcomers quarter themselves in some of the villages near San Estévan, notably Taculula and Nachapalan, with the injunction not to harass the natives. This order was not respected, chiefly because of scanty supplies; and finding that no military precautions were observed at the camps, the settlers at San Estévan one night pounced upon the most disorderly, and brought two score of them as prisoners to the fort.[43] The feat was not dangerous, for the precaution had been taken to extort in payment for food nearly all the ammunition among the interlopers, and weapons and other effects were rapidly being absorbed. Garay protested; but, emboldened by the change of aspect, Vallejo intimated that unless the soldiers were kept under control he should order him to leave the country.

Meanwhile the long-delayed fleet arrived, after having been exposed to heavy north gales in which four out of the eleven vessels were lost.[44] Their number was increased soon after by a caravel from Cuba, with a number of the retainers of Velazquez, who allured by a fancied scent of spoils came to seek a share. Learning the condition of affairs, Grijalva remained at anchor near the mouth of the river, despite the appeals of Vallejo, who objected to the hostility thereby implied, and even threatened him with the anger of his chief.

[43] Including their captain, Alvarado. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 225.

[44] Garay's declaration, in *Provision*, ubi sup., 97. Yet the sentence may be understood to say that one of the four was lost in the river. Bernal Diaz allows only two to be wrecked.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PÁNUCO AFFAIR AND ITS SEQUEL.

1523–1524.

ALVARADO APPEARS UPON THE SCENE—NAVAL STRATEGY—DOUBLE DEALINGS—HOW CORTÉS SETTLED THE AFFAIR—GARAY'S SUDDEN DEATH—GENERAL UPRISING IN PÁNUCO—MASSACRES—DESPERATE EFFORTS OF THE SETTLERS—SANDOVAL TO THE RESCUE—HIS RUSE AT THE PASS—TERRIBLE RETALIATION—BURNING OF THE PATRIOTS—GARAYAN CONSPIRACY—AN ESTIMABLE JUDGE—HIS SHIPWRECK AND ISLAND LIFE—ALVARADO AND OLID DEPART FOR SOUTHERN CONQUESTS—MARIN'S CAMPAIGN IN CHIAPAS, AND RANGEL'S ENTRY INTO ZAPOTECAPAN.

THE first step of Cortés on learning of Garay's arrival had been to despatch Alvarado in advance with all the forces ready for the Guatemalan campaign. He himself prepared to follow with additional troops, and had already sent his equipage to the first camp beyond Mexico, when, on September 2d, a messenger[1] arrived with despatches from Spain, including a royal cédula forbidding Garay to interfere in any district conquered or held by Cortés.[2] This document made his presence in Pánuco unnecessary, and he gladly availed himself of his good fortune to escape from the hardships of a march which might prove fatal

[1] Gomara supposes the messengers to be Paz and Casas, but he is evidently wrong. Herrera differs in several points from Cortés, partly through misinterpretation; and Cavo blunders repeatedly. *Tres Siglos*, i. 25 et seq.

[2] It was dated April 24, 1523, and based on the representations of Cortés concerning the danger of outside interference in provinces already subdued by him, as instanced by the revolts which followed the meddling of Narvaez and Tapia. The sovereign desired Cortés to be unembarrassed in the government till the crown should have been informed of the condition and extent of the country, so as better to define the limits for other governments. The document was exhibited at Mexico on Sept. 3d.

in his present state of health.[3] Diego de Ocampo was accordingly sent as alcalde mayor to represent him in Pánuco, supported by the cédula, and a force under command of Rodrigo Rangel. He must allow no hostile measures on the part of either Alvarado or himself till the peaceful injunctions of the cédula had been fully exerted and information sent to Cortés. Ovalle did not overtake Alvarado till he approached San Estévan, and found him escorting a large number of prisoners. It appears that the captain had been implored by the frontier people of Pánuco to protect them against the raids of Gonzalo de Ovalle, brother-in-law of Garay, who from his camp at Guazaltepec was raiding the country at the head of a score of cavalry and other forces. Approaching cautiously, he managed to present himself before the astonished and careless Ovalle in a manner that made it difficult for him either to escape or to resist, and since Alvarado possessed also the advantage of superior force, he agreed to surrender his arms and horses.[4]

Encouraged by the success of the manœuvre with the land forces, the officers of Cortés combined to operate against the shipping under the probably fabricated plea that Garay had at last resolved to take up a strong position on the other side of the river, and supported by the vessels to defy the settlers.[5] Before dawn one morning several boats with muffled oars approached two of the vessels which had been selected for attack. All was silent on board, and the assailants gained the deck before the alarm was given. With a Viva Cortés! they rushed on the surprised watch and

[3] 'Porque habia sesenta dias que no dormia, y estaba con mucho trabajo, y á partirme á aquella sazon no habia de mi vida mucha seguridad.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 291.

[4] Garay protests that some of the men were compelled by fear or want to sell their horses. The party was living peaceably in quarters when surprised. *Provision*, ubi sup., 88. Many were disgusted with Ovalle for his ready surrender, and Oviedo, iii. 450, who evidently regards one party as bad as the other, observes, 'no paresçiera mal alguna escaramuça ú otro medio.'

[5] So affirms Lúcas, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 279–80, leaving the impression that there was some truth in the report.

hastened to take up positions which rendered further or effective resistance useless. Indeed little opposition was offered, owing in part to a secret arrangement with the captains.[6] Alarmed by the noise, and suspecting the truth, Grijalva prepared to take steps for recapturing the vessel. When Vallejo's notary came with the formal demand for him to leave the river or to anchor under the fort, he sternly rejected the favorable propositions made, and signalled to his consorts to open fire on the captured vessels, he himself setting the example.[7] Nothing daunted, the resolute Vallejo made conspicuous preparations for defence, probably in a great measure for effect. Whether real or not they succeeded, for abandoned by the land forces, and tired of waiting for further developments, with vessels rapidly decaying under the attack of worms, the captains all refused to expose themselves to needless danger. Grijalva could do nothing alone, and so after a brief conference he yielded,[8] only to be made a prisoner, together with a number of his officers and crew, whom Alvarado replaced with trusty men.

Ocampo now stepped in to play his part. With an air of magnanimous consideration he ordered nearly all of the prisoners to be set at liberty.[9] He thereupon declared himself ready to extend every aid to

[6] Castromocho and Martin de San Juan, according to Cortés. Salazar writes Juan de Lepuscuano and Torre Mocho. *Hist. Conq.*, 108. 'As worthy of being called good mutineers as Ovalle of receiving the term captain,' says Oviedo. Nearly all the authorities follow the diplomatic version of Cortés that these captains voluntarily surrendered, either by persuasion, or intimidated by the formal notifications issued. Lúcas speaks on the other hand of a treacherous capture, attended by pillage; but he takes an extreme view, and does not perhaps believe in the perfidy of the captains.

[7] A number of shots being fired. *Bernal Diaz. Hist. Verdad.*, 170.

[8] Herrera assumes that Ocampo arrived in the midst of this excitement, and exhibited the royal cédula, whereupon Grijalva followed the other ships into the harbor. dec. iii. lib. v. cap. vi. Cortés is contradictory about the date of the occurrence, whether before Ocampo's arrival or after; but a statement in *Provision*, loc. cit., confirms Bernal Diaz in giving Alvarado at least a share in the capture.

[9] With restoration of all effects, writes Cortés, who naturally seeks to place his acts in the best light, *Cartas*, 294–5; but the followers of Cortés managed nevertheless to retain the best and largest portion of their arms and belongings.

the expedition, but as the province pertained to Cortés, a large force of armed strangers could not be permitted to remain, as this would prejudice both settlers and natives and create trouble. They must leave. Almost sick with chagrin at this succession of mishaps, Garay met the alcalde mayor at Chiachacata, near San Estévan, in the beginning of October, there to arrange terms. He recognized the rights conferred on Cortés by the royal cédula, and agreed to leave the province for Rio de las Plumas or adjoining regions.[10] In order to do so, however, his ships and men must be restored, with their outfit and belongings, and supplies were also required. This seemed reasonable, and Ocampo hastened to issue a proclamation enjoining all members of Garay's expedition, under heavy penalties of lash and fine, to assemble at Tacalula, and there place themselves at the disposal of the commander; all captured men and effects were to be restored, and the natives instructed to bring in supplies.[11]

All this was a farce, for the men of Cortés did not intend to lose for their chief so valuable an acquisition of men and vessels, or to surrender the arms, horses, and other effects obtained. The poor prospects of receiving pay for the required supplies was another objection, but the strongest lay with the members themselves, who instigated by the settlers, and allured by the tales and specimens of wealth in Mexico; by the fame of Cortés as a great and generous leader; and by the projected expeditions to the gilded regions Honduras and Guatemala, were almost

[10] Rio del Espíritu Santo was among the points suggested. On an old map relative to Garay's expedition this river is placed near the Espíritu Santo Bay in Texas. *Collection of Mex. Maps*, No. 10.

[11] The necessary sustenance to be given free of charge, under penalty of 2,000 pesos de oro for any opposition on the part of the settlers. The latter must also restore any arms and horses bought from the expedition, on 'receiving back' the money paid. The penalty for members who refused to join their commander was confiscation of effects, or 200 pesos de oro fine for noblemen, and 100 lashes for common persons. See *Provision*, in *Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 78, 92 et seq.

unanimously opposed to follow the inefficient Garay to the wild north lands. Many, indeed, had already wandered away to Mexico, regardless of the hostile tribes on the way, and others only waited their time to do likewise, hiding meanwhile in the forests by day, and seeking by night the sheltering houses and camps of the army of Cortés. Garay issued appeals to his men, with abundant promises, and, nothing availing, he turned for assistance to Ocampo. After his many protestations, the latter felt obliged to do something, and his lieutenant was instructed to scour the district for fugitives. At the same time he renewed the demand for Garay's departure, under penalty of confiscation.[12] The result of the measure was the seizure of a certain number of men, chiefly of the Velazquez party, and uncongenial persons, who came forth in a formal protest. Garay was wholly unfit to lead any expedition, and they had followed him so far under misrepresentations. It was certain, however, that Pánuco was their proclaimed destination, and they were not bound to proceed elsewhere, the more so since their pay had not been forthcoming. To depart under such a leader into an unknown wilderness, in rotten vessels, unprovided with ammunition and supplies, could only result in disaster, and they preferred to submit to any punishment rather than encounter the risk.[13]

Recognizing the objections to the vessels, he proposed to go by land, but this was equally objected to, and perceiving the futility of further efforts in Pánuco, he asked permission to confer personally with Cortés at Mexico. Ocampo agreed, insisting however that a number of noted adherents of Velazquez belonging to the party should leave the

[12] And even 'so pena de muerte,' yet Ocampo aided to deter the men. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 279, 282.

[13] The fleet was no royal navy to which they were bound; the outfit had been furnished partly at their own expense; and yet they had been robbed, starved, and maltreated by the leader. *Protest*, in *Provision*, ubi sup., 110–15. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. vi.

province in one of the vessels, lest they should create trouble.[14]

On reaching Mexico, Garay received an impressive welcome from his rival, who, having nothing to fear from him, was quite prepared to play the magnanimous part, and to entertain him as an old friend. He even thought seriously of aiding him, and in token of his good-will agreed to the betrothal of his natural daughter, Catalina,[15] with Garay's eldest son, then acting as his father's lieutenant in Pánuco, the defect in the bride's birth being covered with a large dowry in lands and gold. The latter was to be expended in the proposed expedition to the Rio de las Palmas region, for which Cortés promised his assistance in men and means, with a view of sharing in the profits.[16] While the project was maturing the two leaders maintained the most intimate relations, and on Christmas eve, about six weeks after his arrival in Mexico, Garay accompanied the governor to midnight mass and then to breakfast. That same day he was laid low with pain and fever, aggravated by previous indisposition. The doctors declared his case hopeless, and a few days later he expired, leaving Cortés his executor.[17] The funeral was conducted with great

[14] Cortés names Gonzalo de Figueroa, Alonso de Mendoza, Cerda, Juan de Ávila, Ulloa, Taborda, Medina, and Grijalva, as the leading exiles. *Cartas*, 297. Permission was nevertheless given to one or two to proceed under supervision to Mexico, and Figueroa figures there as witness. It was permitted to Cortés by royal orders to exile persons supposed to be dangerous to the peace. Garay exchanged letters with Cortés on the way, for his march was comparatively slow, and received assurances of welcome. See *Provision*, ubi sup., 131-2.

[15] Surnamed Pizarro, and wrongly supposed by Lorenzana to have been the child of his first wife. *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 361. Chimalpain assumes her to be the offspring of Elvira, descendant of Montezuma, and consequently still an infant. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 98. The marriage evidently did not take place, for in the bull of 1529, making Cortés' natural children legitimate, she is mentioned as a maiden, and in Cortés' will of 1547 she is said to be in the convent at Coyuhuacan. Yet, in a *Memorial* of Cortés to the sovereign, not long after, he writes: 'Chinanta, que señalé á una hija por dote suyo, y con esto la casé con el hijo mayoradgo del adelantado...Garay.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 279. This may be in anticipation of the actual marriage, with a view also to strengthen his claim to the town thus bestowed as dowry.

[16] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 227. Enemies have declared the promises illusive, *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 283, but without good reason, for Cortés himself regarded an expedition to that region with favor years after.

[17] Bernal Diaz adds Father Olmedo.

pomp. There were not persons wanting who whispered that so sudden a death of a late rival was significant of poison, though the doctor under oath declared the cause to be a very prevalent disease to which a number of soldiers had succumbed.[18]

Soon after Garay's arrival[19] at Mexico a messenger arrived in hot haste from Pánuco with the report that all the natives were in arms, slaughtering Spaniards in every direction, and resolved not to leave one white man alive. The trouble was ascribed to Garay's men: already mutinous before his departure, they wholly ignored the son he had left in charge. A large number felt also absolved from all restraint by the absence of officers, whom Ocampo had exiled for their well known sympathy with Velazquez, or taken with him to Mexico.[20] Abandoning the camps assigned to them, some disbanding, they scattered over the country in small parties,[21] pillaging the native villages of

[18] The sickness lasted usually three or four days. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 170–1. The rumor of poison was freely ventilated in the accusations sent to Spain by royal officials a year later, and in *Cortés, Residencia*, i.–ii. Gomara ascribes one rumor to the supposed change of feeling between Cortés and Garay when the latter removed from his palace to the house of an old friend named Alonso de Villanueva, where he frequently conversed with Narvaez. *Hist. Mex.*, 227. Neither is said to have spoken there of Cortés save in flattering terms, according to Bernal Diaz. Cortés does not allude to the sickness, but attributes his death to the disappointments suffered in Pánuco, to remorse for the revolt then raging in that province, caused by his men, and to fears for the safety of his son. *Cartas*, 299–300. The audiencia of Santo Domingo, which had looked coldly on Garay's expedition, received a royal decree dated December 27, 1523, instructing them to prevent any quarrel between him and Cortés, each to confine himself to their respective discoveries. *Cédula*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 498–9. The sons did not take advantage of the privilege this implied, but sent to collect what remained of the father's estate. One of them, named Antonio, received a regimiento in Santo Domingo city, and the lieutenancy of the forts at Santiago in Cuba, and Yaquimo in Española, with a remission of half the 1,000 ducats due by his father to the royal treasury. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. i. In 1532 he figures as regidor of Santiago, while claiming the restitution of certain estates of his father in Jamaica. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 127–33.

[19] In the beginning of December 1523, evidently.

[20] Bernal Diaz differs from Cortés and others in assuming that these very men of Velazquez gave occasion for the anarchy by quarrelling for the supreme command. He supposes them to be exiled afterward in consequence. *Hist. Verdad.*, 171.

[21] By order of the lieutenants of Cortés, says a witness, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 284, but this must be an exaggeration of the fact that they were quar-

provisions and other effects, laying hands on the women, killing those who sought to defend their wives and daughters, and committing every conceivable outrage. A warlike people could not be expected to long endure what amounted to slow extermination by famine and assassins. They had already been aroused through the raids suppressed by the followers of Cortés, and encouraged by the jealousies and quarrels between the two Spanish parties. The departure of Alvarado's imposing forces emboldened the conspirators, who so far had numbered but few. Now every native felt it a solemn duty to join, and within the month the whole province had risen. Every straggling party was promptly slaughtered, and with tortures that should in some degree compensate injured husbands and fathers for the anguish suffered. Growing bolder with success and number the natives attacked the camps, notably one at Tamiquil,[22] containing more than a hundred soldiers, all of whom were killed, a native Jamaican alone managing to escape.

Alarmed for their own safety, and appealed to by the different settlements, the main corps at San Estévan sent several parties to warn and assist their comrades; but the hostile warriors swept everything before them, and one of the expeditions, consisting of fifteen horse and some two dozen foot soldiers, was actually surprised and cut to pieces at Tacetuco,[23] the lieutenant and two horsemen alone escaping from the burning quarters, wherein those still alive were roasting amidst the triumphant songs of the enemy. Every other field party was driven back to the fort, to which siege was laid with persistent determination. Vallejo himself headed the settlers in several encounters, till a well directed arrow stayed his efforts forever. Emboldened by the death of this valiant captain the

tered in different villages, subject to rules for obtaining supplies. Some of the parties numbered less than half a dozen men, says Cortés.

[22] Also written Tamiquitl, Tamiquistl, Tamuy, Tancanhuichi, and Taquiuitl.

[23] Now Tanjuco, says Lorenzana, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 364. A fugitive from here brought the news to Mexico. *Cortés, Cartas*, 300.

warriors pressed the siege closely, attempting also to surprise the place by night. The besieged fought with the energy of despair, and though numbers of natives succumbed, every repulse proved costly, while famine began also to add its quota to the misery. Not knowing whether the message by land had reached Mexico, they sent news to Villa Rica by one of Garay's vessels; but assistance could in any case not come at once, and the delay seemed interminable with the daily addition of victims, now exceeding three hundred.[24]

Still disabled by his broken arm, Cortés could not yield to the desire of personally relieving the province, but Sandoval was immediately despatched with fifty horse, one hundred foot, and thirty thousand natives, reënforced with four field-pieces and a considerable number of arquebuses and cross-bows.[25] His instructions were to inflict a punishment that should remain an ineffaceable warning to rebels. With great alacrity he hastened northward; for when engaged on important affairs this gallant leader scarcely allowed himself time for sleep, as his admirer, Bernal Diaz, declares. On approaching the province, he learned that the enemy had occupied both passes leading into it, and thought it best to divide his force, sending part against each, not knowing which passage might be more readily forced. The archers and arquebusiers were ordered to alternate, so as to maintain a steady volley, and create a confusion of which advantage might be taken. This expectation was not fulfilled,

[24] More than 300, according to the declaration of Garay witnesses, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 123; 400 says Gomara, followed by Herrera; 600 is Bernal Diaz' round figure, while Cortés fixes the losses of his party at 43, and those of the Garay faction known to have perished, at 210, though he believes that the latter number should be made larger. Oviedo, iii. 458, writes 43 and 270, respectively, while assuming that Garay must have lost over 400 in reality.

[25] Cortés calls the 100 foot, archers and arquebusiers. *Cartas*, 301. The allies are given by Ixtlilxochitl as 15,000 Acolhuas, under Yoyontzin, the youngest brother of Prince Ixtlilxochitl, and 15,000 Mexicans, under a nephew of Quaubtemotzin. *Hor. Crueldades*, 65. Bernal Diaz, in reducing the number to 8,000, as usual with him, composes them of Tlascaltecs and Mexicans.

for the natives stoutly kept their ground, responding to the volleys in a manner that laid low quite a number of the assailants, and prevented any advance. Both parties held their positions during the night, and dawn was ushered in with a renewal of the conflict. Nervous over the prospective delay,[26] Sandoval reunited his force, and retreated as if returning to Mexico. This brought forth the enemy in triumphant pursuit: but their joy was brief; for one night the horsemen swooped down upon them, and taking advantage of the rout, the army hastened back and forced their way through the easiest pass, though not without the loss of three horses and other casualties.

Once through, they found large forces gathering to resist the advance, and hardly had they formed before the attack was made. The natives flung themselves heedlessly upon the lines, and even sought to wrest the lances from some inexperienced cavalrymen. "Curse the fellows!" cried Sandoval as he rushed to their relief. "Better a few soldiers than a host of such imbeciles!" The repulse effected, he led the cavalry to a return charge, with instructions to keep the lances levelled against the faces of the warriors, and maintain a gallop so as to give no opportunity for a hand-to-hand conflict. In this manner the path was opened, and the army made its way to the river, where camp was formed for the night. The horses were kept saddled, and all prepared[27] for instant action, for the constant sound of drums and pipes, in increasing volume, showed that the foe was gathering round them. Shortly after leaving camp next morning they came upon three bodies prepared for battle. Sandoval directed his cavalry in two parties against them, and was warmly received, he himself being wounded in the leg, and nearly overthrown by a stone which

[26] Three days of inactivity followed, according to Bernal Diaz; if so, in effecting the reunion and in reconnoitring.

[27] Fearful of confounding the allies with the foe, in case of attack, Sandoval ordered the former to camp at some distance from the Spaniards. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 172.

struck him full in the face.[28] Previous lessons had not been in vain, for the foe soon wavered before the resolute advance, and when the foot and allies came up, the battle turned into a chase and slaughter. A large number of prisoners were also taken, and every village on the way was ravaged and burned by the auxiliaries.

Sandoval arrived most opportunely at San Estévan. "Three days' more delay," says Cortés, "and all there would have been lost." So reduced were the besieged by wounds, hunger, and fatigue, harassed day and night by the natives, that but for the resolute demeanor of a few of the veterans of Cortés they would have yielded.[29] The besiegers having now dispersed, two expeditions were sent out in pursuit, and to forage, with the injunction to secure every rebel of note. Sandoval remaining behind among the disabled, no restraint was placed on the troops in observing the order of Cortés to inflict severe punishment. Sacking, slaughtering, and burning went hand in hand,[30] the example being set by the Spaniards and eagerly excelled by the auxiliaries with the intensity customary among those cruel warriors. The captain himself set forth a few days later, marking his advance with comparative leniency, even where submission was tardy, yet he failed not to take prisoners all sturdy and prominent rebels, swelling the total of captured chiefs and notable men alone to fully four hundred.[31]

Sandoval now reported to Mexico the pacification of the province, and asked for instructions concerning

[28] Three horses and two young soldiers are said to have fallen, besides allies, whose losses are seldom thought worth while to mention.

[29] Bernal Diaz, who naturally seeks to give all the credit possible to his own set, names Navarrete, Carrascosa, and Alamilla among these veterans. He assumes that they had 28 horses left. Others place the garrison at 100 men with 22 horses. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 227. Cortés places the whole cavalry force now mustered, including Sandoval's, at 80. *Cartas*, 302.

[30] 'Quemando todas las casas, de modo que dentro de pocos dias lo saquearon todo, y mataron una infinidad de indios.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hor. Crueldades*, 65.

[31] Herrera specifies 60 chiefs and 400 rich and prominent natives. dec. iii. lib. v. cap. vii. Bernal Diaz refers to five as ringleaders and states that wives and children were left unmolested, those not guilty of murder being also set free.

the prisoners and other matter. In answer, Cortés sent the alcalde mayor Ocampo, to whom pertained the administration of justice, while the captain should continue to effectually assure tranquillity. A trial was held at Chachopal, near the fort, where bribery and policy played important parts in securing the acquittal of a few, while confession and testimony consigned the rest to the stake and halter. The condemned pleaded in vain that they had been driven to rise in defence of their homes by the outrages of the Garay party, against whom the followers of Cortés had incited them; if some of the latter had fallen it was but the accident of war.[32] But they were pagans who had dyed their hands in the blood of Christians; and, above all, they had dared to disobey their masters, and for such crimes the perils to which their own insignificant lives were exposed could be no excuse. White men must be respected at all hazards, and thoroughly to impress this the pardoned prisoners, including the friends and families of the condemned, were compelled to attend the execution; to witness the agonies of the ringleaders at the stake, and the struggles of the less prominent who were strangled in the noose. Yet it did not need the witnessing of death-throes to teach the lesson; the number of the victims was sufficient. There were whole lines of smoking columns, each enclosing a writhing form and shielding an agonized face; a succession of human bodies suspended amidst revolting contortions. It was one long continuation of horrors, until horror grew tame, and darkness brought rest.[33]

[32] 'Por que nos quemays pues que vosotros los de Mexico nos mandastes que mataramos estos xpianos.' *Lúcas*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 283.

[33] Cortés himself admits that upward of 400 were burned. 'Señores y personas principales se prendieron hasta cuatrocientos, sin otra gente baja, á los cuales todos, digo á los principales, quemaron por justicia.' *Cartas*, 302. Gomara increases this number to 400 rich men and 60 chiefs. *Hist. Mex.*, 228. Lúcas reduces it to 306, while Herrera seeks to cover Spanish fame by writing 30. Bernal Diaz avoids stating a figure, for the same reason, and to shield his friend Sandoval, whom Robertson charges with the act, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 137, not aware probably that Ocampo was the judge who inflicted the punishment, by the general order of Cortés. While not blameless, Sandoval

The security of the province was provided for by a politic distribution of the vacant chieftaincies, with due regard to the claims of rightful heirs, and the lieutenancy was bestowed on a resolute man named Vallecillo. An additional weeding had also to be performed among the Garay party, whose excesses had been the main cause of the revolt. This measure appeared more necessary since they exhibited signs of mutiny at the disregard shown for them in the appointment of captains during the campaign, and on subsequent occasions. A number are even said to have formed a conspiracy,[34] but this charge may have been made to give color to the proceedings against certain disorderly persons. Sandoval lectured them soundly on their ingratitude to Cortés, who had saved them from destruction, and on their disregard for the claims of the old settlers and soldiers. A number of the party were enrolled for the campaigns in Mexico, and the more objectionable left for Jamaica, many of them willingly, since the death of Garay must have frustrated the plans which connected them with his expedition. This accomplished, Sandoval and Ocampo returned to Mexico, though not until they had joined Father Olmedo in solemn thanksgiving for the success awarded to Christian arms. Neither the good friar nor the worthy commander could see aught of mockery in such an act. They were naturally well pleased at the pacification, which proved effectual, for the province never again revolted. Yet even its conqueror lived to recognize that it was unworthy of the cost and

must not be rated too harshly, as Clavigero observes. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 9. The number appears to correspond pretty nearly to that of the supposed Spanish victims, and suggests the intention to exact life for life, with the same cruelties perpetrated on the Christians, of whom many had been tortured or burned alive. Whatever may be Christian ethics, the rules of Christian warfare are not far different from those of the savages, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. After all, this was but one of the series of barbarities which followed in the train of invasion. On the act of conquest devolved the chief blame for every atrocity, since incidents of war entailed cruelties, and self-preservation demanded them; their nature having to correspond to the exigency of circumstances, and the character of the people and the age.

[34] The plot was revealed to Sandoval before it had matured, says Bernal Diaz.

lives expended. The harbor, which had formed one of its chief attractions, proved of no value to New Spain, though a viceroy once did land there, and cause the road to Mexico to be restored for a time. The settlement dwindled, and even the name of San Estévan disappeared.[35]

It has been mentioned that when Garay touched at Cuba, on the way to Pánuco, his fear of Cortés induced him to seek a mediator in the person of Licentiate Alonso de Zuazo, a prominent and respected lawyer who had been appointed juez de residencia in connection with the audiencia of Santo Domingo, and who as judge of Velazquez had lately held the government of Cuba.[36] The mediation had probably been suggested by the audiencia, which certainly favored it, assured that the mere presence of so influential a personage might prevent much trouble. His mission in Cuba concluded, the licentiate accordingly, in the beginning of 1524, set out for New Spain in a small vessel, accompanied by two friars of the order of Mercy, intent on promoting the labors of Father Olmedo.[37]

When about half way, their vessel was driven by a gale upon the reefs near one of the Triángulos group.[38] Fortunately they were able to reach in safety the adjoining isle, and to save a few effects, though in fishing them from the sea one of the sailors was snapped up by a shark. The island being small, and

[35] One cause was that the bar grew shallower says Lorenzana. *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 340. A new villa was founded in later times about half way between the river and the lagoon, the Tamheagua, and in modern times the present Tampico has been established on the opposite bank of the river, forming the southern boundary of Tamaulipas state. The old towns, now known as Tampico el Alto and Pueblo el Viejo, are included in the state of Vera Cruz.

[36] Suspended by Colon through false reports of mismanagement, says Oviedo, i. 541, who adds that he was a personal friend of both Cortés and Garay.

[37] Their names were Gonzalo de Pontevedray and Juan Varillas.

[38] *Oviedo*, iv. 484, 499, 507. Bernal Diaz supposes the Víboras, near the Alacranes Islands, and states that through an error of the pilot, or by currents, she drifted ashore. *Hist. Verdad.*, 173. This is less likely, since the islands lie on the route.

devoid of water, the shipwrecked crossed in their boat[39] to a larger island containing plenty of turtles, some of them so large in the eyes of the famished crew "that they could move away with seven men on their backs." Refreshed by this food, they proceeded to a still larger island, the resort of innumerable birds, manatees, and turtles—a paradise, in brief, to the castaways, could they only have found fresh water. The want of this, together with the change of diet, and the hardship, had quite reduced the men,[40] and they were on the point of despair, when the discovery of a somewhat brackish spring infused new spirit.[41]

They now took steps to accommodate themselves to circumstances, by building huts and establishing a routine for the performance of daily duties. Fire was obtained by the well known method of rubbing together two pieces of wood, and sustained by shrubs; there was a variety of food, and material existed for apparel and implements. A tool-chest had been saved, and two carpenters began to construct a strong boat from the remains of the wreck, wherein to seek aid from a Spanish settlement. In this three men named Gomez, Ballester, and Arenas, together with an Indian boy, volunteered to seek Villa Rica. For this hazardous undertaking they had taken a vow to observe perpetual chastity if heaven should grant them success.[42] Their prayers were answered, for a favorable wind carried them in eleven days to the coast near Medellin, whence their message and a letter from Zuazo

[39] Oviedo states that Zuazo found an old canoe in which to cross to the adjoining islands, where some of the effects had been cast up by the waves.

[40] A number of men died in consequence, says Oviedo; but he appears intent chiefly on making a strong narrative.

[41] Oviedo assumes that a vow of chastity for one year induced heaven to reveal the precious liquid; the three men sent in search making the vow perpetual. Gomara applies this to a later occasion. Oviedo continues that the water was found on an adjoining isle devoid of animals, yet they all removed to it, bringing supplies from the larger island. One day a gale swallowed boat and crew, six men.

[42] 'E de se meter frayres de...Françisco,' writes Oviedo, stating that they were the same who had made the vow on going in search of water. Yet on a previous page he seems to name them as Espinosa, Arenas, and Simancas. iv. 492, 498.

were forwarded to Mexico. Cortés immediately ordered a vessel to be sent to their rescue, and after nearly four months of island life Zuazo and his companions, numbering a dozen survivors,[43] were released from their sufferings. The reception of the licentiate in New Spain was worthy of his rank and character, and of the high personal regard of Cortés, who lodged him in his own palace, and tendered him rich presents, though the worthy judge would accept but little.[44] We shall meet him soon under trying circumstances, as a ruler, where he came as visitor.

The Pánuco conquest ended, Cortés resumed the southern expeditions for which he had already prepared. Alvarado set out December 6, 1523, with over four hundred Spaniards, of whom one hundred and twenty were horsemen, and an equal number archers and arquebusiers, supported by fully twenty thousand picked warriors, and well provided with field-pièces and war stores. The force embraced the flower of New Spain chivalry, all eager to participate in the opening of the new Dorado, and to share in the enterprises of the dashing Tonatiuh, for whom even the natives seemed nothing loath to abandon their home and country, to judge from their enthusiasm. The whole city, with Cortés at the head, turned out to bid them God-speed in the undertaking, which had grown even more attractive with the delay interposed. The first step therein was the resubjugation of Soconusco, the rapidity of which served not a little to infuse awe among the peoples to the south. Nevertheless a long

[43] Thirteen, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 173, though he leaves the impression that this was the total number escaping to the islands. Oviedo states that those who escaped from the wreck numbered 47, and that only 17 reached New Spain; Friar Gonzalo died on the rescue vessel. iv. 484–510. His account is very full, and may have been obtained from Zuazo's lips, at Santo Domingo; yet it does not appear very reliable. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 228, gives a briefer version than Bernal Diaz, and Herrera follows. dec. iii. lib. v. cap. v. The important character assumed by Zuazo in Mexico lends an interest to this adventure.

[44] Of the 10,000 in gold offered, he would accept but 1,300 worth in absolute necessaries, such as clothes and horses for himself and party. Gomara makes these effects worth 10,000.

and bloody campaign was in store for Alvarado, whose fame as a leader was to be made yet brighter by sanguinary successes. The details of the exciting struggles and surprising incidents within the domains of the Quichés and Cakchiquels have been fully related in a previous volume.[45]

A month after the Guatemala expedition the fleet for Honduras left the port of San Juan de Chalchiuhcuecan to take up one end of the new chain of conquest, which might thereupon be stretched southward under the combined banners of veterans, perhaps to the very empire of the Incas just then looming forth in mystic distance with a splendor surpassing even the dazzling visions of the legions of Cortés. Although Honduras proved comparatively barren in gain and glory, yet the incidents connected with the expedition, and its effect on the fortunes of Cortés and New Spain, through the disloyalty of the leader, invest it with remarkable interest.[46]

In his march from Tehuantepec to Guatemala, Alvarado skirted the southern slopes of the Cordillera, whose northern straggling ranges here unite to form a more distinct barrier, crowned with lofty peaks. The plateau and slopes extending northward from this barrier embraced the well watered region of Chiapas, once the busy haunts of a cultured race whose glories lay enshrined within the matchless ruins of Palenque, guarded by dense and gloomy forest, now the abode of less elevated peoples, notably the dominant Chiapanecs, who from their mountain fastnesses had successfully defied the encroachments of adjoining rulers, even Montezuma. Awed by the fall of his great empire, however, they had hastened to send in what was regarded as unqualified allegiance to the children of the sun. Their land was assigned to the settlers of Espíritu Santo, who soon began to exact

[45] *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. chap. xxii. et seq., this series.

[46] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, chap. xvii. et seq., this series, for details of Olid's uprising and fate, and the connected expeditions of Casas and Cortés.

tribute, a measure which the people, already recovered from their first surprise, were quick to resent. Luis Marin, lieutenant in Goazacoalco, sought aid from Cortés for enforcing respect, and in Lent of 1524 he marched against the rebellious people with somewhat over a hundred men, one fourth cavalry, all inflated with the confidence born of numerous successes. Equally confident were the Chiapanecs in the sheltering strength of hills which so far had guarded their liberties. Protected by good cotton armor, and armed with formidable pikes, they managed so well to sustain even in open field the first onslaught of the bearded ones, that the latter were quite dismayed. So severe proved the campaign, that when Marin at last thought himself master in the main district, his force was so reduced in number and efficiency that the formation of a settlement could not be undertaken, and the result was an inglorious retreat.[47]

An equally severe campaign was undertaken about the same time in the mountainous regions of Zapotecapan and Miztecapan, hitherto avoided as too difficult to penetrate. Following the path of Alvarado, Rodrigo Rangel had in 1523 entered them to demand allegiance and tribute, only to meet with fierce resistance. Rainy weather and ruggedness of country favored the natives, and he was obliged to retreat.[48] This success emboldened them, and, incited partly by escaped negro slaves, they made inroads on the adjoining districts. It would never answer to encourage a defiant robber in the midst of the country, and with the allurement of gilded river-beds a new expedition was formed under the same captain, consisting of one hundred and fifty soldiers, chiefly arquebusiers and

[47] For details of these and later expeditions, see vol. ii., *Hist. Cent. Am.*, this series. They are based on the rare and curious accounts of *Godoy, Relacion*, written by a participant; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa; Ixtlilxochitl, Hor. Cruelldades; Mazariegos, Mem. Chiapa;* also Bernal Diaz, Juarros, and other standard historians.

[48] 'Faute de chevaux, il ne réussit pas,' says Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 572; but horses were found useless in so rugged a region, and were not taken on the subsequent campaign, as Gomara observes. *Hist. Mex.*, 234.

archers, with four field-pieces and ample stores, supported by a large force of warriors.[49] Rangel left Mexico February 5, 1524, and taught by previous reverses he took the utmost precaution to render secure his advance. The natives on their side were less cautious, and thus a prospectively hard campaign among the mountains was concluded within quite a brief period, and so thoroughly that no revolt took place again. A fair amount of spoils was obtained in gold, fabrics, and slaves; the latter numerous, since it had been decreed that all captured natives should be enslaved as a warning to rebels.[50]

The cost of these expeditions was quite heavy to all concerned, for arms, horses, clothes, and other effects were exceedingly dear, despite the influx from Spain and the Islands.[51] Soldiers brought nearly all their own outfits, including arms and horses, yet Cortés was obliged to supply war stores, provisions, and articles from what he calls his private estate, though tributes and exactions must have been applied. "The least of the expeditions," he writes to the emperor, "must cost my estate more than five thousand pesos de oro, and those of Alvarado and Olid cost fully fifty thousand." The expense was the greater in the latter case, owing to the fleet being kept waiting during the Pánuco campaign, with crews in receipt of pay.[52] Indeed, he had not only spent his fortune, but incurred debts, while for certain revolts which imperilled the interests of the crown and its subjects he had been obliged to borrow sixty thousand pesos and more from the royal treasury. Yet nothing should deter him from doing what was necessary for the service of his sovereign; so he affirmed.[53]

[49] Acolhuas 20,000, and 5,000 to 6,000 Tlascaltecs. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hor. Crueldades*, 72.

[50] 'Los herrasen del hierro de V. A., y...se repartiesen por aquellos que los fueron á conquistar.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 307.

[51] For prices see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 526, this series.

[52] The cost of sending Casas after Olid increased the expense to 40,000. *Id.*, 528.

[53] Letter of October 13, 1524, in *Cartas*, 305.

CHAPTER VIII.

ORDINANCES AND STATESMANSHIP OF CORTÉS.

1523–1524.

CORTÉS AS GOVERNOR—HIS ORDINANCES—ARMAMENT OF SETTLERS—PROMOTING AGRICULTURE—PALLAS AND DEMETER—ANTILLEAN JEALOUSY—SOCIAL REFORMS—SUMPTUARY LAWS—TAKING WIVES—CORTÉS SHOULDERS HIS CROSS—SUSPICIOUS DEATH OF CATALINA—LOCAL GOVERNMENT—EFFORTS TO EXCLUDE LAWYERS—REMOVAL OF VERA CRUZ—MARKETS AND TRADE REGULATIONS—ROYAL OFFICIALS ARRIVE—TRAITS AND INTRIGUES—COLONIAL POLICY—ENSLAVEMENT OF NATIVE AMERICANS—SUPPRESSION OF REPARTIMIENTOS OPPOSED—ENCOMIENDA REGULATIONS—WORK AND PAY OF SERFS—ENTRAPPING SLAVES—REPRESENTATIONS OF THE COUNCIL—EXTORTING TRIBUTE.

WE have seen Cortés as a brave soldier, an able general, and astute diplomat; we have beheld him deluding his patron, manipulating to his own purpose the conflicting elements of a horde of adventurers, pitting one people against another to fight his battles or neutralize dangers, and leading his soldiers through strife and hardships to the overthrow of a great empire. Glimpses even of statesmanship we have had in his creation of municipalities, his acts of king-making, and his regulations for the army, which tend in no wise to diminish our admiration for the man. These last-mentioned qualities were now to be more widely tested. The conquest was achieved. From sea to sea once more must bow all nations before Tenochtitlan, only there was a stronger than Montezuma on his throne, one who to the natives of New Spain seemed a god, a descendant of the sun soon to consume their very identity. And now while military rule still prevailed it was necessary to pave the way for a peaceful administration, and the development of those

resources on which permanent progress and prosperity could alone be based. Having subdued the people, Cortés bent his mind to reconciling them to the new order of affairs. He would win Ceres to his cause, and conquer also the soil with a new vegetation, multiply the wealth of a prolific region, and with this alluring bond combine two races and different products into one harmonious whole. It was to be his grander and more enduring conquest, this healing of wounds after a merciless war, this adjustment of differences. Cruelty, intolerance, and avarice were still rampant, but they were now to be softened to some extent, neutralized by blessings which in many respects condoned for the bitter wrongs of unjust invasion.

The salient features of the administrative policy of Cortés are given in the famous ordinances of March 20, 1524. We may therein recognize the training received by the framer as student and lawyer, in his native country, and later as notary and alcalde; at first appearing as mere hillocks in his plain of life; as points whereby to measure its progress; later, evolving into stepping-stones to greatness, adding their quota to the wisdom and foresight which now mark the adjustment of means to ends. Protection being still the main consideration, the ordinances begin by requiring all settlers possessed of a repartimiento of less than five hundred Indians to provide themselves, within six months from date, with a lance, a sword, and a dagger, a target, a helmet, and either native or Spanish defensive armor, all in good condition; also two pikes and the necessary ammunition. Holders of repartimientos with from five hundred to one thousand Indians must within a twelvemonth possess in addition a horse fully equipped. Still larger holders must add three lances, six pikes, four cross-bows or fire-locks, and the necessary ammunition. This was by no means a small requirement when prices are considered.[1] The

[1] For prices, see *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 243; *Probanza de Lejalde*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 121.

settlers must hold themselves in readiness for any summons, and in order to supervise the observation of the ordinances, the municipal authorities must hold reviews at certain intervals, exacting penalties for non-compliance.[2] As a mark of honor the emperor accorded soon after to the first settlers and conquerors of New Spain the privilege of carrying certain weapons wherever they went.[3]

The next feature of the ordinance illustrates the training of Cortés as a planter on the Islands. A great change had come over him since he first set foot there, and received the offers made him with the contemptuous reply, "I came to get gold, not to till the soil like a peasant." Necessity and common-sense came to his enlightenment, and within a few years we find him a flourishing stock-raiser and farmer. The lessons thus learned were to be applied to the benefit of a great country, and since so many among his companions had had a similar experience they were ready to lend their coöperation. He required all holders of repartimientos to plant for every hundred Indians, yearly, one thousand vine-shoots or other useful plants of the best kind in the best location and at the fittest time, until for every hundred of such Indians there should be five thousand plants well placed. The planting of Spanish products was especially enjoined. Cortés himself set an example.

Soon after the fall of Mexico there came to him from one of the ports some rice, and in it by chance three grains of wheat, one of which was planted and

[2] The penalties were fines for the first two omissions, and loss of repartimientos for the third, or loss of office for failure to hold inspection. Town-criers were to proclaim the date for review eight to ten days in advance. In later times only one annual inspection was held, on St John's day, from which may be due the custom of dressing boys as soldiers on that anniversary, and distributing military toys. *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 178.

[3] Even in Spain, *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. iv. Previous to this the municipality of Mexico found it necessary for public peace to restrict the weapon ordinance within the city. In May 1525 the weapons were thus reduced to a dagger and a sword, a horseman having also a lance, carried by a page. In February 1527 the lance was restricted to the alcalde and officers of justice. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., May 23, 1525, February 15, 1527.

yielded well, forming the first wheat crop of New Spain.[4]

Cortés had early endeavored to interest the sovereign in the agricultural interests of the country, and even requested that all vessels for New Spain should be made to bring a number of seeds and plants wherewith to enrich the native varieties. This was, to a certain extent, complied with,[5] though the selfish enmity or short-sightedness of officials at first cast many obstacles in the way. The rulers at Santo Domingo were persuaded at one time that unless restrictions were placed on the export of live-stock and products to New Spain the Islands would suffer irreparably, both from the drain and from the gradual transfer of productions to that country, which must thereby also absorb the trade. A prohibition was accordingly issued against exporting anything from the Islands that might be used for reproduction. The colonists poured in their complaints to Spain, and soon came a decree practically annulling the prohibition.[6] The fears of the Antilles were not unfounded, for their position as entrepôt was soon lost, and this proved another reason for the increased emigration of its people.[7] Meanwhile New Spain profited by this loss, and Cortés was among the foremost to enrich his dif-

[4] This is the account of Tapia, *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 593, who adds that wheat was soon produced in great abundance, and the very best quality was sold in 1539 at one real the fanega. Although Cortés received wheat from other parts, it was damaged by the sea-voyage, and the actual introduction of this cereal was thus accidental. Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 8, says that the first grain of wheat that sprung up was sown by a servant of Cortés, and produced 400 fold. 'Juan Garrido, criado de Hernando Cortés sembró en un huerto tres granos de trigo; perdiose el uno, y los dos dieron màs de quatrocientos granos'...'de lo q̃ es de regadio se coge en mayor abundancia; porque un grano produce docientos y mas.'

[5] By royal order of June 1523 the Casa de Contratacion of Seville was directed to promote the emigration of artisans and farm laborers, and ordered to send Cortés, in convenient seasons, quantities of plants, trees, and seeds. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. iii.

[6] Decree of November 24, 1525. *Mex., Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 9, 10. Oviedo, iii. 471–3, waxes indignant with Cortés for his sharp expostulations, as ungrateful to a country which had fostered both him and his colony.

[7] *Dovalle, Inform.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 375–438 passim. Abuses of New Spain settlers against the Islanders are also complained of. *Id.*, xiv. 43.

ferent plantations with live-stock and plants, notably in the newly acquired valley of Oajaca.[8] He also introduced novelties in the form of machinery, such as water-wheels, whereby the labors of grinding and other tiresome and slow operations were lightened for the women. The establishment of the first mill at Mexico was celebrated with great rejoicings.[9] The natives took readily to the novelties, both in products and implements, though some of the nobles sneered at anything that tended to raise the lower classes from abject toil and limited indulgence.

Cortés did much to ameliorate the condition of the masses, and to temper vices among the richer part of the community. Hours for labor were prescribed to check abuse, and observation of the sabbath was enjoined. Trade and labor were forbidden during the hours of divine service, and attendance at mass was made compulsory on Sundays and certain holidays.[10] Efforts were made to suppress the mania for gambling, which was increasing with accumulating wealth, and with the life of comparative indolence following as a reaction upon the tragic incidents of the conquest. Cortés was himself passionately fond of the vice, and though recognizing its evil he winked at disregard of

[8] He refers to Matlaltzinco as his stock-raising place; round Coyuhuacan were several farms, and at Rinconada de Izcalpan, sugar plantations. *Memorial*, in *Id.*, xii. 279. His plantations grew more numerous in time, and mulberry-trees were planted at Yauhtepec, Tetecla, and other places; at Matalango were cattle stations; at Tlaltizapan horses were bred, and sugar-mills rose at Quauhnahuac and Coyuhuacan.

[9] 'En esta ocasion fue quando dixo un Indio anciano, burlando de la inuenciõ: Que hazia holgazanes á los hombres, y muy iguales; pues no se sabia quien era Señor, ó criado. Y añadia: que los ignorantes nacieron para seruir, y los sabios para mandar, y holgar.' *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 8. The first time mills are mentioned in the *Libro de Cabildo* is on Feb. 4, 1525, when to Rodrigo de Paz, as representant of Cortés, land was granted to erect mills on the rivers of Tacubaya, Tacuba, and Cuyoacan. The next land grant made to the same effect was to Diego Ramirez on Dec. 15, 1525, when he was allowed to build a mill near Chapultepec. Afterward the number increased, judging from the different grants of land made later for the same purpose. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., Feb. 7, 1525, Dec. 15, 1525.

[10] 'Entren en ella antes que se comienze el Evangelio, y estén en ella hasta quel Padre diga *Ite Misa est* y heche la bendicion; so pena de medio peso de oro.' The settlers must be present in their towns at least during Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost; a deputy will answer for other times. *Ordenanza*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 179–83.

the numerous laws enacted against it.[11] But as ruler it behooved him to enforce them in some respects at least, though his efforts availed little, to judge from the many stringent decrees by local and supreme authorities which followed during subsequent years. The tenor of some indicates that non-observance was almost expected.[12] A check was laid also upon more innocent pastimes common among artisans, lest too great indulgence should lead to neglect of work. During working hours this class was not allowed to play at skittles and similar games.[13] At other times entertainments were encouraged, processions were held, bull-fighting was introduced,[14] and the authorities of Mexico city even favored the establishment of a dancing-school.[15]

Among the vices attending the increase of wealth and inaction was extravagance, particularly in dress, and this it was thought best to restrict by forbidding the use of brocade, silk, or velvet for clothes, or taf-

[11] It was among the charges flung at Cortés that he not only enjoyed games himself, but stooped to share in the illicit profits of those who dealt in them unfairly; that he would punish gambling everywhere but in his own house; where tables were always ready, with servants in attendance to furnish cards and collect fees for their use. Several deposed to this effect, but chiefly of those who had been mulcted heavily for violations of the gambling law. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 51, and passim.

[12] Yet the language could not be more positive, nor the penalties more severe. They were renewed with every change of officials. A cédula of April 5, 1528, had forbidden all play at dice, and permitted only cards and other games with stakes to the amount of 10 pesos de oro, once within 24 hours. Ponce de Leon failed to execute royal orders in this respect, and they were repeated to the audiencia on July 12, 1530. *Puga, Cédulario*, 23–4, 42–3. Both having failed, a later cédula reprimands the audiencia and enjoins compliance to the letter. *Id.*, 70–1. Yet by order of November 5, 1529, that body is directed to withdraw all actions for gambling offences which had been commenced prior to its institution, but to be vigilant against new offenders. An order of March 1530 especially directs it to stop all proceedings against Cortés; these proceedings had been followed by an excessive attachment against his property in the sum of 120,000 pesos de oro. There is some coloring for the charge that gaming was tolerated in the executive mansion, since a resolution of the cabildo on January 27, 1525, specifically forbids gaming in the atarazanas and in the palace, and directs the levying of prescribed fines in case of violation. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., Feb. 1, 1525.

[13] *Id.*, June 21, 1527.

[14] Panes argues for 1529, *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 69, but fights were held already in June, 1526, *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 6, and perhaps earlier.

[15] 'Por ser enoblecimiento de la Ciudad.' A license of 40 pesos was paid. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., October, 30, 1526.

feta for saddles, sword-belts, and shoes; or embroidery or precious metals in apparel—to all save those whose possessions and rank gave them some claim to indulgence, yet even in their case the amount and nature of the adornments were prescribed. These regulations were enforced by a royal cédula of 1528, on the ground that extravagance led to extortion from the already impoverished natives.[16]

Domestic morality was promoted by requiring every married settler whose wife was not in New Spain to bring her to the country within eighteen months from date, under penalty of forfeiting his estates. Unmarried encomenderos were enjoined to obtain a wife within the same period.[17] These measures, prompted by the desire to have well regulated and orderly settlements, found little favor with some of the conquerors, whose aim was simply to drain their several possessions and depart for homes they had left with regret, and to which they would hasten with delight. But the few must suffer for the general good, and Cortés was prepared to shoulder his part of the burden. Before the issue of this regulation he had made strong efforts to carry out its features by means of persuasion, and by placing funds at the disposal of any one who was unable although willing to comply with the requirements.[18] Thus he hoped to bind the conquerors to the country, and assure its development.

[16] *Puga, Cedulario*, 23, 42; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. ii., dec. iv. lib. vi. cap. iv. Cortés demanded in 1529 a reënforcement of the laws, which was done with effect, to judge from Salmeron's letter of March 1531 'There are now but few if any to make silk garments, or to buy those already made; the resources of the people have become small. The members of the audiencia wear only cloth so as to promote the dress reform.' *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 202–3. Cortés also set an example by replacing his adorned velvet cap with one of plain cloth.

[17] 'Porque conviene ansí para salud de sus conciencias...como para la poblacion e noblecimiento destas partes.' *Ordenanzas*, in *Id.*, xxvi. 146–7.

[18] Application to Friar Juan de Tecto or Alonso de Estrada, the treasurer, would insure all necessary assistance to bring out wives or unmarried daughters, on giving bonds. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 236. These curiously ordained marriages proved fortunate in many cases, and had for issue some of the illustrious of the land. The commander, Lionel de Cervantes, who came with seven unmarried daughters, had each of them well married. His daughter Beatrice,

In accordance with this spirit he sent[19] for his own wife, Catalina Suarez, to whom he had been united under such peculiar circumstances.[20] Sandoval happened to be on the coast when she arrived, and undertook to escort her to the capital. Cortés met them near Tezcuco with a brilliant retinue, and tendered all the honor which the wife of the governor of so vast and rich a country could be expected to receive. At Mexico she was greeted with processions, ringing of bells, and salvos, and at night the queen city shone ablaze with illumination, multiplied in the mirrored surface of the dark waters. Amid all this joyous demonstration Cortés is said to have borne a heavy heart, covered by a mask of cheerfulness. This is not unlikely, for the rather humble origin of his wife, the not wholly spotless fame of her family, and the half compulsory marriage, all must have tended to diminish the devotion of the husband, and caused him to regard her as a bar to the ambitious dreams nursed by his ever increasing fame and power. This view was quite general, prompted partly by her unheralded arrival, which made it appear as if she had come unbidden, in quest of a truant lord.[21] Nothing in his conduct, however, gave color to the rumor. He showed loyal attention to her every wish and comfort, and exacted all the deference from others that should be accorded to the ruler's consort. She reigned indeed a queen, a position to which the wildest dreams of Catalina or her match-making mother had never at-

united to Francisco de Velasco, became noted for her interest in the Franciscans, and contributed largely to the building of their convent, church, and hospital. *Memoria*, in *Prov. Stº Evang.*, MS., 228–31. In *Puga, Cedulario*, 179–80, 205–6, are decrees dated as late as 1559, ordering observance of the regulation.

[19] Modern writers consider that he should have directed his efforts more towards a union of the two races, and thus more speedily have won over the natives, as instanced by the influence acquired by himself through Marina, and by others in a similar way. But it was not so easy for the aspiring Castilian thus to reconcile himself to a perpetuation of an honored name by mere half-breeds.

[20] See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 48–52.

[21] So Bernal Diaz intimates. 'Y quando Cortes lo supo, dixeron que le auia pesado mucho de su venida.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 166.

tained. But this was not to last. In October 1522, less than three months after her arrival, she assisted at a banquet in her usual health, and on the morrow she was numbered among the dead.[22]

Lucky Cortés; men and women lived or died according to his heart's desire! Her return to Cortés after years of separation, while he was enjoying the felicities of another *liaison;* her sudden death; the convenience of the event in view of ambitious dreams attributed to him by certain persons, added to the interest pertaining to the conqueror at this time—all this made the decease a subject of general interest, and the ever ready tongue of scandal found willing ears for the charge that she had been criminally removed. Nothing was openly said, however, for Cortés was too powerful and too widely feared; but in letters to Spain suspicions were intimated, and when, in 1529, his enemies held an audiencia, unawed by his presence, the mother and brother joined the opponents to arraign him as a murderer, who, like Othello, had suffocated her. The testimony, however, rested on imaginings, for death had removed the only reliable evidence, and no decision could be arrived at even by his enemies. The attorney of Cortés attributed the charge to an effort to extort money, and he himself suffered the affair to pass by in contemptuous silence. The second audiencia did not resume the investigation, and no notice was ever taken of the accusation by friends and patrons of Cortés.[23] This

[22] 'Fiestas de todos Santos.' *Acusacion,* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.,* xxvi. 347.

[23] The trial was held at Mexico in February and March 1529, the criminating circumstances alleged being, the mystery and suddenness of the death; strangulation marks round the neck; the order to the brother not to leave his house; the enveloping of the head of the deceased in a veil, and opposition to any scrutiny of the body; the refusal to impart any information about the death to the alcalde mayor and others; the desire of Cortés to be rid of his wife in order to marry a lady of rank, a niece of the bishop of Búrgos. Several of these points were affirmed by biassed witnesses, but not in any very credible manner; while the wife of Alonso de Avila, and others who had seen the corpse, denied the knowledge of criminating signs. No sentence was passed, and the affair was allowed to lapse into oblivion, the mother making no allusion to it during a later suit for her daughter's share in the property

virtually acquitted him, though scandal-mongers continued to hint that Cortés was not above accomplishing the death he so desired.

In his ordinances Cortés further provided for the appointment of local authorities, to consist at first of two alcaldes, four regidores, a procurador, and a notary, with a person appointed to collect the revenue. The municipality must meet once or twice a week in the town-hall, or its temporary substitute, to discuss the affairs of the town. The alguacil mayor had a vote in this council, which could not be held without the presence of the lieutenant or deputy governor. The municipal officers were all appointed annually by Cortés, who selected those recommended to his friendship or interest. This absolutism caused many complaints from disappointed office-seekers, and resulted in a royal decree which placed with the people the nomination of three candidates for each office of regidor, the governor jointly with two royal officials appointing one of them. The regidores were besides increased to six, and some were appointed by the king in perpetuity.[24] Cortés objected to this

acquired during matrimony. The judges were the hostile Guzman and his two fellow-members of the first audiencia. Francisco Muñoz Maldonado represented Cortés. For account of the trial, see *Acusacion*, in *Id.*, xxvi. 298 et seq.; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 161, ii. 358, 370, 372, etc.; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 30, etc. 'Murio de asma,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 166; but the death was too sudden for that. Peralta, a descendant of Suarez, attributes the charge to malice, and maintains that she died a natural death, in a manner similar to that of her two sisters. 'Y no tuvo culpa el marqués, y dió satisfaçion dello con el sentimiento que hizo, porque la queria muy en estremo.' He erroneously styles Catalina, 'Marquesa.' *Not. Hist.*, 133–4. It is added that two sisters of Catalina lived many years in Mexico. One was married to a prominent man, Andrés de Barrios, and her three daughters became by marriage related to some of the oldest and noblest houses of Castile. Of a third sister, who died unmarried, nothing is said.

[24] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxiii. 364, xxvi. 184, etc.; *Mex., Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 2, 3; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 89 et seq., ii. 172 et seq. The jurisdiction of the municipality had at first been limited to 3,000 maravedís, but the sovereign extended the limit to 100 pesos de oro, and authorized the governor and his lieutenant, or *jueces de residencia*, to decide in cases not exceeding 1,000 pesos de oro. From these authorities the appeals went to the audiencia and the India Council. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. i. iii. The small limit was placed by decree of December 24, 1523, hence the extension belongs to a later date, say 1525 or 1526. *Mex., Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 4, 5. See also *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 297, 330, this series.

abrogation of authority as tending to overshadow the royal prerogative deposited with the executive; but the opposition did not long endure.[25] He as well as his companions made strenuous efforts to exclude lawyers, as tending to create confusion, suits, and embroilment generally.[26] But their services were soon found necessary, and gradually the door opened wider and wider for their admission, one condition being that advocates must promise under oath not to aid a client unless he had justice on his side.[27]

The promotion of trade and traffic formed another feature of his measures, and foremost stood the consideration of a suitable port. Villa Rica harbor was incommodious, inconveniently situated, and unsafe, particularly in being exposed to north gales. The port at Pánuco was too remote, and that at Goazacoalco proved less suitable than had been expected. Search was accordingly continued, and resulted in the selection of a site on Rio de Canoas, afterward known as La Antigua.[28] The mouth formed a broad bay, sheltered partly by the shore, partly by the sand reefs which formed a lagoon in front of it, and wherein vessels would safely discharge goods into lighters for transportation to the town which lay about a league up the river. To this spot was transferred the Villa

[25] *Cartas*, 333–4.

[26] Oviedo terms them a pest, and Pizarro y Orellana commends Cortés highly for excluding Moors, Jews, and lawyers, calling him 'estotro Sabio de Grecia.' *Varones Ilvstres*, 103–7.

[27] 'Jurasen que si sus partes no tenian justicia, no les acudirian, ni pedirian terminos a fin de dilatar.' *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. ix. Under the rule of Salazar, in 1525, the existing restrictions against lawyers were disregarded, and Alonso Perez was made the jurisconsult of the cabildo, with a salary of 160 pesos de oro. Aguilar, in August 1526, enforced the restrictions, with fines and loss of patent for first and second contravention, and confiscation and exile in the third instance. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., August 4, 1525; August 18, 1526, May 17, 1527. By request of the city the prohibitory law was revoked by cédula of August 2, 1527. *Mex., Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 6.

[28] So named from the situation there of old Vera Cruz. San Juan de Ulua lay about three leagues to the south. Few old geographers pay attention to the change of site undergone by the city, placing it close to Isla de Sacrificios and generally to the south of it. In *Munich Atlas*, x. 1571, however, we find *Fº de säs Joao; llaueracrus; uilla riqua;* Hood, 1592, writes, *R. de Medelin, S. Son delua, Laueracruz; Sen Jual; Villa Rica. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 530.

Rica of Port Bernal, with its officials and settlers, and henceforth the name of Vera Cruz became the common designation of the town.[29] Cortés wrote glowingly of its prospects, as only second in rank to the capital, and he proposed a Casa de Contratacion to promote its trade, the roads connecting it with Mexico being improved for traffic. But it found little favor with the settlers, who complained so loudly of its noxious airs, that those not possessing repartimientos near it were permitted to reside at Puebla.[30] An additional cause for the slow growth of Vera Cruz was the removal of Medellin from the interior to near the mouth of the Jamapa, four leagues south of modern Vera Cruz, where its proximity could not fail to exercise a retarding rivalry. Indeed, the former town was frequently called Medellin.[31]

Nevertheless Vera Cruz remained the entrepôt for trade, and thence after payment of duty the goods were carried to Mexico, to be announced for sale by public crier. To prevent monopoly, no person was allowed during the first ten days after the arrival of cargoes to buy more goods than were required for personal or domestic use.[32] The sales took place at the

[29] See *Albornoz, Carta,* in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 495; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus,* i. 149; *Herrera,* dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. viii.; and *Cortés, Cartas,* 312–13, all speaking of the site and removal.

[30] 'Porque es sepultura de españoles y no se crian niños en ella.' It was proposed to move the town to a healthier site a league and a half below the mouth, but property holders objected. *Lettre,* in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, ser. ii. tom. v. 213. In 1531 most of the houses were still of straw, and fires were frequent, one in that year causing the loss of 15,000 ducats. *Salmeron, Carta,* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 198. By law of July 12, 1530, the royal officials must alternate in residing there, one at a time. Aided by the local authorities they must make the valuation of goods. *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda,* v. 10. Several orders for the selection of sites, the construction of defences, and other measures for towns, are given in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxiii. 362–5; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 30.

[31] Cortés leaves the impression that Medellin was moved to Vera Cruz. *Cartas,* 313; but the statements of Albornoz and later developments show the contrary. Jamapa appears to have been called also Rio Chalchiuhcuecan. *Oviedo,* iii. 427. Hood, 1592, writes on his map *R. de Medelin;* Ogilby, 1671, has *R. Medelin.*

[32] Five days was the limit for provisions, and 10 for other effects, after which traders could buy freely. *Libro de Cabildo,* MS., November 4, 1524. An early regulation had prohibited traders from buying goods till 30 days after their arrival on the market.

two great markets of the city, one in the Spanish quarter, the other in the native, both of which were subjected to stringent regulations concerning methods of dealing, kind and quality of goods, and prices, all planned with admirable foresight. The manifold products of the soil and sea, of the manufacturer and artist, were displayed in the same profusion as during Montezuma's rule, though varied with novelties of Spanish origin. Even the production of these, however, was fast falling into the hands of native tillers and artisans, who with a keen faculty for imitation watched the operations of Spaniards, and readily supplanted them with their cheaper labor.[33]

Several of the royal cédulas which prompted or modified the preceding ordinances were brought during 1524 by the new revenue officials appointed by

[33] For all goods a schedule of market prices was established. The method in the important matter of meat was novel. The rate was determined by public competition. Breeders and drovers had from New Year's day to Ash-Wednesday within which to make tenders, and at the end of that time the lowest responsible bidder was assigned the contract. Owners of cattle were allowed three months within which to slaughter and dispose of their meats; during the rest of the year the city was supplied by the meat contractor exclusively, at the stipulated rate and under vigilant scrutiny as to weight and quality. The slaughtering of cattle within the city limits was strictly forbidden; the disgusting scenes of shamble life that long disgraced England and other portions of the old world were unknown. Public slaughter-houses, under surveillance of an inspector, were established on the outskirts, anticipating the abattoir of France. Particular directions were given for the breeding of all kinds of live-stock; protection and amenability were secured by having all cattle duly branded and the distinctive marks of ownership properly registered with the city notary. Fish-mongers were the most important tradesmen. The sale of fish, vegetables, and perishable provisions was made the subject of many and particular sanitary laws regulating time, place, price, and quality. Cleanliness was made to be regarded as a cardinal virtue. Bread could be offered for sale only in the markets. Ill-baked bread was subject to seizure and the vendor to fine. The weight of the loaves was fixed and the scale of prices arranged from time to time by the *fiel*. The duties of the fiel were those of a market superintendent. He was to inspect the condition of all victuals exposed for sale, and to try weights, and gauge measures used in sales. Jointly with a regidor he was to determine prices of goods before they were offered for sale. Scales and weights had to be examined every four months. An assayer was appointed to test the alloy of gold, particularly the uncoined bullion used in lieu of money. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., July 29, 1524, January 13, May 16, 1525. Prices of labor were also regulated to some extent, *Id.*, December 23, 1527, and the charges at inns. See *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 170–7, etc., and *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 29 et seq., in both of which all these admirable ordinances are given, as issued in 1524 and following years.

the crown, Alonso de Estrada, who came as treasurer, Gonzalo de Salazar, as factor, Rodrigo de Albornoz, contador, and Pedro Almindez Chirinos, veedor. All had acquired a certain knowledge of their duties in various minor departments of public offices in Spain, although they owed their appointment chiefly to the favor of the all-powerful Cobos, secretary to the emperor. This was especially the case with Salazar and Chirinos, the latter more generally alluded to as Peralmindez, a contraction of his first two names.[34] Both developed a talent for intrigue and unscrupulousness that procured for them an unenviable record in New Spain. Albornoz had held a position as secretary near the king, and possessed excellent observation, but lacked strength of character. Estrada was the more estimable of the four. He had been regidor of Ciudad Real, and one of the royal body-guard. With a claim of being the offspring of the Catholic king was united love of ostentation, which wholly failed to excite admiration in the minds of the somewhat plain and practical colonists, yet his swelling carriage was not inharmonious with the position he later acquired.

The development of the country demanded this increase of officials, and, since Treasurer Alderete had died shortly before, their arrival proved opportune. Cortés vied with the rest in according them a demonstrative welcome, and in propitiating with presents and repartimientos men fresh from the imperial presence, and representing in a great measure the supreme authority, with perhaps secret instructions to examine and report on the condition and management of the country, as indeed they had.[35] Their public instructions were sufficiently explicit for them to claim a

[34] Oviedo, iii. 467, gives his birthplace as Ubeda, and that of Albornoz as Madrigal. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 242. Bernal Diaz differs, and writes Ubeda or Baeza, and Paladinas or la Gama, respectively. *Hist. Verdad.*, 188.

[35] This is shown by the reports which began to pour in from them. Salazar on a later occasion even vaunted that he had been empowered to arrest and sentence Cortés, should indications of disloyalty appear. Of this more will be said in a later page.

considerable share of power, involving the right of interfering with many of the gubernatorial measures, particularly those connected with treasures, tributes, and revenue generally.[36] The first step toward asserting their power was to demand the reimbursement of certain funds appropriated by him from the treasury and expended on necessary expenditures against rebels; and further, to refuse allowing his claims for other larger sums disbursed in promoting the welfare of the country.[37] These differences were adjusted in a spirit of great moderation on both sides, for Cortés was restrained by fear of the possibly hidden power of the officials, and they by hopes of gifts and grants that might flow from a man so influential as the captain general, and reputed to be immensely rich. The time for pranks over royal prerogatives had passed; what the conqueror desired most of all now was to have high position confirmed to him, so that he and his heirs might therein rest secure. Therefore no rupture took place at this time between him and the king's officials, and when he left for Honduras in the autumn all were in apparent accord. In secret reports, however, the jealousy and enmity ever present in high places appeared, and this coming to his ears, he wrote to the king in his defence. With Estrada, who figured at Mexico in the early spring of 1524,[38] his intercourse was exceedingly cordial.

This policy of placing one official to watch another was quite in accord with the spirit of the age, and seemed to rulers necessary for the control of officials far removed from the heavy machinery of home government. In the eyes of Spanish grandees Cortés

[36] They brought special orders to collect the almojarifazgo tax of 7½ per cent on imports. *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, v. 7, 8.

[37] 'Pues auia hecho las armadas para sus malos fines.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xiv.; *Zumárraga, Carta*, in *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 273–4. Albornoz estimated the sum due by Cortés at 72,000 castellanos. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 72–3. Cortés admits 60,000 and odd castellanos. *Cartas*, 365.

[38] See allusion to him in March. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 37. Salazar arrived in the autumn. *Cortés, Cartas*, 318.

was but an upstart adventurer with a somewhat soiled record, whose later questionable achievements must be regarded with due caution. Then there were ever at hand those who made it their business to defame that merit in others which they themselves lacked. It was his misfortune to be one of a doubtful horde; and the crown was at a loss whether to treat him as such, or as his services deserved. Its intentions in the main were good, but it lacked the power of omnipotence to enforce them.

For those of lesser pretensions the Spanish authorities entertained benevolent regard, being desirous of rewarding those who had served well; therefore orders were given to assist disabled soldiers with pensions, while others were directed to send in an account of their claims and services, so that they might be compensated.[39] Meanwhile their repartimientos were confirmed to them, and exemption was granted for several years from a number of taxes, with reductions in others.[40] The crown was further pleased to assure the colonists that New Spain should never be alienated from Castile.[41]

The most powerful impulse to settlement in Spanish America was undoubtedly the systems of repar-

[39] *Ordenanza*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 147–8. The repartition of spoils so far made among them was not yet confirmed, however, owing to the doubts cast upon it. *Mex.*, *Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 1.

[40] During the first two years they were to pay the crown but one tenth of the gold obtained by mining; the next year one ninth, and so forth till the regulation fifth was reached. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. iii.; lib. viii. cap. xiv. This was revoked, and in 1526 the municipality of Mexico petitioned for a fresh exemption in order to encourage mining. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., November 10, 1526. For six years exemption was granted from all taxes on victuals and provisions produced in New Spain, and all persons importing provisions and goods for their own account were exempted from *almojarifazgo*, or other royal duties. For eight years the settlers were free of *alcabala* and other taxes on internal trade. In 1530 the almojarifazgo exemption was extended for five years to immigrants from Spain. *Mex.*, *Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 11. Traders paid 7½ per cent, a figure which varied greatly in course of time. Fines and similar dues were given to the towns for ten years to assist them in constructing roads. *Fonseca*, *Hist. Hacienda*, iii. 458. A revocation of this gift was protested against. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., August 31, 1526.

[41] Reaffirmed in cédula of March 12, 1524. *Id.*, 4.

timientos and encomiendas,[42] so equivocally begun by Columbus, and authorized by the sovereign as an encouragement to enterprising and meritorious conquerors and colonists, and as the means of securing the pacification and conversion of the natives, together with a fair amount of tribute for the crown. The system as concocted by the government, and as perverted and abused by the subject, has been fully considered in a previous volume.[43] The chief blame for the constant evading of the many measures dictated with charitable intentions by the home authorities, must rest with the officials sent out to watch over the observance of the measures. When those highest in power set the example of disobedience, poor adventurers could scarcely be expected to imperil their interests by seeking to stem the current of general corruption. It had been repeatedly ordered that no wars should be waged against the natives until every effort for gentle conquest had been employed. Priests must accompany expeditions to watch over the fulfilment of this righteous decree, to enlighten the natives as to the consequences of obstinacy, to propose favorable terms for traffic, and to protect them from unfair and cruel treatment.[44] But whether they resisted or submitted, the result was much the same, as we have too often seen. In the former case they were killed or enslaved at once, in the latter the chains of serfdom were slowly and tenderly wrapped round them. In the Antilles, to replenish their fast thinning ranks, regular slave-hunting expeditions had been organized,

[42] Leon defines the relative meaning of these words, as understood by the colonists. Repartimiento implies the first distribution of natives among the conquerors; encomienda, the second grant or redistribution thereof, on death or removal of first holder. In New Spain the former term was retained to designate the weekly repartition of natives to work in field or mines. *Trat. Encomiendas*, 4, 5. The book is an important compilation of laws relating to encomiendas, made by a relator of the Council of the Indies. Madrid, 1630.

[43] *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 262–6, this series.

[44] These different laws addressed partly to Cortés with renewed injunctions, partly to governors in the Indies generally, may be consulted in *Recop. de Indias*, i. 564–70 et seq.; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 21–31; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxiii. 353–62; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 117–18; *Montemayor, Sumarios*, i. et seq.; and in preceding volumes of this series.

and to one of these was due the discovery of New Spain, as already related.

The conquest accomplished, the soldiers demanded their repartimientos, the main and almost sole reward for their long toil, now that the expected treasures had dwindled to insignificance. Cortés claims that the superior intelligence of the natives in New Spain created a doubt in his mind whether they could be successfully parcelled out in the same manner as the Islanders. He thought at one time that the royal taxes might be applied toward the demands of the army, but recognized that the crown would expect an increase of revenue rather than a diminution. The clamor on all sides, from royal official to soldier, must be satisfied, and so he yielded. In addition to this pretext to cover the action of controlling men, it was argued that the distribution of the natives was the only means to protect them against indiscriminate pillage and maltreatment, and to reclaim them from abominable pagan vices.[45] Without real authority for such measures, Cortés could only make them provisional, but in a letter to the sovereign he explained the justice and necessity for confirming the grants. At a later date he even recommended the general partition of the towns of New Spain among the colonists.[46] The court, however, had just been startled into activity by the outcry of friars and judges over the cruel extermination of the islanders, and by order of June 26, 1523, repartimientos were forbidden, those already made being revoked.[47] But the step had not been duly considered, and Cortés with the approval of the royal officials took it upon himself to keep the cédula secret. He frankly explained this course to the sov-

[45] *Cortés, Cartas*, 271; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 329. Zumárraga declares the royal treasurer Alderete to have been the chief instigator for a distribution. *Carta*, in *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 272–3. Motolinia praises Cortés' conduct with regard to the natives. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 253–77.

[46] 'Vuestra Magestad deve repartir estos pueblos por los españoles...y que los tienen por cosa propia.' *Memorial*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 280.

[47] *Orden*, in *Id.*, xxiii. 357–8.

ereign on the ground that its enforcement would have deprived the settlers of means of subsistence, given cause for revolt, and discouraged immigration. The royal revenue would fail, conversion would cease, and the country itself might be lost.[48] So general were the remonstrances that with the advice of the India Council the prohibition was withdrawn and servitude confirmed.

Even while assured in the possession of their serfs, the conquerors had still grievances enough in connection with the terms, and especially the amount and nature of the distribution. Indeed, with so many claimants, it was impossible to satisfy the expectations and caprices of all. The favored few were naturally declared by the dissatisfied many to be less deserving of reward than they. Nor were these accusations altogether unjust, for besides securing to himself large and choice rewards, Cortés gave freely to recently arrived friends, who had taken no part in the conquest, and to others whom policy made it advisable to court.[49] Leading natives were also propitiated with a share. The conditions of the grant required the holder to pledge himself to an eight years' residence in the country in order to assure the interest both of crown and natives. This was readily evaded by obtaining deputies and leave of absence, while many made use of their grant merely to exchange or sell it.[50] Further, the holder must build a house at the place of

[48] 'Mas que lo que hasta ahora se sabe del mundo.' *Cartas*, 328.

[49] In *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 48, 61–2, 259–62, etc., the complaints are freely ventilated; even Zumárraga is blunt about it, while Gomara naturally defends his patron's course against insatiable malcontents. Bernal Diaz considers that the country should have been divided into five parts: the best for the crown; the next for the church, for benevolent purposes, and for special rewards; the remainder to be distributed among the conquerors, including Cortés, according to their standing. *Hist. Verdad.*, 187–8.

[50] Whole villages were sold for a paltry 500 to 1,000 pesos. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 128. By cédula of March 20, 1532, holders were obliged to obtain royal permit for absence, or forfeit their grant; and by another cédula of the 16th exchanges and partnerships were declared void. *Puga, Cedulario*, 10, 11, 79. The marriage regulation could not well be enforced among these loose adventurers, and this evoked strong representations from such officials as Albornoz and President Fuenleal. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 75–6, 226–7.

residence, yet abstain from visiting his villages without special permit from the lieutenant of the district, partly on moral grounds, partly to prevent abuses, which might also react to imperil the life of the visitor.[51] In pursuance of this measure, it was forbidden to take away women, and boys under twelve years, to work on plantations.

In order to bring forth a steady revenue, plantations were to be established near the villages and towns, and cultivated by the Indians of the repartimiento. These were to be summoned in squads, each for a period not exceeding twenty days,[52] their departure and return being noted by the lieutenant of the district. The working hours were from sunrise till one hour before sunset, with an hour at noon for rest. Dismissed men could not be summoned again within thirty days. While employed they must be given necessary food, and every year merchandise to the munificent amount of half a peso de oro.[53] In return for the service thus obtained, the encomendero must promote the conversion and civilization of his people, first by placing the sons of the caciques, or representative men in his district, in charge of friars or curates to be educated. This step was promoted by the sovereign himself in offering to provide for the education of a certain number in Spain, though little came of it.[54] Second, by erecting a church in the towns, and

[51] Travellers often disappeared as Camargo affirms, *Hist. Tlax.*, 181; and it was found necessary to make the caciques responsible for their safety. Their hospitalities were generally free, although in royal orders relating to the protection of native women, and abuses, even native governors were at last enjoined to take nothing from natives without payment. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 163. This law was also directed against vagrants.

[52] The later rule was to apportion 10 Indians for every 100 during 20 weeks of the year, and two per cent for the remaining weeks. These squads were called respectively *dobla* and *sencilla*, terms corresponding to two coins. *Leon, Trat. Encomiendas*, 5.

[53] Laborers would hardly need more than a loin-cloth for ordinary days, and but little for gala days, so that the amount is after all not so ridiculous.

[54] The offer was made by letter of November 9, 1526, prompted perhaps by Albornoz' suggestion to impress leading natives with the grandeur of Spain. Several children died, and the parents objected to sending them so far, and thus the project failed. *Puga, Cedulario*, 19, 21; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 482; *Albornoz, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 72.

arranging for religious instruction, besides destroying idols and repressing pagan rites. The labor squads should receive special training, and be made to join every morning in prayers accompanied by an admonition.[55]

Encomienda Indians could not be taken to work in the mines, or to places very remote from their villages. For such purposes slaves were employed, consisting of those who had been originally so held by the natives, or who had been condemned to slavery for rebellion.[56] We have seen how large were the numbers captured and branded after the reduction of every obstinate province and city; quarrels being frequently forced upon the natives by greedy captains in order to obtain an excuse for increasing the number of slaves. Even this was not enough, however, and either under pretence of purchase or intimidation the caciques were made to surrender the slaves held by them. Frequently the chiefs did not possess either sufficient slaves or treasures to appease the demand made, and to save themselves from persecution they gave into bondage free subjects. Others were entrapped into borrowing, or to the commission of petty offences, and held as slaves in expiation. They were not only branded, but treated with far greater severity than

[55] Every 2,000 Indians should have a priest, where obtainable, otherwise several villages must be grouped under one minister. Of course, the regulation was disregarded like most others, and at the petition of friars an order was issued in 1536 to enforce it. *Puga, Cedulario*, 112. The regulations as issued by Cortés at Mexico, March 20, 1524, are to be found in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 135 et seq., and in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 27 et seq. The form of certificate issued to holders may be studied in the following specimen: 'By these presents are deposited with you, Pedro Martin Aguado, a vecino of the villa de Sant Estéban del Puerto, the lord and natives of the towns of Tautoguene, Granchimar, and Tantucci, that Francisco Ramirez visited, to the end that you may avail yourself of their services, and they may help you in your estates and business, agreeably to the ordinances now provided or hereafter to be enacted upon the subject, with the obligation of giving them instruction upon the teachings of our holy Catholic faith, using therefor all possible and necessary vigilance and solicitude. Done at this villa de Santistéban on the 1st of May, 1523. Hernando Cortés. By order of his Worship, Alonso de Villanueva.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vii. 308.

[56] Certain villages, originally belonging to rebellious provinces probably, and partly to mining regions, had besides to furnish four Indians in every hundred for mining. *Leon, Trat. Encomiendas*, 5.

under their ancient laws,[57] and even exported to the islands to perish miserably under hardships and climatic ravages. Motolinia alludes to the inhuman treatment of slaves in the mines, and the consequent mortality, as the sixth plague of Mexico, and he joins in the representations made to the king against the abuse of Indians, particularly the removal from their native districts. To present this the more forcibly it was pointed out that by depriving the chiefs of too many slaves they would be made unable to pay the required tribute.

The main representations came from the council of friars and officials held at Mexico in September 1526, in accordance with the instructions brought by Ponce de Leon, and among the remedies proposed were the appointment of inspectors to watch over the strict observance of the laws protecting Indians, and the grant of encomiendas in perpetuity to meritorious men, who should be held responsible for the good treatment of their vassals. By thus assuring the possession of the grant, the holder would feel an interest to preserve the health and lives of those belonging to him.[58] For this reason also the tenure of towns and lands by the crown was not advisable, since the population either neglected to produce tributable effects, or were despoiled and oppressed by different

[57] See *Native Races*, ii. 217–22, etc., on condition, classes, and treatment. Also *Las Casas, El Indio Esclavo*, 25. Yet Cortés writes that the most effective menace toward an Indian was to intimate that he should be restored to previous servitude under native masters. 'Y esto temen mas que otra ninguna amenaza ni castigo.' 'Esclavos cognosci yo en casa de deudos mios herrados en la cara con letras que decian el nombre de quien los habia vendido.' *Duran, Hist. Ind,*. MS., ii. 520–1. Motolinia speaks of the brand called 'rescate de S. M.,' which came with the royal officials in 1524, it seems. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 274. The abuse was fostered partly by the royal permission given in early years to enslave rebels, and to buy those already enslaved, as Albornoz points out. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 55–6; *Puga, Cedulario*, 16.

[58] It was urged that Indians should not be taken beyond a distance of three to four leagues from their homes; enslaving should be limited; agriculturists might be introduced and given a number of natives to train in their branch. Letters and Memorials in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 155–7, 202–3; 545–51; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 124–5, 284–5; xiii. 56–8, 65–7; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 18.

officials.[59] The result was a series of decrees, ordering that illegally enslaved beings should be released, that enslavement must be effected only before royal officials, and so forth, all admirable in tone, and commended to the clergy for enforcement; but the mere permission to enslave rebellious natives opened the door to many and great abuses, and the royal officials were ready enough to lead the way.[60] As for tenure of encomiendas, they were confirmed to the holder for life, subject to good conduct, and though reverting to the crown upon his death, they were generally given to his descendants, in part at least.[61] Others were by special decrees conferred in perpetuity on certain prominent families, including several native princely houses.[62] For the crown were set aside the ports, the leading towns, or capitals of districts, and other select tracts.[63]

For a long time the encomenderos stood between the crown and the natives as subordinate tribute col-

[59] Cortés explains to the sovereign that on perceiving this deterioration he gave certain towns in repartimientos, to the immediate increase in revenue, and he therefore recommended the transfer of others. *Cartas*, 331–2. This is confirmed by Zumárraga's report. *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 273. Tlascala had to remain under the crown, but officials watched over the produce yield. Ixtlilxochitl claims that Tezcuco declined under its condition as crown property, while low-born collectors abused the impoverished lord and nobles. *Rel.*, 391.

[60] Indians were intimidated to submit to what was called just enslavement, or voluntary service in mines, and thus the laws of 1526 and 1528 were nullified. Soon after enslavement in war was forbidden, and finally slavery was abolished, only to rise again under the term of peonage. For cédulas see *Puga, Cedulario*, 16, 17, 21; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 111–19; *Recop. de Indias*, i. passim; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 30 et seq.; *Torquemada*, iii. 254–5; *Quiroga*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 425. In 1537 Tlascala decreed the liberation of all her slaves, an example commended by the viceroy. *Id.*, ii. 202.

[61] This inheritance was confirmed by cédula of June 16, 1535, *Puga, Cedulario*, 108; and opened the way for new abuses, hasty marriages being formed to retain the grants, as Mendoza complains. *Carta*, in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 126.

[62] Such as Pedro de Montezuma, whose heirs, the dukes of Atlixco, enjoyed in 1699 an immense income chiefly from encomiendas bought back by the government. See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 460, this series, and *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, i. 426. Encomiendas were gradually absorbed by the crown, either by reversion or purchase, and the natives became nominally free, a condition for which they grew more fitted as the new civilization, with its arts and industries, spread among them.

[63] *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, vi. 81. With this order Cortés had already complied, though he failed not to remonstrate against crown tenure, suggesting that at least different measures from those prevailing should be adopted for administering them.

lectors. The first revenue obtained from New Spain had been the fifth of presents, of extorted treasures, and of slaves.[64] Even before the death of Montezuma, Cortés had compelled the captive emperor to surrender his tribute-rolls for the guidance of Spanish collectors, who after the fall of Mexico went forth again to complete their task. The rolls contained the names of three hundred and seventy tributable towns, with the amount and kind of taxes to be paid, usually one third of everything made and produced, and in due proportion where service was exacted. The collection took place at different intervals for different towns, though generally once every eighty days.[65]

The Spanish collectors took advantage of this to guide them in their search for treasures, fabrics, and other valuable effects, one following another in quick succession to extort all that could be obtained, by menace, assumed patronage, and barefaced robbery. Then the encomenderos stepped in and took what they could from what was left, watching in their respective tracts over the steady production of raw and manufactured material, which must thenceforth be the main reliance.[66] During the first years the caciques aided both encomenderos and collectors, in receiving the tribute in service and produce; but the pressure to which they were subjected tended to impoverish them, partly because their vassals grew less submissive, and so they gradually yielded the position to unscrupulous strangers. So great was the extortion practised that Motolinia calls it the fifth plague.[67] As usual cédulas

[64] The regulations for exacting the fifth have been treated of in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. this series. See also *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, v. 272–82; *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 480 et seq.

[65] See *Native Races*, ii. 231 et seq., for a full description of the ancient system of taxation. In *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, are a number of reproduced rent-roll paintings.

[66] Cortés points out that the exaction of produce tribute could not be effected with advantage save through encomenderos. *Cartas*, 330–1.

[67] 'Los trataban bestialmente, y los estimaban en menos que á bestias.' *Hist. Ind.*, i. 18. Other friars also raised their voice in representations to the court, *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 549, as did Zurita in his able report, wherein he also shows how native rulers were abused or deposed by the encomenderos when greed demanded better collectors. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii.

appeared to repress the evil, but it was not until the development and reorganization of the treasury department that any improvement took place, with such measures as the abolishing of personal service, and the assessing of tribute solely by officials, supervised by inspectors and the clergy.[68]

33–5, 103–4. Nor did the disappointed longers for a share in the plunder fail to join in the cry, accusing Cortés above all as one who had assumed for himself the best and most numerous provinces, with some 200 rent-rolls, and several millions in treasure. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 27–8, 68–9 et seq. The tribute embezzled by him from Tezcuco alone was estimated at 60,000 castellanos, and yet the crown received during the first three years after the fall of Mexico only about 150,000 in fifths, besides some costly presents.

[68] For the different branches and their routine, see *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 385 et seq.; *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, v. 13, etc. Though needing means, the crown was quite moderate in its demands, which 'should never be allowed to exceed those of the pagan rulers, lest the change to Christian ruling compare unfavorably with previous condition.' In Mendoza's time, accordingly, the tax was reduced to the small sum of 32 reales de plata for each Indian, or 'ocho tostones' as Fonseca puts it. *Id.*, i. 413–14. In 1571 the tribute was fixed at 7½ reals of regular money and one fanega of maize for married taxpayers; one real extra for widowers; and half of what they paid for unmarried of both sexes. The laws in the *Recopilacion*, ii. 225 et seq., ordain that subdued Indians collected in towns pay only half their original tribute for the first two years; if unconverted, the doctrina share is to be set aside for providing ministers and hospitals. A later decree of 1607 exempted for ten years from tax and service those who voluntarily submitted to sovereign and church. Those not residing within such exempt district, or subject to encomenderos, must pay. Tax levy begins with the unmarried man after the eighteenth year. Caciques and their eldest sons are exempt; also women and alcaldes. No tax must be collected save that declared by the official assessor. Only two to three staple articles should be collected in one town. Laborers should not be taken away from their towns to work in plantations. The encomendero must take away tribute from the towns to his residence at his own cost, and levy none in case the crops fail. Personal service was abolished by law of 1549, which had to be reënforced by later cédulas, ordering produce or money to be paid instead, and so forth. See also *Zamora*, vi. passim; *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, i. 416, etc. Authorities, of greater or less value, consulted in addition to those cited in preceding chapters: *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 99–100; *Puga, Cedulario*, 7–71; *Squier's* MS., ii. 59–62; *Oviedo*, iii. 436, 465–77; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, ser. ii. tom. v. 5, 6, 80–5, 212–41, 276–93; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 224–5; iv. 567–71; v. 556–61; vi. 170–82, 276–7, 294; vii. 290–338; xii. 213–15, 277–97; xiii. 53–82, 104–8, 132–72; xiv. 43; xxiii. 353–68; xxvi. 5–29, 135–84, 298–351; *Torquemada*, iii. 253–7; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. pp. xlix.–liv., 470–510; ii. 4–24, 545–53, 592–3; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, i. 295; ii. 91–113; *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 26–101, 169–74; *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., passim; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 18–19; *Recop. de Indias*, tom. ii. 39–45, 268–9; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 370–99; *Ramirez, Proceso*, 6–25, 73–6, 179–84; *Las Casas, Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 25 et seq.; *Salazar y Olarte, Conq. Mex.*, 19–21; *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 259–65, 327–8; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 142–6, 171–91, 255–6, app. 105–43; ii. 30, 63–78, 178–80, 309–17; *Mex. Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 2–6; *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 272–4; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 44–6; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 58, pt. v. 5, 6; *Archivo, Mex. Doc.*, i. 19, passim, ii. 31 et seq.; *Panes, Extencion V. Cruz*, MS., i; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 16–17; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 6; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 519–29; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 41–57; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 103–6, 122–3; *Gonzalez Dávila,*

Teatro Ecles., i. 10; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 520–1; *Portilla, Esp. en Mex.*, 50, passim; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv., 574–93, 727–56, 805–35; *Rivera, Mex. en 1842*, 17–26, *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, ix. 427–47; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 133–41; *Mong'ave, Résumé*, 133–8; *Helps' Cortés*, ii. 135–52; *Id., Span. Conq.*, iii. 3–29; *Castillo, Dicc. Hist.*, 290–1; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 7–29, 80–8; *Carriedo, Estud. Hist.*, 122; *Miller, Reisen in Mex.*, iii. 178–9; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 112–41; *Anquetil, Univ. Hist.*, ix. 505–8; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 181; *Mex. Mem. Agric.*, 1843, 10–11; *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, 215–53, 328–30, 396–418; *Bustamante, Cuad. Hist.*, iv. 62–5, 88; *Fleury, Hist. Decouv.*, 183–5; *Fossey, Mexique*, 136–8; *Jalisco, Mem. Hist.*, 38, 85–7; *Chaves, Resp.*, MS., 1–19; *Laharpe, Abrégé*, x. 74–6; *Zamacois, Hist. Mex.*, iv. 82 et seq.; *Abbot's Mex. and U. S.*, 27–8; *Id., Cortés*, 281–303; *Tornel y Mendivil, Aparicion*, ii. 183–95; *Wappäus, Mex. und C. Am.*, 59; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec.*, i. 84–6; *Chevalier, Mexique*, 251–6; *Escosura, Conjuracion*, i. p. xiii; *Zerecero, Mem. Rev. Mex.*, 448–9; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, i. 249–58; *Museo Mex.*, ii. 268–71, 352–5; *Armin. Alte Mex.*, 339, 346–8; *Frost's Pic. Hist. Mex.*, 122–3; *Pap. Var.*, cl. pt. xxxiv. 8; cliii. pt. viii. 25–9, 46–50; *Salmon's Mod. Hist.*, iii. 194–6; *S. Am. and Mexico*, i. 43–4; *Kewen, Nic. and Walker*, MS., 3, 4; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 191; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, v. 326–32; *Mora, Rev. Mex.*, iii. 178–80; *Dubois, Mexique*, 85–7; *Martinez, Hist. Rev. Mex.*, i. 13–17; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 53–66, 128–34, 256, 315–40.

CHAPTER IX.

APOSTOLIC LABORS.

1522–1526.

RELIGIOUS FEELING AMONG THE CONQUERORS—THE FIRST MINISTERS—JUAN DIAZ AND FRIAR OLMEDO—PAPAL INTEREST DISPLAYED—FRANCISCO DE LOS ÁNGELES' PROPOSED MISSION—BROTHER GANTE AND HIS COMPANIONS—FATHER VALENCIA—FRANCISCAN RULES AND PRIVILEGES—THE TWELVE APOSTLES—INDIAN ASTONISHMENT—CORTÉS AT THE FEET OF THE FRIARS—POLITIC SELF-ABASEMENT—FIRST SYNOD—MONASTIC DISCIPLINE—CONVENTS AND HOSPITALS—METHODS OF CONVERSION—CHOIRS AND ORCHESTRAS—TRICKS OF TRADE—FRIARS AND DISCIPLES—STUBBORNNESS OF PROSELYTES—BAPTISM EN MASSE AND BESTOWAL OF NAMES—LEGALITY OF THE RITE—THE MARRIAGE QUESTION—NATIVE CATECHISTS AND MISSIONARIES—INCONOCLASTS AND MARTYRS—PROGRESS OF CONVERSION AND ITS CAUSES—CHRISTIAN-LIKE RITES AMONG THE NATIVES—ATTRACTIVE FEATURES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH—FESTIVALS—CHARACTER OF THE FRIARS.

WHILE political and financial projects formed the absorbing motive with the ever increasing swarm of adventurers in New Spain, as elsewhere, Cortés among others had not forgotten the sacred motto under which he had set forth, and to which he attributed his success. In the famous regulations issued at Tlascala before undertaking the siege of Mexico he had sought to recognize their indebtedness to heaven by proclaiming the primary motive of the campaigns to be spiritual conquest, without which the temporal acquisitions must be regarded as unjust.[1] With only one friar, however, whose services, in connection with those of the clergyman Diaz, were almost wholly absorbed by the soldiers, little or no progress could be made toward the great aim. In his letters to Spain,

[1] See full text thereof in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 445–51.

Cortés clearly pointed out this deficiency, and asked for more workers in so promising a field. The request was supported by Father Olmedo, and also by others, who, without caring for the salvation of souls, had found friars an effective means to promote the subjugation of the natives, and especially to maintain control, so as to assure possession of the grants and serfs. The presence of the holy men proved also a stimulus to the soldiers during the hardships of a march, or the dangers of a battle, only too clearly recognized by Cortés, who, for that matter, was sincere in the acts of devotion with which he began and ended his undertakings. So were his companions, with more or less feeling, since it would have been heresy to neglect Christian forms, however much the inward nature disregarded them. With the prevalent simplicity and religious zeal most men, indeed, felt comforted by these rites, which to them constituted a great consolation.

The king was aware of the need of spiritual guides for soldier as well as native, and commended the subject to his councils and to the pontiff; but the little known of the conquest and the country during the first years infused a cautious hesitation on the part of both laity and churchmen,[2] and the field remained neglected. During the siege of the capital five religious teachers figured among the thousand fighters, with their two hundred thousand auxiliaries, Father Olmedo, the three clergymen, Juan Diaz, Juan de Leon, and Juan Ruiz de Guevara, the last two of Narvaez' expedition, and the Franciscan Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea, who had come to sell indulgences. To this number might be added the interpreter Agui-

[2] *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 187. The Dominican Remesal charges the delay in part to the want of interest taken by Fonseca in the conquests of Cortés. *Hist. Chyapa*, 9, and his hostility must have had its effect. Brasseur de Bourbourg pleads that the hesitation of theologians and jurists to declare the validity of Spain's right to these countries—'évidence en l'honneur de la religion catholique et des ministres de Charles V.'—was the retarding cause for not sending friars to protect the natives. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 576.

lar, who had studied theology and assisted at service.[3] Only two, however, stand forward as teachers and ministers, Olmedo and Diaz, the latter already member of the previous expedition under Grijalva, during whose voyage he performed mass and baptized a native. Even he was forstalled by the priest Alonso Gonzalez, of Córdoba's party, to whom belongs the highly prized honor of performing the first Christian rites in New Spain.[4]

Juan Diaz labored under a disadvantage as a churchman through his pronounced loyalty to Velazquez, which caused him to meddle in plots, and brought upon him the disfavor even of the natives. He became the first parish priest in Mexico, but resigned to follow Alvarado to Guatemala for a short time, after which he returned to Mexico, only to be killed in a tumult at Quecholac a few years later.[5]

[3] Cabrera, *Escudo de Armas*, 215, omits Urrea, and dignifies Aguilar as dean, though his later record is rather of a worldly character. He was made regidor of Segura in 1520, in reward for services as interpreter, and obtained a land grant from the municipality of Mexico on November 28, 1525. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. In 1529 he figured as a witness against Cortés, who had failed to meet his expectations of reward. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 178–83. Bernal Diaz, who supposes him dead in 1524, casts a slur on the moral character of this professed anchorite by saying, 'murió tullido de bubas.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 244.

[4] See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 6, 9, 25. Great rivalry existed among the different orders, each exaggerating its share in the work of conversion. The Franciscans and Dominicans exhibit actual hostility in their relations, and the former do not hesitate in their writings to claim the primacy as first comers, to which end they either ignore the first laborers in the field, or argue that they came without authority, and must consequently be regarded at most as spiritual guardians of the soldiers alone. This spirit is apparent throughout the volumes of Motolinia, Mendieta, Torquemada, Vetancurt, and Gonzalez Dávila. Even special papers have been written to defend the claim, among which may be mentioned *Vindicias de la Verdad*, MS., 1773, by Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, wherein even the three Flemish friars who arrived in 1523 are ignored in their claim to primacy among Franciscans, on the ground that they were not under the papal bull authorizing the great twelve who came in 1524. The real objection was probably that they were Flemings, not Spaniards. Olmedo, of the order of Mercy, was undoubtedly the first friar, but the organ which proclaimed his fame did not command many hearers. His best champion is the editor of Bernal Diaz' *Historia Verdadera*, who does not scruple, like his rivals, to invent and interpolate in this history statements wherewith to extend the merits of his order. The learned Sigüenza y Góngora devotes much attention to the subject, particularly in his *Anotaciones Críticas*, MS., wherein he refutes the claims of the Franciscans, yet fails to exhibit sufficient facts for his argument. *Grijalva, Crón.*, 1, 2.

[5] Figueroa, *Vindicias*, MS., 104–5, following a doubt of Vetancurt, supposes with several others that he left New Spain forever shortly after the fall of Mexico, but on returning from Guatemala he appeared on October 27,

A more conspicuous role was filled by Father Olmedo, universally respected for his prudent zeal and humility, his devotion to Cortés and the soldiers, and his kind interest in the natives. Not only this: he was in a remarkable degree for the age free from that excessive zeal which controlled the conquerors, and stained so many of their acts; and he possessed an admirable clearness of mind and knowledge of the world, which made him the trusted adviser and agent of his leader, and saved the army on more than one occasion from dangerous imprudence. When Cortés left for Honduras in 1524 he placed him in charge of the religious interests with which he was concerned; but the good friar died shortly after, deeply regretted by his countrymen and the natives.[6]

Some time before this Friar Melgarejo came from Spain, to grant indulgences for blasphemies, outrages on defenceless natives, and similar sins and crimes, and set out on his return in 1522 with a considerable sum, which was captured by French corsairs.[7] His departure did not affect the financial interests of the church, for the tithes were duly collected, amounting in 1523–4 to five thousand five hundred and fifty pesos de oro for Mexico city alone.[8]

1525, before the municipality of Mexico to obtain the confirmation of a land-grant. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. In June 1529 he testified at the residencia of Alvarado. *Ramirez, Proceso*, 124. Soon after he was killed during a tumult between the Popolucas at Quecholac, together with three or four soldiers, and was partly eaten by the natives, of whom the ringleaders were burned for their crime. Testimony of Indians, in *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 11–15. The body is said to have been deposited at Tlascala. *Torquemada*, iii. 71–2; *Cabrera, Escudo de Armas*, 215. In the hermitage of S. Estévan, adds Vetancurt, who doubts the statement of Gonzalez Dávila that he was buried at Puebla. *Teatro*, ii. 146. Puebla was not founded till 1531–2. Brasseur de Bourbourg treats of his career with some pains, but makes several radical blunders.

[6] He was buried at Tlatelulco, in Santiago sanctuary. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 211. It is said that he had baptized 2,500 persons. Granados, *Tardes*, 296, sends him off to Spain, and Zamacois, as usual, hazards several doubtful assertions.

[7] The corsairs captured nearly all the treasures and remittances sent on that occasion. See p. 83, this volume.

[8] They were farmed out, and the money used by the royal treasurer for building churches, buying ornaments, and paying priests. Medellin and Vera Cruz tithes were worth at least 1,000 pesos; those of other settlements are not given. *Cortes, Cartas*, 321.

Nevertheless a bull had been issued by Pope Leo X. as early as April 25, 1521, in favor of two Franciscan applicants, the prominent Francisco de los Ángeles[9] and Juan Clapion, the latter a Fleming and former confessor to the emperor, whereby they were permitted to preach, baptize, confess, administer the sacraments, decide matrimonial questions, administer extreme unction, consecrate churches, excommunicate and absolve from excommunication, without interference from any secular or ecclesiastic authority.[10] While suitable companions were sought for, and the necessary means, the death of the pope took place, followed by that of Clapion;[11] and other obstacles, chief among them the election of Ángeles as general of his order.[12]

The election of the cardinal-regent Adrian of Spain to the papacy, early in 1522, and the clearer accounts from New Spain, caused more energetic measures to be taken by the church, and on May 13, 1522,[13] a new bull was issued, authorizing all mendicant friars, especially the minorites designated by their superior, to freely undertake the conversion of natives in the Indies. Only those fitted by their life and knowledge for the position should be selected. The prelates of the orders and their delegates were invested with all power needed for the conversion of natives and the maintenance of the faith in the Indies, including the exercise of such episcopal acts as did not actually require the prerogative of a consecrated bishop, in places where no such prelate existed, or in places lying at a greater distance from the bishop's

[9] 'Por otro nombre, de Quiñones, hermano del conde de Luna.' *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 187.

[10] Remesal, *Hist. Chyapa*, 41, seems rather nettled at these vast privileges to a rival order, and assumes with an 'of course' that they applied also to the later coming Dominicans.

[11] In 1522, at Valladolid, says Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, ii. 501–2, who writes the name Glapion. Torquemada, iii. 6, 7, following Mendieta, attributes too much effect on the project to the demise of the pope. Yet the new pope may have objected to the privilege assigned so exclusively to two friars.

[12] In 1523, Mendieta. He afterward became cardinal. *Vetancvrt, Chron.*, 1.

[13] So reads the Latin text, yet almost every author says either 9th or 10th.

abode than two days' journey.[14] All privileges granted to friars for the Indies by preceding pontiffs were confirmed.

Ever since the projected transfer of Córdoba's discoveries to the admiral of Flanders,[15] the Flemings had taken a certain interest in the new region, and with the authorization issued to Franciscans generally to engage in conversion, three friars of that nationality obtained permission to begin the long delayed work.[16] They were Juan de Tecto, guardian of the convent at Ghent, the emperor's confessor, and a most learned man,[17] Juan de Aora, and Pedro de Gante, lay-brother, a man of talent and exemplary life, who acquired great respect and influence, the latter chiefly through his relationship to Charles V.[18]

Leaving Spain in May, they reached Villa Rica

[14] The permission gave rise to numerous quibbles, and by bull of Feb. 15, 1535, at the request of the Franciscan commissary, this episcopal power was extended to any place, without restriction as to distance, but subject to the consent of the bishop in the diocese concerned. The text of the different bulls is given fully, or in substance, in *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 188–96; *Prov. Stº Evang.*, MS., pt. iii. 83; *Torquemada*, iii. 6, 7; *Vazquez, Chron. de Gvat.*, 18; *García, Hist. Bethlem.*, ii. 13; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, ii. 507.

[15] See *Hist. Mex.*, i., this series.

[16] Coming solely with the permit of their provincials, 'no con autoridad apostólica...ni con mandato del ministro general,' they cannot be recognized as the first Franciscans in New Spain, observes Mendieta. *Hist. Eccles.*, 215.

[17] For 14 years professor of theology at Paris. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, i. 111. As his confessor, the emperor at first hesitated to let him go; but his star called him to perish miserably on the terrible Honduras expedition in 1525, under Cortés. See *Gante* in *Cartas de Indias*, 52; also *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 548, this series. Bernal Diaz includes Juan el Flamenco among those who were drowned in the vessel sent by Cortés to Mexico on arriving at Honduras. *Hist. Verdad.*, 208. This may refer to Aora, who accompanied Tecto, and died on the same journey, as Gante affirms, *Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 199–200, for Torquemada, iii. 424–5, declares that Tecto died of starvation and hardship during the march to Honduras. Mendieta on the other hand writes that Aora died while catechising at Tezcuco, soon after his arrival, and that his body was removed to the Franciscan convent at Mexico, after its completion. *Hist. Eccles.*, 607. If so, he was the first missionary who died in New Spain. The name given to Tecto is the Spanish form for Jean de Toit.

[18] *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 251. What relationship is not clear, though Alegre says, 'Por la ilustre sangre de los reyes de Escocia,' *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 180; and Ixtlilochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 60, guesses at cousin, while Prescott, *Mex.*, iii. 256, and Brasseur boldly assert, his 'illegitimate son;' 'brother' would have been a better guess, since Charles was born in 1500, and at Ghent (Gante). His proper name was 'Pierre de Mura, natif de la ville d'Yguen, dans la province de Budarde.' *Gand, Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 199. Hazart writes Petrus de Muro. *Kirchen-Geschichte*, ii. 529; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 47.

August 30th,[19] and were received with the demonstrations suited to their sacred mission. Tezcuco was chosen for head-quarters, none of them as yet speaking Spanish well enough to secure the attention of Spanish congregations at the capital. Indeed, the Flemings do not appear to have been favorites among the soldiers, and Gante, at least, took little pains to court them, or to employ their idiom. Their charge was the natives, whose language they studied and to whose wants they ministered, while rapidly extending the sway of the church, and raising her emblem in numerous edifices,[20] assisted, according to Mendieta, by two other Franciscans from the Antilles, who died soon after their arrival.[21] Little is known of their labors, however, for the chroniclers confined their attention almost exclusively to those sent out by the Spanish prelates.

The election of Francisco de los Ángeles to the generalship of the Franciscans enabled him to prosecute his scheme for the conversion of the new-world natives with greater directness, and with the approval of the king and council he selected a friar to accomplish his purpose in the person of Martin de Valencia, provincial since 1518 of San Gabriel, wherein he had earned a pious fame by founding the monastery of Santa María del Berrocal. He had long sought in vain for missionary glory, and now, in his fiftieth year, with hope fast fading, his ambition was to be gratified.[22]

[19] Gand, loc. cit. They had been nearly a year in Spain, learning the language and awaiting license no doubt.

[20] Including St Joseph, the first seminary in New Spain. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 407–8; *Ponce, Rel. de las Cosas*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii., 181. 'Catequizado y bautizado por su mano mas de *un millon de indios*.' *Alegre*, ubi sup.

[21] 'De cuyos nombres no tuve noticia...aunque supe que se enterraron en Tezcuco.' *Hist. Eccles.*, 215. Ixtlilxochitl also accepts five friars. *Hor. Crueldades*, 60. One of them was Varilla, no doubt; and perhaps his companion, who is said to have died on board the rescue vessel sent for Zuazo, may have been reckoned as the fifth.

[22] He was born at Valencia de Don Juan, Oviedo bishopric, in about 1474, his true name being Juan Martin de Boil, according to Vetancurt. *Menolog.*, 93. 'Martinus de Valencia de Alcantara' it is written in *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 103. He took the habit of the order at Mayorga in Benavente. Although Motolinia, *Hist. Ind.*, i. 148–56, followed by Mendieta, *Hist. Eccles.*, 571–9, and

After selecting twelve companions, he received from the general written instructions, based on the papal decree, whereby Valencia, with the title of *custodio*,[23] was to proceed to New Spain and there establish the Custodia del Santo Evangelio,[24] extending conversion in accordance with the rules of the order.[25] By a special patent, dated October 23d, he was invested, for himself and successors, with all the power possessed by the general in external jurisdiction, including ecclesiastic censures, as well as in points of conscience, save with two exceptions,[26] and in a royal cédula the friars were commended to the governors in the Indies.[27]

Torquemada, iii. 392–9, devote many pages to his earlier life, yet they reveal little save his character. Remesal assumes that Friar García de Loaisa, the Dominican successor of Fonseca as president of the India Council, appointed Valencia. *Hist. Chyapa*, 9. This can be true only in so far that he assented to the choice made by Angeles. He would no doubt have chosen men of his own order. According to Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 240, Cortés' own appeal to Angeles gave impulse to the mission.

[23] The superiors in the order, aside from the agents and inspectors, occupied four grades: *presidente*, the chief of a group of two or more friars, collected at any place, to which place the term of convent was usually given, while the president was often entitled guardian by courtesy. The next higher grade was that of guardian proper, in charge of a full convent of 12 voters, by whom he was elected; then the *custodio*, controlling a certain number of convents, and *provincial*, the chief of a provincia, to which rank a custodia was raised when the number of convents, the resources, and population warranted its formation. Seven convents have been deemed sufficient in some instances to claim the advancement, although a dozen were esteemed a more appropriate number. Above the provincials ruled the general of the order, with his commissaries, visitadores, and other officers.

[24] 'En la Nueva España y tierra de Yucatan.'

[25] The instructions issued at the convent of Santa María de los Angeles, 1523, on October 4th, it seems, accord to Valencia full control over the Franciscan friars in New Spain, any one who objects having to depart for Española. The right acquired by the friars in Spain would continue in force. At the death of the custodio, or at the expiration of his three-years term, the eldest priest must convoke a chapter, composed of those *confrères* who could gather within 30 days, and by their votes elect the new custodio. The latter must attend in person, or by delegate, the chapter held every sixth year for the election of a general, there to vote, if permitted, and to receive instructions. The friars should, if possible, live together in one place, in order to promote conversion by their life and example; in any case they must live in groups of at least two or four, one of them as superior, to maintain the law of obedience, and within a distance of about 15 days' journey, so as to readily join their prelate once a year for deliberation. Further rules were left to their discretion, and to the general chapter, when the wants of the new district would be better known. *Franciscanos, Instruc.*, 139–43, in *Prov. Stº Evang.*, MS.; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 200–2; *Torquemada*, iii. 10–12.

[26] The admission of nuns to any of the three grades of Santa Clara, and absolving those excommunicated *viva voce et in scriptis* by the general.

[27] This was dated December 12, 1523, and recorded in *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., March 9, July 28, 1525.

Toward the close of 1523 the missionaries gathered at Belvis convent to perfect arrangements for the voyage. They numbered besides Valencia ten ordained priests and two lay brothers, nearly all belonging to the provincia de San Gabriel: Francisco de Soto, Martin de Jesus de la Coruña, José de la Coruña, Juan Juarez, Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, and Toribio de Benavente, preachers and learned confessors; García de Cisneros and Luis de Fuensalida, preachers; Juan de Ribas and Francisco Jimenez, priests; and the lay-brothers, Andrés de Córdoba and Juan de Palos.[28] Soto was a man of recognized intelligence, who had occupied the position of guardian; Fuensalida became successor to Valencia, and Benavente figured as one of the leading apostles. They will nearly all appear during the history in more or less prominent positions.[29]

After a sojourn of a few weeks at Seville they left San Lúcar on the 25th of January, 1524, in company with twelve Dominicans, commissioned like them for evangelical work in the Indies. José de la Coruña alone failed to join them, having been despatched to the court on business.[30] At Santo Domingo the

[28] Palos replaced at the last moment Bernardino de la Torre, who figures at the end of the list given in the patent already quoted, and was found 'unworthy.' Camargo obtained a list of 15, not one of whom corresponds to the above. *Hist. Tlax.*, 192.

[29] The family name of Benavente, known afterward as Motolinia, was Paredes, it seems, for so he signs the preface to his *Hist. Ind.*, 13. Juarez, also written Suares, became guardian at Huexotzinco. Afterward he, together with the lay-brother Palos, an exemplary preacher among the natives, joined Narvaez' expedition to Florida, where both perished miserably. Elected bishop of Rio de las Palmas, according to Herrera, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. iii., followed by *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 32, without date. The other lay-brother, Córdoba, died in Jalisco, and was buried at Izatlan, his bones being held in great veneration. Their biographies may be found in *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 611–28; *Torquemada*, iii. 432–47; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 52, 63 et seq.; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 32 et seq., and in other authorities which will be given when they are spoken of in the course of history.

[30] The pope had recently died, and Beaumont believes that a ratification of the friar patent may have been sought from the new pontiff. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 181–3. Whatever his mission, José delayed, and after replacing an 'unworthy' lay-brother, so as to conform in number to the 12 apostles, 'pues iban á ejercitar el mismo oficio apostólico,' Valencia embarked with his 11 companions. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 207, 628. That 12, not 13, left, is confirmed by Motolinia, *Hist. Ind.*, 14, 267; 'el padre Fray Martin...con once frailes;' although Valencia's expression in a letter of 1531 is doubtful; 'præ-

Dominicans remained,[31] and the Franciscans, after a stay with them of six weeks, due partly to the easter celebration, proceeded to San Juan de Ulua, Valencia being invested with the additional power of inquisitor.[32]

They arrived on May 13th,[33] and although Cortés hastened to send officers and servants with orders to attend to their reception and comfort, the friars modestly declined every indulgence, and marched barefooted toward the capital, attracting no little attention from the natives. "Who are these so humble, yet so revered?" "What coarse and patched robes!" "Poor men!" Among the expressions thus employed was frequent the term *motolinia*. "What means the word?" asked Friar Benavente. "Poor," replied a soldier, "and it is applied, reverend father, to the humbleness of your appearance." "Then shall it be my name," rejoined the friar; and henceforth he called and signed himself Toribio Motolinia, a name spread far and wide during the following years as that of a zealous apostle.[34] At Tlascala they sought with the aid of an interpreter to give the wondering natives an idea of their mission, and as they approached Mexico,[35] its impor-

sertim illi duodecim, qui missi sunt vna mecum.' *Peter Martyr, De Insvlis*, 146. The looseness of utterance in some parts of Motolinia and others has, however, misled most subsequent authorities, and Gomara, Gonzalez Dávila, Fernandez, and Cavo, all pronounce for 13.

[31] To await their prelate, it is said, though their long delay implies that New Spain had not yet been definitely accepted as their destination. They followed the Franciscans only in 1526. The equipment so far had been in common for both orders, with a view to promote a good understanding. The king had given to each garments of frieze and other necessaries, including 900 ducats for church paraphernalia, 800 being payable in the Indies. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 10.

[32] His title was comisario of the inquisition for New Spain, conferred by the inquisitor Pedro de Córdoba, vicar-general of the Dominicans, then at Santo Domingo. The slightly restricted authority lasted till the Dominicans arrived in 1526. *Id.*, 41.

[33] On Friday before pentecost, says Mendieta. Motolinia writes 12th. The landing may have taken place on the 13th.

[34] *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 210–11; *Molina, Vocabulario.* According to Bernal Diaz the name was applied by Mexican chiefs for the reason that Toribio gave to the natives everything he received. *Hist. Verdad.*, 191. But this version is less credible. Vazquez points out that the friar generally signed 'Motolinia Fr. Toribio,' with true allusion to the meaning. *Chron. de Gvat.*, 527, 534.

[35] June 23d, *Not. Mex.*, in *Monumentos Dom. Esp.*, MS., 322, though others intimate a few days earlier.

tant and sacred character was fully impressed upon them by the demonstrative reception on the part of the governor, who came forth to welcome them with a brilliant retinue, including King Quauhtemotzin, the leading captains and chiefs, friars Olmedo and Gante, and with the entire city following. Dismounting, Cortés knelt before them, and seized Valencia's hand to kiss it. With the humility characteristic of his profession the father withdrew his hand, whereupon Cortés kissed the robes of the friars in turn, an example followed by his retinue, to the intense astonishment of the natives, who had not hitherto been offered so public and profound a display of humility on the part of the mighty conquerors, men who had barely chosen to doff the hat to the sacred Montezuma, and who received the submissive salutes of their lords with disdainful condescension. In brilliant array, decked with gold and precious stones, these men humbled themselves to the dust to the barefooted and meanly clad strangers. Could they be gods in disguise![36]

With sincere devotion to the church Cortés combined profound respect for its ministers, as we have seen. Nevertheless his extreme humiliation on the present occasion was dictated chiefly by politic motives. The friars possessed immense power, representing as they did the church, wherein still lay deposited an influence before which the mightiest of princes bent submissive, and at whose hands the sovereigns of Portugal and Spain received the heavenly title to half a world. Such personages must be courted, not alone

[36] According to Ixtlilxochitl, who ever has in mind his own town and family, the reception took place near Tezcuco, on June 12, 1523! The friars were conducted to Nezahualcoyotl's palace, and there they transformed one of the halls into a chapel, wherein on the following day King Ixtlilxochitl was baptized as Fernando, Cortés acting as godfather. This example was followed by his family, including the mother, though the latter needed much persuasion, and by all the nobles, as well as a large portion of the common people, prepared as they were by friar Gante. *Hor. Crueldades*, 73–5. There is evidently a good deal of invention in this account. It is hardly probable that Cortés went to Tezcuco to receive them. When the three Flemings arrived at this city there was no doubt a fine reception, but Cortés was sick at the time, and his visit of respect must have assumed a more private character.

for their control over the soldiers and colonists, but for their influence at court, to which they would report directly or indirectly concerning the condition of the country and the management of the royal interests; reports that would have more weight than those from other sources. Then, again, these friars were destined to exercise control over the natives far more effective than that obtained by force of arms, and thereby assure possession of the conquest to the crown and of grants and serfs to the conquerors. It was well, therefore, while propitiating these men to impress on the natives their sacred character, and to set a striking example of the respect that should be paid to them. This politic deference Cortés constantly maintained, and with good effect on all concerned. On one occasion it is related that the inhabitants of Tezcuco were indignant because one of their chiefs had been flogged for not attending mass. Informed of this, Cortés concluded for a little by-play to assume the role of martyr. Informing the priests of his purpose, he absented himself from mass; for which delinquency he was sent for, and stripped and flogged by the friars in the presence of a number of the mutinous natives, and thus reconciled them to the despotic acts of their spiritual guardians.[37]

Shortly after his entry into Mexico, Valencia summoned the five friars who were already in the country,[38] and thus seventeen were gathered in chapter to consult on the best manner of proceeding with the conversion. On this occasion, the 2d of July, 1524, the custodia was formally established, and divided into four districts centring round Mexico, Tezcuco, Huex-

[37] *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 186; *Vetancur, Chron.*, 2; *Cortés, Cartas*, etc., in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 456, v. 449–50. The natives have commemorated several of these acts in their picture-writings. *Torquemada*, iii. 21–2; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ix.

[38] The three Flemings, Varilla who came with Zuazo, and Olmedo probably. Yet Mendieta speaks of the fifth also as a Franciscan, he as well as the fourth 'vinieron...al tiempo de la conquista.' *Hist. Ecles.*, 215. The meeting or chapter was held a fortnight after arrival. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 143. 'Dia de la Visitacion de Nuestra Señora,' says Mendieta.

otzinco, and Tlascala, to each of which were assigned four friars, Valencia making a fifth at the capital.[39]

Temporary convents were founded at each of these places, while means and aid were obtained to erect permanent edifices, usually in prominent localities, as a standing exhortation to the flock from an architectural as well as a religious point of view. At Mexico the site of the first convent appears to have been on Santa Teresa street,[40] and since the building in the

[39] *Torquemada*, iii. 25–8, 303, following chiefly Motolinia and Mendieta. Those who lived in Tezcuco had been driven thither by the hostilities encountered from the Spaniards at Mexico, says Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 81, and not so incorrectly, for the Flemings were looked upon as intrusive foreigners, and not well versed in Spanish. Valencia offered to resign if the friars preferred another custodian, but this was unanimously opposed. The chapters were held every three years to elect superiors, and every 18 months an intermediate meeting took place to discuss affairs. They were attended by the guardians of convents, and by *discretos*, one elected for each convent to represent the presidencia groups of friars. See note 23 for significance of these grades. The discretos must be elected by at least four presidencia representatives, and be priests who had said mass for three years. They had equal vote with the guardians at the chapter. This was held at the most convenient meeting-place, in New Spain, usually at Mexico, the sessions being generally of seven or eight days' duration. At the present chapter, and subsequently, the rules for the order were duly considered with regard to modifications required in a different clime, and with new associations. Novices had to submit in all strictness to the general constitution, and Indians, mestizos, and creoles could be admitted only by the provincial and discretos jointly, after a probationary term at the convent, the vote of whose inmates was required as one of the conditions for receiving them. By regulation of 1565 the examination of novices was made stricter. One hour of mental prayer with lesson was required in the early part of the night, and another after matins; discipline three times a week, with extras during lent and feast-days. Alms must be asked only for actual sustenance and sacristy purposes, under penalty. If the collection did not suffice, then the sovereign and encomenderos might be appealed to, as the Indians were too poor to be molested. The noonday and evening meal should conform to regulated rations, except on feast-days, when a little extra might be taken at noon. The dress must always be of sackcloth, and consist of only one robe and tunic. Blue was adopted as the cheapest and most convenient color. Friars must not interfere in disputes between Indians and Spaniards, or between Indian women, or in appointment of rulers, or with judges, etc. A chorister and a lay-brother had no active vote till after wearing the robe three years and passing the 25th year of his age. Guardian might be elected in a convent with 12 voters, not counting presidencia members. Newly arrived members obtained a vote for discreto only after one year's residence, and for guardian after two years, unless given the privilege by chapter, in consideration of ability. None could be elected provincial, definidor, or comisario of the provincia until after five years' residence. For every friar who died one mass was to be chanted in each Franciscan house, with vigil; in addition to this every priest received four masses; every chorister, three funeral services; and every lay-brother, 300 prayers, etc. Every Sunday services must be held for the dead members. *Francis. Constit.*, 123–34, in *Prov. Stº Evang.*, MS.

[40] According to Torquemada, iii. 36, followed by Vetancurt, *Chron.*, 31–2, the site was the same on which afterward rose the cathedral. This appears

capital must ever be regarded as the centre for the order, contributions for it came even from afar, chiefly from the natives, in men and material.[41]

Cortés also gave substantial aid in different ways in promoting their benevolent aims, one of which was the care of poor and sick natives. To this end he had already erected a hospital, *de la Purísima Concepcion*,[42] which still exists, a monument to his charitable devotion and a relic of the reëdification period.

to be a mere supposition, based on the fact that the friars had obtained a right to the cathedral ground, which they transferred to the bishops for a consideration of 40 pesos and the reservation of a pulpit and altar. The acts of the municipality, *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., May 2, 1525, January 31, 1529, and other dates, with observations of Father Pichardo, are conclusive in this respect. Alaman, *Disert.*, ii. 142, indicates the house at present occupying the site. Orozco y Berra presents slightly different arguments. *Mex. Mem.*, 102. While not wholly agreeing with these writers, Salazar admits in the main their views in his critical notes of *Mex. en 1554*, 213 et seq. 'Dove óggidí è il Convento grande di S. Francesco,' says Clavigero, hastily, *Storia Mess.*, i. 272, and with total oblivion of the removal. Prescott and others fall partly into the error.

[41] Ixtlilxochitl relates that his royal namesake led the Tezcucan nobles in procession to carry stones, thus setting an example to the common people. *Rel.*, 447. Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, i. 182, speaks of a splendid building, which is doubtful, since it was erected in great haste; and that Gante built it. In 1534 the site was abandoned, and a really fine convent erected on San Francisco street, so as to be near the Indians, to whom the friars had been sent. *Vetancvrt, Chron.*, 31–2; *Panes*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 62.

[42] The existence of the hospital at this date is shown by the *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., August 26, 1524, and, although no name is given, it must be that of Cortés, since the friars could not have erected one so soon after their arrival. The building is of interest as the only relic of the edifices erected by the first Spaniards, all others having either disappeared or undergone a complete change. *Orozco y Berra, Mex. Not. Ciudad*, 160. It stands in what used to be the Huitzillan quarter, and was most carefully constructed, the site granted comprising originally 128 varas east by west. By bull of April 16, 1529, the pope conferred on Cortés the perpetual patronage of this and other similar establishments to be founded by him, with the right to appropriate tithes and premices under certain conditions for their support. A bull of approximate date confers absolution on penitents who may attend there. All the privileges of the bulls were not approved by the king, however, and even the cathedral sought to dispute the right to tithes, which was confirmed to the hospital in 1653. A part of its revenue came from rents of buildings upon its ground. Cabrera, *Escudo de Armas*, 404, states that Cortés proposed it as a sepulchre for his family; but this applies to the convent which he intended to erect at Coyuhuacan, his favorite city. In 1663 a sacred Christ image fell to the hospital, by lot, and henceforth it assumed the name of Jesus that it still bears. Cortés planned several other institutions which were never erected for want of sufficient funds, and his descendants did not consider themselves bound to supply the money, though appealed to by Archbishop Manso and others; nevertheless they bestowed large gifts on the hospital and other establishments. Alaman, *Disert.*, ii. 81–9, 2d app. 26–48, Orozco y Berra and Cabrera already quoted, and Ramirez, in notes to Prescott's Mexico, have given considerable attention to these and other points

Thus by precept and example Cortés sought to impress the natives with the superiority of the friars even to himself, the representative of the greatest ruler on earth, and the conquered were only too eager to conform to the orders of their masters by tendering respect and obedience to the holy men.[43] So deep, indeed, was the impression made that their arrival became a starting-point in their chronology under the term of "the year when the faith came." While recognizing the policy of maintaining a high rank among the flock, the friars nevertheless dissipated the more extravagant notions, and presented themselves as humble and mortal servants of the ruler of heaven and of princes, sent to impart the blessings of the only saving faith, and to rescue the natives from the misleading rites of the evil one. To this end they requested that the children be intrusted to their care for instruction, which afterward should be imparted also to the elders, and that as the first step to its accomplishment a building should be erected close to the convent, comprising school, chapel, dormitory, and refectory, sufficiently large to accommodate a thousand children.[44]

The chiefs hastened to obey, but when the time came for surrendering their children several held back partly from devotion to native gods, and sent instead

connected with Cortés and Mexico city. Another hospital, San Lázaro, existed in the first decade of the conquest, which may be identical with the infirmary spoken of by Gante, near the convent, wherein as many as 400 sick and destitute natives were cared for. He asks the emperor to give it alms. Letter of November 1532, in *Cartas de Indias*, 51–2. It was removed to a new site by President Guzman, for sanitary reasons, and since then no data appear. *Puga, Cedulario*, 40. In 1572 a license was issued to Pedro Lopez, who erected a hospital for leprous persons chiefly at his own expense. *Cabrera, Escudo de Armas*, 434–5.

[43] Ixtlilxochitl relates that a princess of Tezcuco on first meeting the friars imitated the example of the Spaniards by bending one knee before them. This unusual form of courtesy on the part of a lady created a smile even among the reverend fathers, so much so that the princess drew back with an air of offended dignity. *Hor. Crueldades*, 75–6.

[44] Gante writes in 1532 that he had from 500 to 600 under his charge. *Cartas de Indias*, 51. While this building and the convent were in course of erection the friars stayed with Father Olmedo, perhaps in one of Cortés' houses. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 191, their wants being provided for chiefly by him. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 240.

children of their servants. The deception turned to their own disadvantage, for the instructed children, though of low origin, obtained preferments which otherwise must have been given to the young chieftains.[45] At first the instruction was confined chiefly to learning prayers and participating in the frequent religious exercises. Then were added reading, writing, and other branches. Motolinia goes into ecstasies over the quick apprehension and docility of the pupils. After a short training they could copy elaborate manuscripts in so perfect a manner that it was difficult to distinguish the original. Illuminations and drawings were reproduced with equal skill, and sent to Spain as specimens, creating no little admiration. Singing proved particularly attractive to them, and was readily acquired, though taught by an old-fashioned friar who addressed the children in studied Spanish phraseology to the amusement of listeners. Although the pupils gasped in astonishment at the harangue, without comprehending a word, signs and example did wonders, and it was not long before an excellent choir existed, several of whose members were sent to train their young countrymen in other towns. Their voices were not as good as those of the Spaniards, but in other respects no objection could be found. A Tlascaltec composed a few years later a mass that received high approval. Instrumental music was also taught, at first the flute, by Spanish professionals, who were paid for their lessons, though the progress of the youth soon rendered foreign masters needless. A band of these flute-players formed an acceptable substitute for organs, and aided not a little to render the services impressive. Clarionets and other wooden wind-instruments were used to some extent, as well as several stringed instruments. Some of them the boys learned to play within a few days, and at Tehua-

[45] 'Pudo ser, que lo ordenase Dios asi, para que cesase de todo punto el Señorío, que tan tiranica, y cruelmente tenian,' is the pious reflection of Torquemada, iii. 29.

can a native youth formed an admirable band, which within one month was able to assist at mass.[46]

While aiding at the erection of their school-building, the boys were able to observe the operations of the different artisans, such as carpenters, bricklayers, masons, and to offer their services at the bench or trowel. Within a few days they showed themselves so expert that the friars were only too glad to hasten the work by intrusting even complicated sections to them, including the construction of arches, the placing of hewn stone foundations, and the decoration of façades. Churches in the native towns, which began rapidly to rise, were frequently erected even during this early period without the least direction from the Spaniards. One acquisition led to the desire for another; but instead of offering themselves for a seven years' apprenticeship to artisans who would probably have refused to teach their trade under any consideration, they managed by brief surreptitious watchings, with the aid of bought or borrowed specimens, soon to produce imitations fully equal to the European model. A saddler found a set of horse furniture missing one day. The next morning it was replaced, and shortly afterward he heard pedlers crying wares in the street exactly like his own, and at prices which put an end to his extravagant demands. A number of other artisans succumbed to the same acquisitive spirit, notably a weaver who being alone in his business made even the friars suffer from his monopoly. Rather than pay his prices, they went about in such tattered garments as to excite the pity of the natives. A devout chief took the matter in hand, and sent his servants to spy out the secrets of the weaver. He thereupon constructed a loom, and soon supplied the friars with both cloth and ready-made robes.[47]

[46] A youth at Tlascala made a *rabel*, a three-stringed violin, imitating one owned by a Spaniard, and in three lessons he learned all that the master could teach. Ten days later he joined the flute band at the church, playing in perfect accord. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 211.

[47] The good chief was Don Martin, lord of Quauhquechollan. *Torquemada*, iii. 106.

Equally adept were the youth in acquiring finer arts. Embroidery was taught by an Italian friar,[48] and thenceforth the churches were liberally provided with most elaborate work of this class. Images were carved and adorned in perfect imitation of the originals, and large numbers distributed among the natives to help them remember their lessons. So also with paintings and mosaic-work in feathers, both of which were applied to sacred art. In the latter branch the natives needed no lessons, but in painting they had much to learn, though it did not take them long to equal and even excel the mediocre amateur talent to be found among the Europeans then in Mexico. The training of the boys extended even to daily duties and conduct, for while a large proportion attended school during the day only, quite a number remained night and day under the care of the good fathers, many of them supported wholly by the alms which flowed in for the convent.[49]

The friars had in their turn to be pupils, striving to acquire the language with which they hoped to carry out on a grander scale their self-imposed mission. Aguilar, who acted as the chief interpreter, gave lessons, and additional teaching was obtained by the different convents from the Flemings, who had the advantage of several months' residence. At Mexico the chief aid in this direction was obtained from Alonso de Molina, the son of a Spanish widow, who had acquired an almost thorough knowledge of the Aztec.[50] Still, the best means to obtain both fluency

[48] A lay-brother named Daniel, who afterward went to Michoacan and Jalisco. *Id.*, 212.

[49] Gante appealed in 1532 to the emperor for a regular grant of corn, to support the school and hospital. *Cartas de Indias*, 51–3.

[50] He remained as interpreter till his age permitted him to join the order. He labored actively as a friar for over 50 years, and wrote a number of works in Aztec which were much used by novices and teachers, notably *Aqui comiença vn vocabulario enla lengua Castellana y Mexicana*, Mexico, Mayo, 1555, 4°, 259 leaves, exceedingly rare, and remarkable as one of the earliest books printed in the new world. Hardly less rare is the enlarged edition of 1571, folio, in two parts of 121 and 162 leaves respectively, the first devoted to Spanish-Aztec, the second to Aztec-Spanish. The first title-page bears the

and accent[51] was found to be intercourse with the natives, and to this end the friars unbent their dignity so far as to gambol with their little disciples, noting the words that fell from their prattling lips, and studying them at leisure. The elder children soon caught the spirit and strove to act as teachers.

In a few months fathers Fuensalida and Jimenez were so far advanced that, aided by the most intelligent pupils, they were able to address themselves to the older portion of the community, who in accordance with instructions issued to the chiefs were marshalled in procession to the convent. Here they were made to recite hymns which they neither understood nor cared to understand, and to join in ceremonies that to them had no significance. The friars themselves recognized the want of sincerity and the small effect of the exercises, but they persevered, ever hoping for improvement. One encouraging sign was the quick mastering of the points of doctrine, which Gante with native aid had translated into Aztec, in the form of a hymn.[52] Set to a pleasant tune this proved quite attractive, possessing, besides, the peculiar popularity to be expected where an imperfect form of writing prevails. Many were deeply impressed by the new faith, and looked up to the friars with great veneration, pleased even to find their shadow fall on them, and to be allowed to deliver a confession of their sins in picture-writing. It was hoped that the sacred influence of baptism might aid in fructifying the words of faith, and to this end quite a mania was developed among the worthy apostles to bestow the rite. It was deemed requisite for the prospective neophyte

escutcheon of Viceroy Enriquez to whom it is dedicated, the second, a kneeling supplicant. This work may still be regarded as the standard in its field, and has proved of great service in my studies of Aztec history and literature.

[51] So difficult did this prove that many a one thought of St Jerome's expedient of sawing his teeth to learn Hebrew. It is even said that one friar followed the example. *Cartas de Indias*, 659–60.

[52] Vetancurt, *Chron.*, 3, gives Gante and Tecto the credit; Mendieta points to Fuensalida and Jimenez. He has evidently less desire to applaud foreign talent.

merely to listen for a few days to the sermons and exhortations of the teachers, sorely distorted as they were by perplexed interpreters, and to imitate the devotional ceremonies in order to become worthy of admission into the church. Frequently even this requirement was evaded by the native, who felt either indifferent or unable to master the intricacies of the new creed, and by merely joining the crowd which gathered to attend service at the convent or at the village square, or at the roadside, he could readily persuade the unsuspecting friar that he had been duly prepared for baptism. This was thereupon administered with all the zeal born of lofty enthusiasm and assumed victory. Father Gante himself writes without hesitation that he and a companion used to baptize "eight thousand, sometimes ten thousand, and even fourteen thousand persons in one day."[53]

With such numbers the formalities prescribed in the ritual could not be observed, and a readier method was adopted. Those who declared their willingness to be christened were assembled in formidable groups, the children being placed in the first ranks. The ritual was then performed with a few select, and the rest were merely sprinkled with the water. In applying names all the males baptized on one day received the appellation of John, and the females Mary. The following day the names of Peter and Catalina were given, and so on through the list of saints. To each person was given a slip with name inscribed, and in case of forgetfulness he had merely to exhibit the slip to prove his baptism and identify himself.[54] The rite

[53] In all, during five years, they had baptized 'une telle multitude, que je n'ai pas pu les compter.' *Lettre*, 27 Juin, 1529, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ii. 197. Others admit large numbers, and even Torquemada, iii. 156, allows such instances, mentioning that one priest at Toluca baptized 3,600 in one day. 'On the eve of St John,' says Vetancurt, *Chron.*, 5, 10, '40,000 were baptized in the chapel of St Joseph, Mexico.' Motolinia appears to attribute this lavish extension of the rite to impatience at the failure to produce any effect on the natives by catechising, and he scolds the missionaries for allowing such a weakness even for a moment to encroach upon their duty. *Hist. Ind.*, 112–13.

[54] *Id.*; *Torquemada*, iii. 155; *Vetancvrt, Chron.*, 5. Camargo assumes that

had an attraction for these superstitious people in its similarity to their own, which conveyed purification from spiritual stains not alone at the lustration of the child, but in the immersion of self-scarified priests and ascetics, at the midnight hour, into the consecrated pools within the idol temples. It is but natural that they should look with no less veneration on the solemn sprinkling received so devoutly by the mighty children of the sun, and imparted by the hands of men as benevolent in aspect as they were saintly in conduct. So impressed, indeed, were many by a belief in the mysterious virtue imparted by the rite that they sought again and again to share in its blessings, yet without feeling bound by the assumed discarding of paganism.

As time passed on and revealed the many abuses and deceits practised upon the guileless teachers, doubts began also to creep in regarding the legality of the informal baptisms, though authorized by Father Tecto and other canonists, mainly on the ground of necessity, with so small a number of ministers, and in accordance with the precedent furnished by many of the early fathers, and recently by so eminent a personage as Cardinal Jimenez, during his mission to the Moors. Another objection was the use of merely blessed water, instead of duly consecrated water and oil. The friars being unable to settle the question, submitted it to the supreme pontiff, who, by bull of May 15, 1537, confirmed the baptisms so far performed, and authorized the friars thenceforth to apply the salt, saliva, candle, and cross to a few only of a group, though consecrated oil and water must be given to each person.[55] Another knotty question con-

this method was pursued already during the conquest years by Cortés' chaplains; but he must be mistaken. *Hist. Tlax.*, 159.

[55] The necessity for this is pointed out by Vetancurt in the observation, 'whence, indeed, could saliva come for a large number!' *Chron.*, 9, 10. Torquemada reviews the question at some length, and defends the friars, in the opening chapters of his 16th book. See also *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 267–9. When the consecrated oil came, Sunday and Thursday were set aside for administering it to those who had not been so favored, thus rendering the rite

cerned marriage. Although the greater part of the people, the lower and middle classes, possessed but one wife, yet many of the rich and the noble had quite a number, and since the Christian religion permitted no such indulgence, the polygamists were ordered to discard all but one spouse, to whom they like the other husbands must be joined anew with Christian ceremonies. It was found no easy matter to determine which of the wives, as the legitimate consort, had the right to be preferred, and so it was decided, after years of doubt, to accord it to the first wife, and when this could not be determined, to the one chosen by the husband.[56] Meanwhile little attention was paid by polygamists to the exhortations of the fathers, and even in later times the law was disregarded.

These and other rites in connection with Indians were discussed in a council of friars and jurists which appears to have been held in the autumn of 1526, with the assistance of Cortés. Therein were determined not only points bearing on baptism, confession, and communion, but on the treatment and rule of natives, the more difficult questions being embodied in representations to the transatlantic authorities. The importance of the meeting, both in respect to the number and quality of the attendants, and to the discussions, has caused it to be signified as the first synod of the church in New Spain.[57]

more 'satisfactory,' a term used also by Archbishop Lorenzana in his comments on the sweeping baptism. *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 2 et seq.

[56] This is the bull of Paul III., the wisdom of which must have been inspired by God, exclaims Torquemada: 'Non recordantur, quam primò acceperint, Conversi ad Fidem unam ex illis accipiant, quam voluerint.' About the same time was issued another bull reprimanding those who had hinted at the incapacity of Indians to partake of holy communion, and affirming their capacity. Before these decisions were sought, Bishop Zumárraga had sent to Spain for advice, and Cardinal Cayetano among others proposed the husband's choice when the legitimate wife could not be pointed out. *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 5, 6. Herrera blames the inexperience of the friars in not being able to select the true wife. dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. viii. The first native marriage with Christian rites was Prince Fernando's, at Tezcuco, October 14, 1526. Seven of his retinue followed the example. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 124.

[57] There is a great uncertainty among the authorities as to the time it

In their eagerness to extend conversion the friars found themselves altogether too few for the task undertaken, and as soon as their older pupils revealed sufficient knowledge of religion and of Spanish, they were impressed into the service. At first they accompanied the ministers in their tours through the districts, to preach and establish *doctrinas*,[58] acting as interpreters,[59] or delivering under their eyes the sermon already learned. Afterward they were sent forth alone to impart the lessons acquired, and war against idolatry, often with a zeal that brought martyrdom. This devout spirit had been well inculcated among the children, and even the youngest did good work at their homes and in the neighborhood. On the way to the convent one day the scholars met a procession of natives, brazenly parading the living representative of an idol. In a twinkling they were upon him, and before the skirmish ended he had been stoned to death.[60] Regular raids were also made on the temples. At Tezcuco, for instance, the friars themselves led a procession amid chants to the famous chief teocalli, and after breaking the idols to pieces they fired the

was held. Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 77, confounds it with the informal meeting of 1524, wherein the Flemings were consulted on conversion methods. Others, like Vetancurt, assume the year 1525, and Zamacois guesses at June 1526. But the letters of Father Valencia, acting governor Aguilar, and Alonso de Castillo, speak clearly of a formal meeting of friars and officials held in September to October 1526, to consider matters touching the Indians. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 155–7, 202–3, 545–53. Lorenzana calls it Junta Apostólica, and observes that title of Concilio Provincial, as applied by some writers, is wrong. *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, iv. 8. It was attended by Cortés, 10 representative friars, including no doubt Dominicans, 5 clergymen, and 3 jurists, some say 5 or 6. *Vetancur, Chron.*, 6, *Trat. Mex.*, 22; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 20; *Panes*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 63. Beaumont, who argues hard for June 1526 as the time, sides with Torquemada for the convent church of San Francisco as the place, contrary to Vetancurt, who names San José chapel. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 223–4.

[58] Indian towns and villages newly converted to Christianity, to which parochial organization has not been given.

[59] These preaching interpreters were employed for many decades, since friars were continually arriving from Spain, who knew not the language, or who entered into new districts. Mestizos gradually supplanted the pure Indians as interpreters. Many of these aids were taught Latin, partly as a mark of favor. *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 413–14.

[60] It occurred during the Ometochtli festival at Tlascala, and not wholly to the satisfaction of the friars, who sought to avoid similar extreme measures. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 214–16.

building. It was market day, and a vast gathering of natives rent the air with lamentation, their tearful eyes and boding hearts following the smoke columns as they dissipated into space, the concrete symbols of their faith, without rousing a single angry god to avenge the act. Similar destructions were perpetrated in different towns, the Franciscans alone claiming to have destroyed more than five hundred temples and twenty thousand images within seven years.

Fear of the Spaniards made idolatrous exhibitions rare, except in the remote districts, nevertheless the rites retained their hold even upon a large proportion of the converts, for it proved no easy matter to uproot superstitions cherished during a lifetime, and to ruthlessly cast aside idols to whom so many blessings were attributed. Many placed the images behind the crosses and saint tablets, or worshipped them with elaborate ceremonies, in common with others, in secret localities.[61] When remonstrated with for his obstinacy, a cacique once exclaimed: "How is it," pointing to a picture of a saint, "that you Spaniards preach so much against idolatry while you yourselves worship images?" The Spaniard replied with the usual explanation "that they did not adore the images, but gazed on them in meditation of the great virtues of the saints whom they represent." Hereupon the chieftain remarked: "Neither do we worship images of gold or wood; our prayers and sacrifices are offered to God." The friars made strenuous efforts to stop this evil, and aided by their young disciples great progress was made, though not without sacrifice, notably in Tlascala, where the son of a cacique fell a victim to

[61] Camargo states that several caciques were hanged by Cortés, with consent of the Tlascaltec leaders, for relapsing into idolatry. *Hist. Tlax.*, 178. The obstinacy of the idolaters was attributed both by friars and converts to the evil one, and in their paintings the latter depicted this personage hovering with his servants round the Christian meeting-places and seeking to entice away the worshippers. *Leon, Camino del Cielo*, 95. Several of these curious specimens of native art, merging into Spanish, are given in the MS. work of *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, and aid to give this a value not possessed by the lately printed issue.

his excessive zeal. His father Axotecatl had at first sought to prevent his attendance at school, but the friars carried their point, and soon the boy was baptized under the name of Cristóbal. Eager to convert also his family, the boy destroyed the idols and wine-butts, as the main obstacles to the desired end, only to rouse the bloody spirit of fanaticism in the father. Half dead with wounds the young iconoclast escaped to his mother's side. The infuriate parent pursued him, nearly killed those who sought to interfere, and cast the boy into a fire. Presently he drew him forth and ended the flickering life with dagger blows. Rage now turned to fear, the body was buried in a corner of the house, and other precautions were taken to keep the murder secret. The friars made inquiries, however, for their missing pupil, and Axotecatl was executed.[62] About the same time two other Tlascaltec youths were killed by the obstinate idolaters of an adjoining district, while assisting two Dominican missionaries. Thus the little republic attained[63] during the first decade the glory of presenting three widely applauded martyrs.

Tlascala enjoyed the additional preëminence of giving the earliest voluntary converts to the faith, with one or two exceptions,[64] and in the persons of her leaders. The lords of the adjoining state of Huexotzinco embraced the faith under the name of Francisco de Sandoval y Moreno and Juan Juarez; at Mexico Quauhtemotzin himself thought it prudent to set his

[62] Different versions relate that the body of the boy was cast into the fire to be consumed, but the flame would not touch the sanctified martyr. The mother was killed to prevent disclosures, or on account of her Christian zeal. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 179–81. It is also said that a quarrel with a Spaniard, brought before the courts, led to the apprehension of the murderer. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 220–3. The deed took place at Atlihuetza, a league and a half from Tlascala. *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 208; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 236–45.

[63] They were Antonio, grandson of Xicotencatl, and his servant Juan. Their bodies were cast over a precipice at Quauhtinchan or Tecalpan. ubi sup. *Dávila Padilla, Fvnd. Santiago de Mex.*, 66–74. Camargo states that in this case the murderers were not punished, owing to the implication of so many and prominent people.

[64] See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 558–60, this series.

people the example, while at Tezcuco the Flemish friars had already gathered a rich harvest, chiefly among the children, for here the worthy Gante established the first public school in New Spain, in connection with the first convent.[65] More friars arriving, the work of conversion was forwarded so rapidly that soon hardly a village in the lake regions, and the adjoining convent districts, was without its church or chapel,[66] Gante claiming to have built in Mexico city alone, within five years, more than one hundred temples.

There were several reasons for this success, wonderful in its extent, though shallow at first. Foremost stood fear and policy, for it was dangerous to disobey the conquerors, while favors could be gained by courting them. Then came the undefined belief with many that the religion of men so superior in prowess and intelligence must contain some virtue, something superior to their own. In the districts occupied for some time by Spaniards the idea of their being divine had long since faded; still, their origin was involved in obscurity: the land whence they came, the gilded regions of the rising sun; the august ruler beyond the great sea; the pontiff who represented the Infinite—all this loomed dimly forth in mystic grandeur, and awe, the great prompter of worship, laid its influence upon their mind. In the newer districts, where Spanish vices and weaknesses were less understood, these ideas had greater effect, and tended to infuse greater veneration for their rites.

[65] Several prominent men had been baptized before this time at Tezcuco and other places, by Olmedo and his companions, and young princes had been taught the rudiments of secular and religious knowledge, but impulse in this direction was first given at Tezcuco by the Flemings, and at Mexico, Huexotzinco and Tlascala, by the 12 Franciscans. When Quauhtemotzin and Ixtlilxochitl received baptism is not clear, though it must have been before the end of 1524, when Cortés took them to Honduras. A convent existed at Tlascala in October of that year, but the permanent edifice was still building in 1526, when Chirinos created a dispute by taking refuge there. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiii.; *Panes*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 73–5, and later references.

[66] Gante claims to have baptized, with aid of one friar, in Mexico province, more than 200,000 souls. *Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 197, 202. The letters of Cortés and Albornoz, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 487–8, also bear witness to the progress.

Further, the new rites and doctrines had many similarities to their own to commend them to the natives. Baptism was used for infants generally, and purifying water was applied also by ascetics; the communion was taken in different forms, as wafer or bread, and as pieces from the consecrated dough statue of the chief god, the latter form being termed *teoqualo*, 'god is eaten;' confession was heard by regular confessors, who extended absolution in the name of the deity concerned. The idea of a trinity was not unknown, and according to Las Casas' investigations, even a virgin-born member of it; the flood existed in recorded traditions, and Cholula pyramid embodied a Babel myth, while the mysterious Quetzalcoatl lived in the hopes, especially of the oppressed, as the expected Messiah. Lastly, the cross, so wide-spread as a symbol, held a high religious significance also here, bearing among other names that of 'tree of life.'[67] Although these similarities appeared to the friars partly as a profanation, and were pointed out as a perversion by the evil one, nevertheless they failed not to permit a certain association or mingling of pagan and Christian ideas in this connection with a view to promote the acceptance of the latter. The Indians on their side availed themselves so freely of this privilege as frequently to rouse the observation that they had merely changed the names of their idols and rites.[68]

Even more effective than the preceding features, from the permanent allurement it offered, was the ceremonial pomp, the gorgeous display, in connection

[67] A very similar term was applied to an Egyptian cross according to Lipsius. *De Cruce*, lib. iii. cap. viii. Several more similarities of rites and beliefs could be pointed out, but for such, as well as for a full consideration of the above points, I refer to my *Native Races*, particularly vol. iii. bearing on mythology.

[68] 'La *Vierge immaculée*...c'est l'image qui approche le plus de celle de la mère de leur dieu *Huitzilopuchtli*,' observes Beltrami in this connection. *Mexique*, ii. 52. Mexican writers also find objections in the picture used by Indians. *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, 360. Viceroy Mendoza sought to remove one obstacle to conversion among nobles by restoring the *tecles* order of knighthood. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 201–2.

with the services, so fascinating to the cultured European, how much more therefore to the ruder Mexican. The effect can be readily estimated by comparing the rapid progress among the northern Indians of Catholic missionaries, and their stronger hold upon them, as compared with Protestant ministers. With the ruder man, as with children, the appeal to the senses is always the stronger. When the eye is dazzled, the ear soothed, the emotions of the heart can be the more readily stirred and kept awake than by the unaided efforts of oratory. And who shall question the legitimacy of such aids in so good a cause as the substitution of a gentle, elevating religion for a bloody, debasing ritual? Religion is primarily an appeal to the senses, and even the cultivated philosopher who may entertain a vague pantheism is allured by the object-lessons of nature to thoughts beyond the material.

The priests took pains, therefore, to make attractive the place of worship: the altar with lace, and gold, and flowers, all resplendent with lights; pictures and statues with colors and attitude appealing to the tenderest feelings; solemn chants and gorgeous processions, while around in the recesses an awe-inspiring half-gloom impelled the thoughts and feelings of the worshippers yearningly toward the enchanted scene before them. The numerous feast-days gave the friars frequent opportunity to indulge the natives with alluring pageantry, varying in its nature with the significance of the festival. Christmas came with appropriate and brilliant tableaux; epiphany had its representative magi following an imagined star to render homage. Palm-Sunday revelled in flowers, and easter-tide followed with impressive scenes and services. There were processions brilliant with gala dresses, flowers, plumes, and banners, with here and there crosses and saints' images borne by chiefs and chosen ones, and attended by large escorts of candle-bearers. The priests chanted solemnly, and now and then the refrain was taken up in swelling volume.

Arches rose at frequent intervals, and embowered chapels. Motolinia describes a Corpus Christi celebration at Tlascala for which more than a thousand floral arches had been erected along the streets taken by the procession, with ten larger arches in form of naves, and four artificial scenes of wild and placid nature, rocks, trees, moss, and lawns, one representing Adam and Eve in paradise, a second, the temptation of Christ, the fourth, Saint Jerome and Saint Francis, and all elaborated with surprising skill, and with hunters and animals, some natural, others imitated.[69] Many pagan ceremonies were introduced, endeared to the congregation by long association, and frolics and dances lent a cheerful after-glow to the solemnity, and gilded the remembrance of the feast.

Another factor remains to be considered among the causes for success with conversions: the saintly character of the friars; their benign appearance; their kindness of heart; their benevolent acts; their exemplary life; all so worthy of admiration, and in so striking contrast to the fiercer aspect and bloody doings of the native priests, in harmony truly with their horrid idols and rites, as the appearance and acts of the friars accorded with the gentle virgin image and the pious teachings of their faith. The records of the chroniclers are filled with glowing testimony to the self-sacrificing conduct, in private and public life, of these missionaries, misdirected though they often were from a more active and useful path by excess of zeal, and by hallucination, which caused too many of their heroic acts to be spent against the bare cell walls, instead of furthering the real good of individuals or communities. Yet they remain heroes in their sphere, ennobled by a lofty though empty purpose. Others there are, like Va-

[69] This celebration took place in 1538. Motolinia describes several others hardly less elaborate. *Hist. Ind.*, 73–81; *Torquemada*, iii. 230–1; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd. Santiago*, 79–84. 'Souvent quatre-vingts et même cent mille personnes assistent.' *Bologne*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 220.

lencia and Motolinia, who, heedless of hardships, of dangers, seeking not even glory save perhaps martyrdom, passed in toil and travel even their declining years, when comfort lures most men to repose. They penetrated to distant provinces, now following in the wake of ruthless invaders to act the part of Samaritans; now intruding on the golden arena where rival governors were ranging the forces to wage hot battle for possession of the shackled native; now entering alone on some primeval scene to plant the crucifix, harbinger of a gentle culture, even though it serve only too often to guide the way to vultures, in the shape of rapacious and cruel soldiers. If the missionaries could not prevent this evil, they could at least soften it by interposing at times the shielding arm of the church, and range themselves as champions of the oppressed. In this work they shine with brightest glory, undimmed even by that thirst for gold which overshadows them in many another part. Yet even here the more immediate end, at least, may be summoned to justify the means, embracing also doubtful mummery and miracles. The latter were not so numerous in New Spain, says Mendieta with unintentional significance, for the reason that the natives embraced the faith readily enough without much stimulant of that nature. There are records, however, of rains produced or stayed by carrying around the cross and saints' images; of the resurrection of dead persons, and the like.[70]

Several of the miracles are properly attributed to Father Valencia, as the chief of the Franciscan apostles, and because of a saintly life. While most exemplary in conduct, and rigid in the observance of rules laid down by the order, he was a stout defender of the prerogatives of the church and of the oppressed natives, and on more than one occasion assumed a belligerent attitude toward the local authorities. His

[70] *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 105, 145–6; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 597–600, and other authorities.

apostolic zeal was so great that, although approaching the age of seventy, the confined limits of New Spain were evidently too narrow for him, and he made more than one attempt to go to China.[71] As if disheartened by the failure, he retired to a spot near Tlalmanalco to meditate and mortify the flesh. So severe was the self-imposed penance that he fell sick, and on being removed for nursing to Mexico, he died on the way, and was buried at Tlalmanalco.[72] His dress and other belongings were preserved as relics, and his grave was for years a point of attraction to worshippers.[73] No less revered figures are to be found

[71] The plan was conceived in common with Bishop Zumárraga and the Dominican Betanzos. The first attempt was frustrated by the rotten condition of the vessel for which he had been waiting some seven months at Tehuantepec. *Id.*, 394–8, 584–8.

[72] He died at Ayotzinco, the 21st of March 1534, and was taken back to Tlalmanalco convent. The journey to Tehuantepec in 1533, barefooted, had broken his health. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 158–9; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 595–6, 601–2; Vetancurt makes the date Aug. 31. *Menolog.*, 95.

[73] The corpse was several times disinterred. In 1567 it suddenly disappeared, by a miracle, it was said, as a chastisement for curiosity and lack of reverence. Up to that time it had shown no putrefaction. Mendieta writes that only one of his several letters had been preserved, but in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série. i. tom. x. 224, and in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 155, are others, speaking well for his zeal. Authorities, in addition to those elsewhere cited, that treat wholly or in part of church history: *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 456, 568–9; v. 449–50; viii. 19; xii. 281–3, 485; xiii. 50–1; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. pp. xlv.–cxix. 487–8; *Puga, Cedulario*, 21, 40; *Grijalva, Crón. S. Aug.*, 1, 2; *Oviedo*, iii. 469–71; *Cartas de Indias*, 54–6, 712, 780–857; *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 65–6; *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, ix. 429–47; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 9, 10, 41; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 199–200; *Vazquez, Chron. Gvat.*, 2–3, 19, 20, 527–35; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 181; *Archivo Mex., Doc.*, i. 49–50, 92, 150–62; ii. 178–83; *Recop. de Indias*, i. 29 etc.; *Ramirez, Proceso*, 246–8, 299–302; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 208, 389–95; *Peter Martyr, de Insvlis*, 145–6; *Prov. Sto Evangelio*, pt. i. iii. v.–vii. xvii.; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 63, 255–79, 322, 360; *Mex. Extr. de Cédulas*, MS., 1; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 45–65; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, 66–74; *Rivero, Mex. in 1842*, 225–7; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 20, 25, 74–5; *Frejes, Hist. Cong.*, 70; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 103, 112–14; *Medina, Chrón. San Diego*, 9; *Mex., Not. Ciudad*, 66; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 22–4, 98–110; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, i. 180–1; *Prescott's Mex.*, ii., 96–8, iii. 265–8, 380–9; also notes in Mex. eds.; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 26–7; *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 404–8; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 198, 209, app. 109–12; ii. 109–91, app. 26–48; *Heredia, Serm. y Disert. Guad.*, pt. i. 139; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 102–10; *Zamacois, Hist. Mex.*, iv., passim; v. 168–71, 496; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 22; *Id., Menologia*, 32, 54–105, 149, 297–304; *Id., Chrón. Sto Evangelio*, 4–10; *Id., Teatro Mex.*, ii. 146; *Mex. Hieroglyphical Hist.*, 113; *Granados, Tardes Am.*, 270–4, 298, 327–9; *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, 1844, 488–93; *Id.*, 1846, 263–5; *Frost's Pict. Hist. Mex.*, 125–30; *Quart. Rev.*, i. 214; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 84–5; *Marshall's Christian Missions*, ii. 229–35;

among his companions, the apostolic twelve, whom we shall meet frequently in the course of our history.

García, Hist. Beth., ii. 13, 14; *Mosaico Mex.*, ii. 448–50; *Abbott's Mex. and U. S.*, 19–26; *Miller, Reisen in Mex.*, iii. 178–80; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 383–93; v. 320–48; *Salazar y Olarte, Conq. Mex.*, ii. 207–11; *Salazar, Mex. en 1544*, 233–6, 248–50; *Hefelé, Cardinal Ximenez*, 508–30; *Helps' Cortés*, ii. 149; *Mexicanische Zustände*, i. 278–81; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 575–93, 712–30; *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., i. pt. v.; *Defensa de la Verdad.*, 4–6; *Burke's Europ. Settl.*, i. 124–9; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 158–60; *Hazart, Kirchen-Geschichte*, ii. 531–2; *Dicc. Univ.*, ii. 314–15, 601; v. 253; vii. 227; viii. 217–18; x. 739–48; *Leyes, Varias Anot.*, 8–12; *Magliano's St Francis*, 538–47; *Beltrami, Mexique*, ii. 52–3; *Portilla, España in Mex.*, 40–5; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 82; *Id., Gob. de Mex.*, i. 18; *Fricius, Ind. Religionstandt*, 50–118; *Concilio Prov.*, 1555 and 1565, pt. iv. 1–10; *Clemente, Tablas Chronológ.*, 227–8; *Bussierre, L'Emp. Mex.*, 324–31; *Touron, Hist. Gen. Am.*, iv. 204–19; v. 1, 2, 35–55.

One of the leading authorities on the ecclesiastical history of Mexico for the first period succeeding the conquest, is Father Toribio de Benavente, known as Motolinia, whose family name appears to have been Paredes, for so he signs the preface to the *Historia de los Indios*. He was born at Benavente in Leon, and early evinced a devout disposition and a leaning for the priesthood. After entering the Franciscan province of Santiago, he was transferred to that of San Gabriel, and came as one of the apostolic twelve to Mexico. Hearing frequently from the wondering Indians who clustered along their route the word *Motolinia*, and learning that it meant 'poor,' in allusion to their threadbare garments and careworn appearance, he adopted it as an appropriate name for himself, and was ever after so called. He even signed himself Motolinia Fr. Toribio, with true reference to the meaning. *Vazquez, Chron. Gvat.*, 527, 534. The name, indeed, became identified not alone with a man of profound humility, but of a zeal that bordered on fanaticism, as instanced by his fiery advocacy of forcing conversion with the sword, which involved him in bitter altercation with Bishop Las Casas. While imbued with views different from those of the apostle of the Indies, he was no less a champion of the oppressed natives, devoting to them his best talents and energy; now appearing in hot contest with political powers in their behalf; now shielding them from cruel taskmasters; and anon following with crucifix in hand the bloody path of conquerors, to act the good Samaritan. Already during the first decade of the Conquest he had penetrated into Central America, wandering through Guatemala and Nicaragua, and adding thousands to the list of converts baptized by his hand. Vetancurt allows him to have baptized 400,000 during this tour alone. *Menolog.*, 85. Torquemada, iii. 441, makes this the total number of his recorded converts 'por cuenta que tuvo en escrito... sin los que se le podrian olvidar.' On his return he became superior at Tezcuco; later, comisario, and vice-comisario general for Guatemala, and attained to the dignity of sixth provincial. The last years of his life were spent at San Francisco convent in Mexico, in devout exercises, and during the performance of one he expired in 1568, says Beristain, probably August 9th, the last of the apostolic twelve according to Men-

dieta. *Hist. Eccles.*, 620–1; Beristain, *Bib. Hisp. Am.*; Ramirez, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. p. cxviii., etc.; *Datos Biog.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 810; Fernandez, *Hist. Eccles.*, 52–3; Salazar y Olarte, *Conq. Mex.*, 207–11. His robe was kept as the relic of a saintly man to whose prayers many miraculous happenings were attributed. His intimacy with the natives led to a careful study of their customs, religion, and history, while his admirable knowledge of Aztec caused him to prepare several writings for their instruction. The list includes: *De moribus Indorum*, used to a great extent by Torquemada; *Adventus duodecim Patrum, qui primi eas regiones devenerunt, et de eorum rebus gestis;* giving an account of the apostolic labors of himself and his companions; *Doctrina Christiana*, in Mexican, for the benefit of the converts, to which *Torquemada*, iii. 386, alludes: "Hiço luego una breve Doctrina Christiana, Fr. Toribio Motolinia lo qval anda impresa; *Guerra de los Indios de la Nueva España; Camino del Espiritu; Calendario Mexicano*, to which Henrico Martinez makes reference. *Memoriales Históricos*, quoted sometimes by Herrera and often by Torquemada; and some letters, notably that of January 2, 1555. But the most important of Motolinia's writings is the *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España;* to which Antonia and Pinelo, *Epitome*, ii. 711, refer under the original title of *Relacion de las cosas, Idolatrias Ritos, i Ceremonias de la Nueva España*, MS. fol. It forms three tratados, the first, in 15 chapters, relating to the idols and religious ceremonies of the Mexicans; the second, in 10 chapters, to missionary labors, and acceptance of Christianity by the natives; the third, in 20 chapters, to a medley of civil and ecclesiastic, scientific points, resources, towns. One of these chapters was intended for the second part. In chapter ix. of third part the author promises a fourth tratado, which he failed to add. It was probably intended as an amplification of the *Adventus duodecim*, to judge by the productions of other monk chroniclers, and consequently of great value. As it is, the treatise contains a vast amount of information of which later writers have eagerly availed themselves, based as it is on personal inquiries and observation. While it exhibits a rambling order, and a naïve acceptance of the marvellous, yet it is pervaded by a vein of candor that wins confidence. The manuscript circulated in several copies, two of which have of late years been published, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, wherein the first tratado by the duplication of a chapter number, closes with chapter xiii. instead of xiv., and in the admirable collection of Icazbalceta, prefaced by an exhaustive biography from the pen of the Mexican scholar Ramirez.

There were several others who, with a longer period and a wider range of subjects at their command, assumed a more important position as chroniclers such as Mendieta, Torquemada, Vetancurt. They will be noticed in more appropriate places. All the orders had their annalists, though the writings of most appeared to the public only in compiled form, in the books of favored ones. Among these, Juan de Grijalva early appeared as the historian of the order of San Augustin, which enjoyed a comparatively small representation in New Spain. The writer is the more interesting to us in being a creole, born in Colima about 1559. As a child already he displayed a literary taste, and as a priest he delighted the public with his oratorical powers, while the order esteemed him as authority on theologic and other topics. He figured successively

as rector of San Pablo college, as definidor, and prior. His *Cronica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustin en las provincias de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1624, 218 pp. folio, in four tratados, covers the labors of the order from 1533 to 1592, and contains a number of biographies, together with an account of the strife between the orders and the secular clergy for the possession of parishes. Both order and style are above the average productions of contemporaries, and less rambling is apparent, as Pinelo observes: "es Historia bien escrita i que no sale de lo que en el *Titulo* promete." *Epitome*, ii. 761, 839. According to Vetancurt, he also wrote the book on which Cisneros founds his *Hist. de N. Sra. de los Remedios*. A special history of the Augustinian sub-provincia of San Nicolás appeared at a later date under the title of *Historia de San Nicolas de Tolentino del órden de San Augustin* of 215 folio pages in three libros, wherein is recorded the mission work of the order in Michoacan and adjoining regions from 1537 to 1646, at first under the provinciales of Mexico, later as independent provincia. Half the space is devoted to the lives and particularly the virtues of the missionaries, the remainder to the founding and progress of the different convents and stations, with few allusions to political and civil affairs.

The history of the Bethlehemite order has been written by friar Joseph García de la Concepcion, who had acquired some fame as a preacher and professor, and it exists under the title of *Historia Bethlehemitica. Vida exemplar, y admirable del venerable Betancvr*. Seville, 1723, folio, 203, 173, 39 pp. respectively. The first of the four tratados is devoted to a biography of Vetancurt, who founded the order in the middle of the 17th century; the second relates to the life of Rodrigo de la Cruz, and the missions in Mexico and Central America; the third and fourth to minor biographies and progress of the order.

More attractive, if less valuable to the present historic field, is the rare and curious *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio. Novi Orbis Indiæ Occidentalis, Admodvm Rev. Bvellii, Avthore Fr. Honorio Philopono* (Monacho) 1621, folio, which relates to the labors of Benedictine missionaries in America chiefly under Buil, the vicar of the pope, and the first patriarch of the new world, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage with instructions to take charge of the education of Indians, and who afterwards became so bitter against the admiral. It opens with a treatise on ancient knowledge of a western world, and of St Brendan's discoveries in this direction, and treats of the aboriginal beliefs in Mexico and other regions. On the finely engraved title-page are given full-length portraits of St Brendan and P. Buil, engraved by Kilian, who furnishes several other plates illustrating sea-monsters and Indian barbarities. The book is dedicated to Casparus Plautius, the abbé of the Seittenstötten convent, to which the author belongs. By some the two are regarded as identical. Philoponus takes a decided standpoint in several places, particularly where the prerogative of his cloth is concerned. In a reference to the journey of Cabeza de Vaca, for instance, he attacks him severely for daring to perform miracles among Indians.

Notwithstanding the extent and importance of the church in the New World it was not till 1649 that the first church history of America appeared in *Teatro Eclesiástico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales*. By Maestro Gil Gonzalez Dávila, Madrid, 1649–55, 2 vols. folio—giving an account

of the foundation and progress of the church in each province of Spanish America; its officials and coats of arms, together with the biography of bishops and pious members; an account of the introduction of literature and art, and some valuable vocabularies. It was Dávila's first work as chief chronicler of the Indies and the two Castiles. The dedication to Felipe IV. referring to him as 'mvy alto y mvy Catolico y por esto mvy poderoso Señor Rey,' shows Dávila to be at least a devout reasoner, since the subject of the book and the character of the age hardly permit the supposition of veiled irony in the simple 'por esto.' For a royal chronicler the work is very carelessly written, with glaring faults on all hands, and in poor style. Pinelo gives 1645 as the date of one volume, but this is probably intended for the *Teatro Eclesiástico de las dos Castillas*, Madrid, 1645–50, 3 vols., with a 4th volume in 1700, concerning which Dávila had sent to the king a memorial, referred to by Pinelo. This and his *Teatro de las Grandeças de Madrid*, 1623, were probably better written, since they must have aided in obtaining for him the position of chronicler.

A rarer and earlier work than Dávila's is the *Historia Eclesiastica de Nvestros Tiempos*, by the Dominican Alonso Fernandez. Toledo, 1611, folio. The chief object of which claims to be the recording of the glorious deeds of zealous sons of the church outside of Spain, particularly contemporaries, with a view to animate her children to remain steadfast. The first and largest of the three libros is occupied with America, beginning with the Antilles, but soon passing to Mexico and Central America as the main field, and closing with South America. The entry of friars and the progress of missions and ecclesiastic provincias are related, with innumerable passages on miracles, martyrs, and saintly men, and with some account of native idolatry and of books printed in native idioms. The rest treats of the other continents and islands. The title-page bears an engraving of the madonna adored by St Dominic and St Francis.

Another general work on the church is the *Kerckelycke Historie van de gheheele Wereldt*, by the Jesuit father Cornelius Hazart. Antwerpien, 1667, 4 vols. folio. Among its several editions the most notable is the German *Kirchen-Geschichte*. Wienn, 1678–1701, 3 vols., rearranged and improved by M. Soutermans of the same order. Besides giving an account of missionary labors, particularly by Jesuits, the political and social condition of each region of the world is considered, though not with any care or critique. Opening with Japan the first volume proceeds to treat of other parts of Asia, while Prester John's country heads the second volume for the African division. The last two thirds is filled with the New World, beginning with South America, and proceeding with Florida, Canada, Mexico, and Maranhan. The hundred pages of the Mexican section treats of the origin and belief of the Indians, the omens preceding the Spanish arrival, the conquest and description of Mexico, and the conversion. The copperplates are chiefly illustrative of martyrdom, with fancifully drawn natives, headed by a portrait of St Francis Javier, not only as missionary apostle, but as a Jesuit, one of the first nine companions of Loyola, as the author vehemently maintains.

Regardless of the efforts made by the church historians already mentioned, and by others, Father Touron of the order of Preachers comes forward with

a *Histoire Générale de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1768, 8 vols., 12°, wherein he proposes to repair the neglect of general histories to fully record the important branch of spiritual conquest. Dividing his work into four parts, relating to the jurisdictions of Santo Domingo, of Mexico, of Peru and Chile, and of New Granada, he relates under three epochs for the three centuries, the progress of Christianity in each section. Aware of the necessity of rendering ecclesiastic records acceptable to 'Lecteurs dans un siècle d'autant plus frivole,' he resolves to 'marcher sous l'escorte de l'Histoire Politique et Naturelle,' in short to sugarcoat the pill. While several religious chronicles have been the guide for the main subject, the rest is evidently borrowed from one general history, without much digestion of either, since this was probably deemed irreverent with respect to the former and unnecessary with the latter, as contributing merely to a minor topic. With the progress of the work the author gradually throws off the political shackles which have so far bound the guileless student, and leaving him adrift he abandons himself wholly to his clerical guide.

In connection with these may be mentioned the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, Amsterdam, 1723–43, 8 vols. folio, to which belongs *Superstitions anciennes et modernes*, 1733–6, 2 vols. It opens with a full account of the Jewish religion, with the rites and social institutions in connection therewith, and proceeds with the Roman Catholic, to which are appended lengthy memoirs on the rise and operations of the inquisitions. Then comes an account of American religions and features relating thereto, particularly those prevailing in New France; but Mexico receives a considerable space, followed by South America, chiefly Peru. The origin of the Indians is naturally considered, and analogies with Old World customs are consequently numerous. The nations of East India and other countries are next taken up. The work was compiled by J. F. Bernard and others, and owes its success chiefly to the fine engravings after Picart. Among the several editions is *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Several Nations of the Known World*, London, 1731–9, 7 vols. The plates are the same bearing the mark of Van der Gucht.

One of the main sources for the history of missions and of the condition of the church in remote lands must be sought in *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses, Écrites des Missions étrangères par quelques Missionaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*. Paris, 1702–76, 34 vols. 12°; to which belongs *Mémoires des Missions du Levant*, 9 vols. As indicated by the title, the contents is a series of letters by Jesuit missionaries in different parts of the world, addressed to their superiors and to one another, describing the progress of conversion, together with historic events, native customs, geography, and other scientific matter. Bibliographers are greatly at variance as to the date of the set, owing to the different title of the first volume, published in 1702 as *Lettres de quelques Missionaires*, etc., for which the sanctions of the Jesuit provincial and king are dated 1702. These, followed by the *Lettres Édifiantes*, were reprinted in 1717, forming, according to Charlevoix, the first whole issue of the set. An English translation of the first three volumes appeared in 1707. In 1758 the work was interrupted with the 28th volume, owing to the persecution of the Jesuits in France; but it was resumed in 1773. Another cause of confusion is in the several reprints and abridgments of sets or partial sets, among them the issue in 1780–3, in 26 volumes, of the first systematically arranged edition, and for

this reason esteemed above others. A continuation was issued in 1818–23 as *Nouvelles Lettres Édifiantes*, which also enters into several foreign editions in connection with the first set. The Spanish translation is interesting from the fact that it shared in the troubles which fell upon the original, and stopped in consequence with vol. 16. *Cartas Edificantes*. Madrid, 1753–7. It was compiled by P. Davin from the *Lettres* as well as the *Mémoires du Levant*, and prefaced in each volume with a review of the contents, and of mission progress. The letters of the original collection were published as soon as a sufficient number had accumulated, without regard to the country they related to, so that a lamentable want of order resulted, which had to be rectified in later editions. In that of 1819 they are separated into sets called *Mémoires du Levant d'Amérique*, etc.; but are otherwise not well arranged. In the earlier volumes, for instance, relating to America, IV. is devoted to the north-east coast of the northern continent, and to South America. The latter region extends over the greater part of V., wherein is given also a memoir on Lower California. P. Charles le Gobien was the first editor, succeeded by the talented P. Du Halde, well known through his *History of China*, and after them came Ingoult, de Neuville, and Patouillet. The value of the letters to science as well as to history becomes apparent from a mere consideration of the extensive learning and zeal of the Jesuits, and their power of observing and of acquiring influence with rulers and people. But the valuable material is interwoven with a mass of prosy tedious details, chiefly of a religious nature, and it is to be noticed that the contributions of the Spanish and Italian fathers appear more exaggerated and credulous than those written by men from France and adjoining countries in the north. The needless prolixity was the chief cause of the many abridgments which taxed the forbearance of the worthy editors by their irreverent omissions, and by frequently giving no credit to the original. The *Mémoires Géographiques*, etc., Paris, 1767, 4 vols., affords an instance. A more ungrateful borrower is Lockman, who, in condensing the first ten volumes of the Letters in his *Travels of the Jesuits*, announces that he omits prosy accounts of miracles and conversions as 'ridiculous to all persons of understanding.' The promised continuation of the work failed to appear, to the delight of the pious fathers, who no doubt saw in this non-success a condign punishment of blasphemy.

CHAPTER X.

INTRIGUES AGAINST CORTÉS.

1524.

INTRIGUES OF DISAPPOINTED OFFICIALS—INSINUATIONS AGAINST CORTÉS—HIS FOURTH LETTER—THE SILVER CANNON—CONVOY SYSTEM—DEFERRED CONTRACT WITH THE SOVEREIGN—CORTÉS UNDER A CLOUD—PREPARES FOR THE MARCH TO HONDURAS—ACTING GOVERNORS APPOINTED—MACHINATIONS OF SALAZAR—THE HYPOCRITE AND THE TOOL—ATTEMPT TO OUST THE TREASURER—SUBTLE DUPLICITY—ZUAZO MADE PRISONER—CASAS AND GONZALEZ APPEAR ON THE SCENE.

ROUSED by the glowing reports of soldiers, the royal officials had come to Mexico full of high anticipations concerning the great treasures obtained from native princes, a small portion of which had sufficed to dazzle the court of Spain. They were disappointed, like most of the crowd, yet with the men of Velazquez they clung to their belief. Gold existed; but where? Directed by gossip, they looked upon Cortés as possessing countless coffers filled with the fabled wealth of Montezuma, and others filling with the constant stream of tributes and presents from cities and provinces. Such a man must be won; and straightway they began to fawn upon the captain general. Though pompous with their own importance and power among the colonists, they readily sank all pride in bending to Crœsus. They were quite willing to hide from the crown and others the deposits, if they were but allowed a share for themselves; and this regardless of their duty as royal officials. They had not left comfortable homes in Castile to brave the dangers of the sea, and the hardships of a new settlement, only to swell

the royal coffers; they must have something for themselves. But Cortés neither possessed the treasures, nor was he inclined to share his receipts with the cormorants. He preferred to extend the inflowing revenues on further expeditions, whereby to enhance his fame and his credit with the king. "So," they said, "this upstart ignores us; then shall he suffer." And while still bending low to pour the oil of flattery, they prepared a venomous sting behind his back. Soon rivalry was displayed in their efforts to catalogue his defects, and build a reputation for zeal in his overthrow. In this work of libel the vanity and presumption of the royal bastard Estrada were added to the insidious caution of Albornoz, and the subtle cunning and ambition of Salazar, supported by Chirinos. Though divided among themselves they were united in their opposition to Cortés.

Despatches were sent by every opportunity partly in cipher,[1] repeating every tale that could in any way injure their opponent. The treasures of Montezuma, and those lost during the retreat from Mexico, were all in his possession, they said, to the value of three or four millions, buried in different spots, and vessels were building in the South Sea to carry them to France or to lands that were to be wholly under his control. Countless provinces with vast rent-rolls had been seized for himself; caciques were made to swell his wealth with presents, and common natives to work in the mines for his benefit, while to the king he sent a few jewels which might please the royal fancy. He thwarted their every effort to increase the royal revenue, partly by marking his gold with false stamps, so as to avoid paying the fifth.[2] Worse than this, he was preparing vast armaments which could not be

[1] 'Arcanæ vero ac particulares litteræ a solo computatore Albornozio, regio a secretis, veniunt sub ignotis caracteribus, quos Zifras nuncupat usus.' *Peter Martyr*, dec. viii. cap. x.

[2] Ixtlilxochitl of Tezcuco had given him presents worth 60,000 castellanos, and since this was a royal province, the acceptance of such gifts was robbery. These and similar statements are given also in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 209.

intended for Indian warfare, though such was the pretence, and with this rebellious aim he had even seized over sixty thousand pesos de oro from the royal treasury. The natives looked upon Cortés as a king, and would follow him anywhere, and so would the soldiers, whom he had attracted by his magnetism or won with his gold. This strength, supplemented by manifold resources, had made him so ambitious and imperious that he gave no heed to royal orders, but dealt with the country and the offices as if they were his own. A change was urgent, or all would be lost to the king. The best means was to give them authority to proceed against him, withdraw his arms, and gradually dispossess him of the government. He should be ordered to do nothing without the approval of the royal officials, and blank commissions should be sent for them to distribute to loyal men so as to strengthen their party, and they should be given a place among the regidores, whose votes were at present controlled by their patron Cortés.[3] Authority should also be given them to make a fresh repartimiento of the natives who had been appropriated by the supporters of the captain general.[4]

In this tirade of denunciations they spared not one another, and foreseeing the evil effect of such jealousy, the wily Salazar intimated that Cortés was creating discord between them for his own purposes; adding that he had sent one hundred and thirty thousand pesos to Spain wherewith to bribe the members of the council, and to his father other large sums embezzled from the royal treasury.

[3] The king had ordered regidores and other officials to be appointed annually by the governor and royal agents, but this had not been done, says Albornoz, Carta, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 495, implying that Cortés preferred to keep his retainers in these controlling positions. His adherent Lope de Samaniego was the bearer of the charges, directed also to the powerful Comendador Cobos, the patron of the officials.

[4] 'Y que se permitiesse, que ellos pudiessen tener Encomiendas.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. ii. To hold encomiendas had been expressly forbidden the royal officers, yet they had eagerly scrambled for a share. It was also charged that the followers of Cortés appropriated all the daughters of nobles for mistresses, so that honorable men could obtain no wives. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 192.

Aware of the machinations of the officials, having learned much in his relation with the Velazquez party, Cortés takes pains in his fourth letter to the king to point out many things that may explain charges, yet he cannot peer into those cipher despatches and counteract all. To promote the subjugation of the country he has expended all his funds, over one hundred thousand pesos de oro, and has been obliged to take a sum from the treasury, though this would be recovered a hundred-fold after securing such provinces; he has also borrowed thirty thousand pesos wherewith to buy in Spain arms, implements, plants, and other needful material for the colony. He asks that the royal officials be ordered to recognize these expenditures and repay his outlay, or he would be unable to settle his debts.

In a special letter of the same date, 15th of October 1524, he thanks the sovereign for ignoring the calumnies of his enemies and favoring him as he had done. He submits a number of proposals for benefiting the country and the natives, particularly the introduction of more friars to educate and pacify the natives, and he urges that the royal officials be told not to meddle with his affairs. This he supplements by letters to his friends and agents, relating how Albornoz, for instance, has become implacable because he does not receive all the encomiendas and noble maidens he desires.[5]

With his usual prudence he resolved to strengthen his observations with such glittering tokens as he could gather, including a quantity of silver from Michoacan, some pearls, and gold-work, besides feathers, skins, and fabrics, and a revenue remittance of seventy thousand pesos de oro. These presents, he observes, were far inferior to those sent before, but their capture by the French made him desirous of tendering some compensation. The object of Cortés

[5] All these letters went in duplicates so that if the bishop of Búrgos seized one set, the other might reach its destination. *Ib.*

being to attract attention to himself and to his representation, he recognized that the presents were inadequate, and bestirred his ingenuity to discover a means to enhance their value. Finally he hit upon the idea of forming the silver into a cannon of about twenty-three hundred weight, costing nearly thirty thousand pesos de oro.[6] It was engraved with several artistic designs "to be worthy of appearing before so high and excellent a prince."[7]

The chief figure was a phœnix in relief, with the inscription:

> Sprung from out fire, a peerless thing
> Type of the services I bring
> To thee, unrivalled mighty king.[8]

Cortés also sent twenty-five thousand castellanos in gold, and over fifteen hundred marcos in silver, to his father, with instructions to buy arms, dresses, plants, and other effects for the colony. In charge of the presents was Diego de Soto, accompanied by Diego de Ocampo and Francisco de Montejo, procuradores for Cortés and New Spain.[9]

Orders had been issued from Spain to send only a limited amount of treasure in one vessel, so that the loss might not be great in case of capture; but Cortés

[6] Twenty-four quintals and 2 arrobas of silver were used, some lost in the double smelting, the metal costing 24,500 pesos de oro, at 5 pesos de oro for the marco, of which 2 went to the pound. Engraving and smelting cost 3,000. *Cortés, Cartas*, 317. 'Por este precio se ve que la plata...estaba mezclada con cosa de una tercera parte de cobre,' observes *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 194. Oviedo, iii. 468, who saw it at the palace in Spain, calls it 'media culebrina de metal rico de oro é plata.' A list of the other presents is given in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 339–52.

[7] It was among the last specimens of native art, for about this time workers in precious metals were forbidden to exercise their calling in New Spain. This order was affirmed in a special decree of the 9th of November 1526, wherein the penalty of death was applied to its infringement. *Puga, Cedulario*, 16, 20. Proclaimed at Mexico on the 31st of July 1527. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. Mexican writers lament this as one of the greatest blows at native culture.

[8] Aquesta nacio sin par,
yo, en seruir os sin segundo:
vos, sin ygual en el mundo.

None ever made a silver gun, save Cortés, I trow, observes Gomara, and many sought in vain to form a similar verse. *Hist. Mex.*, 241. Bernal Diaz begins the first line, Estaaue.

[9] Herrera states that a son of Montezuma accompanied them, and was placed with the Dominicans at Talavera. dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. i.

chose to disregard the injunction in view of the pressing need for money at the court, as he pleads. Soto reached the Azores in safety, and receiving news of French cruisers off the coast he resolved to stay there awhile, together with half a dozen other vessels, some bringing valuable collections of pearls. Great was the alarm in Spain among the traders, whose shipments of merchandise to and from the Indies were gradually assuming large proportions. Convoys had been provided for several years to protect their fleets, but owing to trouble in collecting the convoy tax, and other causes, the protection had been withheld for some time. Strong efforts were made to reëstablish the convoy, which were successful, and a regular board was formed to assume the management of this department, known as the *Contaduría de Avería:* to collect the *avería* tax from the merchant-vessels, and attend to its distribution for the benefit of the ships-of-war.[10]

The first fleet under the new arrangement consisted

[10] The officials of the department consisted in course of time of four *contadores de avería*, or accountants, appointed for life, two being proprietary, a *contador mayor*, equivalent to superintendent, a *receptor*, or receiver, and a few sub-officials. The office was situated in the Casa de Contratacion, and subject to its president and judges, who assigned much of the work, and decided in cases of dispute. One of the officials of the Casa, termed *juez oficial*, who attended at the departure of the fleets, together with *visitadores*, or inspectors, to watch over their outfit and despatch, gave also a certain supervision in the interest of the avería department. The *veedores* and *pagadores*, inspectors and paymasters, and other officials of the fleets, attended to the collection of the tax, and rendered account to the avería office. The levy was at first not regular, but on the formal establishment of the office it was fixed at one per cent. In 1528 this was increased to five per cent, and subsequently to a higher figure, reaching at times 14 per cent, according to the risk and loss involved. This was collected from every part of the cargo, including the royal treasures, and in course of time also from every passenger, without exception. The fund was increased by certain fines, seizures, and prizes, and kept in a strong box under three keys. All warrants for disbursements must be drawn by the president and judges of the Casa de Contratacion. With the beginning of the eighteenth century the avería tax proper appears to have ceased, and the expenses of the convoys were covered by the public treasury; but in 1732 the government was so pressed as to accept an offer of the merchants to convert the former avería into a contribution of four per cent on gold, silver, and first-class cochineal. Yet one per cent of avería continued to be collected till 1778 to pay the expenses of mail and despatch boats to the Indies. After this, only a half per cent was collected. For details of the laws governing the office, see *Recop. de Indias*, iii. 89–120; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, i. 490–7; *Montemayor, Svmarios de Cedulas*, 143; also *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. i., and *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 282–3, this series.

of five vessels under Sancho de Herrera, obtained from different grandees, and reënforced by three Portuguese cruisers. Meanwhile the French fleet was destroyed by a storm, and without waiting for escort a score of trading-vessels hastened to escape from their confinement at San Lúcar. So did the treasure-ship at the Azores, and Soto reached San Lúcar, May 20, 1525.

All this time the affairs of Cortés had been prominently before the court. Now his deeds were extolled, and again his fame was sullied by malicious reports, or tossed about by contradictory rumors. In response to the appeal of the king for money, in 1523, Cortés had empowered his agents Juan de Ribera and Friar Melgarejo to meet the demand and secure advantages for himself. In the early part of 1525, accordingly, they offered to provide two hundred thousand pesos de oro within a year and a half, partly through the regular channels of royal revenue, partly in the form of loans. The two agents pledged themselves to fit out three vessels, and in them proceed to New Spain and procure the money. To this end letters were to be given them for the leading Spaniards and chiefs in the colony, some unaddressed, to support their appeal.[11] In return the king promised to duly remember the services of Cortés. The welfare of the country and natives being left to his care, he might make what appointments he thought fit, and exercise the pardoning power in connection with certain crimes and infringements. In addition to previous dignities he was to be made adelantado of New Spain, with the title of Don, and the habit of the Santiago order, a coat of arms commemorative of his achievements being also granted.[12] It was cheap recompense, truly, for

[11] Any sum over 50,000 sent to Spain after the date of this agreement was to be counted as part of the 200,000; the 6,000 ducats to be spent on fitting out the vessels should be repaid from the treasury.

[12] This was conferred in a special despatch dated March 7, 1525, wherein are recounted with some minuteness the services and deeds of the captain during the conquest. It consisted of a quartered shield bearing on the upper

one who had performed such services, achieving vast conquests without cost to the crown.[13]

After all this had been arranged,[14] the letters came from the royal officials, so full of abuse and insinuations against Cortés that the king began to doubt what course to pursue. The intimation that immense treasures had been collected by the conquerors, confirmed by the liberal offers of Ribera, indicated that equal or larger contributions might be obtained without this agreement. It was, besides, dangerous to confer more authority upon a man whose ambition leaned toward an empire of his own, over a pliant and numerous people, aided by a host of devoted soldiers. The charges of the Velazquez party had proved exaggerated, yet the suspicions scattered by them kept smouldering, now to burst into flame on the arrival of confirmatory statements from all of the four royal officials. About this time also a quarrel arose between Ribera and the father of Cortés concerning some funds which the former had failed to deliver, and finding his master falling in favor the secretary thought it best to secure himself by keeping the money and currying favor with the opposition by offering damaging testimony.[15]

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the king took alarm; he might lose great treasures

right-hand division a double-headed black eagle on a white field, the arms of the empire; in the lower division a golden lion on a red field, significant of Cortés' deeds. In the upper left division, three golden crowns in pyramidal position on a black field, denoting his subjugation of three sovereigns; in the lower division a representation of Tenochtitlan city. The yellow border displayed seven heads of leading chiefs linked by a chain with a padlock. A plumed closed helmet surmounted the shield. *Real Cédula*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iii. 196–204.

[13] The agents received a proportionately greater reward, Melgarejo being appointed royal preacher with permission to call himself of the Council of the Indies, and Ribera was made royal treasurer of the South Sea, 'por continuo, de su casa,' with 50,000 maravedís in pay, and permission to wear an open helmet in his coat of arms. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. iv.

[14] 'Se les dieron los despachos dependientes desta capitulacion,' etc. *Id.*

[15] While engaged in defaming Cortés he died from overeating, says Gomara. 'Comio vna noche vn torrezno en cadahalso, y murio dello.' *Hist. Mex.*, 275. Bernal Diaz gives him a bad character. *Hist. Verdad.*, 190–1. His premature death is doubtful, for the *Libro de Cabildo*, March 1, 1527, mentions Juan de Ribera as regidor of Mexico, evidently the same man.

and the New Spain empire also. It had been found prudent in other cases to replace a conqueror by crown agents, so as to guard against the control and influence acquired by military leaders in distant provinces. Even the Great Captain was recalled from Naples with delusive promises lest he should grow too powerful. With others it was often deemed sufficient to let an agent suddenly appear and take the command from the leader, unsupported by any other power than the royal commission, which in those days received devout obedience. The complaints of the humbled conquistador met with little consideration where the interests of the crown were at stake. In pursuance of this policy it was decided to supersede Cortés, and at the same time offer the government as a peace-offering to Diego Colon, who through his offices as admiral and viceroy pretended to certain claims over New Spain as well as other regions.[16] Since Cortés with his imperiousness and large armaments might resist a removal, Colon must take with him an army sufficient to enforce respect.[17]

These measures were not made public, lest Cortés should receive warning and prepare for resistance, yet they leaked out, and created no little conflict of opinions. Even the opposition clamored against Colon as head of so large a government, to the acquisition of which he had contributed nothing. The father and agents of Cortés were greatly alarmed. Fortunately they possessed a powerful friend in Alvarado de Zúñiga, duke of Béjar, with whose niece, Juana Arellano, a marriage had already been arranged for Cortés, for the famous conqueror of Mexico, the rumored possessor of millions, controlling the greatest empire in the western Inde, was an acceptable suitor even in the house of a duke. Attended by a number of friends and Martin Cortés, this grandee appeared be-

[16] 'El Almirantazgo de la Nueua España.' *Id.*, 193.

[17] The cost of which was to be recovered from Cortés, says Bernal Diaz. If guilty he was to be beheaded.

fore the king to protest against the intended injustice to a man who had gained such vast domain and treasures for the crown, and whose loyalty was impugned solely by greedy and jealous intriguers. He showed the letters of Cortés to his father and agents, breathing the most devoted sentiments for the king, and revealing the cunning artifices and hostility on the part of the royal officials. Finally he offered himself with all his estates as surety for his protégé.

With such influential and explanatory representations the king was induced to await further developments, particularly as Soto arrived at this juncture with the fifths and the presents. "In good truth," says Gomara, "it was this gold that saved Cortés from removal." This was not literally true, however. The money value of the presents could have had little effect on the decision of the king, in view of the peculiar nature of his suspicions. Moreover, he seized the private remittances of Cortés to his father, and with little scruple, since this money was declared to be stolen from the crown and intended for armaments wherewith to strengthen his position. The seizure was made under pretence of a loan, with a promise of repayment never intended to be kept.[18] The strength of the treasure shipment lay wholly in the silver gun, and it no doubt assisted with its boastful and flattering volley to make a breach in the barricade of prejudice raised against its sender. Brought to the palace, it created great attention, from the novelty and the inscription, as Cortés had intended. Not a few took umbrage at the pretentious triplet, even among his friends, though the greatness of his achievements was conceded.

The silver gun may have embodied also a propitiatory idea, for at the time of sending it Cortés, con-

[18] Long after his final return to Spain, in 1540, Cortés was still pressing for the fulfilment of the royal promise. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 227. Other persons in the same vessel as Soto were allowed to retain their property, observes Herrera, loc. cit.

trary to the wishes of the colonists, was preparing to enter upon fresh paths, which were to lead to complications no less troublesome than those menacing him at the court. Hampered on all sides by meddling officials, and annoyed by begging intruders with exorbitant demands and illusory expectations, his position was becoming less enviable. The Pánuco affair was now settled, and accustomed to the stir of battle and the adventures and novelties of the march, his spirit began to feel the pressure of monotony, to pine for new scenes, allured also by reports of the victorious advance in Guatemala under Alvarado. Still greedy for gold and glory, he longed to secure to himself the fame of such conquests, or excel them; and while excited by glowing rumors which filled the region to the south with great cities and treasures, he desired above all to be the discoverer of the long-sought strait. "It seemed to me," he writes to the king, "that my person had long been idle, without performing anything new in your Majesty's service."[19]

When news came of Olid's defection, he felt prompted to go in person against him; but owing to certain pressing duties, and the remonstrances of friends, the task of reducing the rebellious lieutenant was intrusted to Francisco de las Casas, his relative, and a man of valor and energy.[20] Soon, however, he bethought himself of Olid's skill as a leader and the number and devotedness of his followers; and he began to doubt the ability of the comparatively untried Casas to effect his object. Therefore, yielding to his fears and to the allurements held forth by a roving fancy, he prepared for his departure. At once arose an outcry both among adherents and opponents. What would become of the country without its directing spirit, its bulwark! Dissensions would ensue, perhaps anarchy, and the still unquiet natives might

[19] Letter of September 3, 1526. *Cartas*, 395–6.

[20] For a full account of this expedition, see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 528–34, this series.

take advantage of this to rise and exterminate the Spaniards. His mere presence sufficed to prevent all this. The road to Honduras was unknown and full of danger; the punishment of Olid belonged to the king, though Casas might by this time have effected it. The royal officers also considered it their duty to remonstrate against an expedition which must take away so many of the much needed soldiers, and endanger the safety of all. They no doubt felt delighted at the blow struck by a rebellious lieutenant at one whom they both feared and envied, and would, under ordinary circumstances, have preferred to see him depart.

Cortés had expected these remonstrances, and replied that prompt chastisement was needed to prevent other officers from revolting and creating disorder, with a loss to himself of respect and territory. He would take due steps for the government and safety of Mexico. This was not deemed satisfactory, however, and a formal protest was lodged, which Cortés could not altogether ignore. He pretended to yield, and declared that he would merely proceed to the Goazacoalco region, where troubles demanded his presence. He even wrote to the king that he had yielded to the general desire.

As rulers during his absence he appointed Treasurer Estrada and Licentiate Zuazo, the latter more properly as justicia mayor, to control all matters pertaining to justice. It may appear strange that he should have overlooked his many faithful followers in this selection, and it must be assumed that the reason lay greatly in the mistrust created by the conduct of Olid, who had been one of his three most intimate friends. To prevent jealousy he must have given the preference to the leading captains of the conquest, and with their military skill and authority among natives and colonists they might become dangerous. The appointees had neither experience as soldiers nor great popularity, while the selection of a royal officer would be a proof

before the sovereign of his loyalty, and might aid to conciliate a libellous clique. It must be mentioned that Estrada was the least obnoxious of the officials, less false in his friendship than the others, and Zuazo was a most estimable man, for whom Cortés had great respect and admiration. To promote good feeling a distribution of natives was made to the officials and other persons. Francisco de Solis was appointed commandant of the arsenal, with control of the fleet and sufficient arms for an emergency, and to Rodrigo de Paz, his own cousin, a rather turbulent fellow, Cortés intrusted the care of his house and property, as mayordomo mayor, with the offices of alguacil mayor and regidor.[21]

For greater security he took with him the three late sovereigns of Mexico, Tlacopan, and Tezcuco, also the actual ruler of Acolhuacan, Ixtlilxochitl, and several of the leading caciques, nearly all destined to succumb to the hardships of the march, or perish by the hand of the executioner, as in the case of Quauhtemotzin and Tetlepanquetzal.[22] The patriotism and influence of the former had ever rendered him an object of suspicion, particularly after his unjust torture, and he must fall a victim to the first adverse circumstance that seemed to threaten the safety of the Spaniards from his side. His seeming strength and his friends caused his fall, for their muttered remonstrances

[21] His formal installation as alguacil mayor did not take place till February 17, 1525. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS.

[22] For a detailed account of the charges against them, and their execution, see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 551–6, this series. Among the other hostages, as they may be called, are named Oquitzin, lord of Azcapuzalco; Panitzin, lord of Ecatepec; Andrés, lord of Mexicaltzinco, a brother of the king of Michoacan; the cihuacoatl, or lieutenant of Quauhtemotzin; Tlacatecatl, a brave and spirited chieftain. As lieutenants for the three sovereigns, or nominally so, were appointed Mexicaltecuhtli at Mexico, Cohuatecatl at Tlacopan, and Alonso Itzcuincuani at Tezcuco. None of them members of the royal families, it seems, who were excluded for the very reasons that caused hostages to be taken with the expedition. Ixtlilxochitl, *Rel.*, 435, 446, who gives the above names, rather tardily admits this motive, after offering several unlikely reasons. According to Chimalpain, *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 120, 153, Don Andrés Motelchiuhtzin was elected by the Mexicans as their captain general in place of the cihuacoatl. See also *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. x.; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 246; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 31.

in behalf of themselves and their leaders, under the difficulties of the march, rose as damaging evidence, while their number, overwhelming as compared with the soldiers, made a severe example appear necessary. The control of the natives of Mexico was left partly to the influential friar Olmedo, with the injunction to protect them and promote their conversion, which he faithfully did during the short term of life left him.

The preference given Estrada in the appointment of rulers was a source of bitter annoyance to the other officials; and rather than be subject to him Salazar and Chirinos offered to accompany the expedition, much as they disliked it. Albornoz would probably have joined them, but he fell sick, it is said, and the factor suggested that, since he must remain, a share in the government ought to be accorded him. This was done with the malicious expectation of creating mischief, for he well knew that the treasurer and contador nursed a strong dislike and jealousy. Cortés could not have been wholly unaware of this, yet he acquiesced.[23] The appointment was most mischievous, for Estrada, who prided himself on being an offspring of the Catholic king, despised Albornoz, and felt not a little annoyed at the partnership, while Albornoz regarded himself as under no obligation for an appointment tardily granted at the instance of others.[24]

Cortés set out from Mexico in the latter part of October, with about one hundred and fifty Spanish followers, chiefly horsemen, and three thousand natives, both largely reënforced on the way.[25] During the march news overtook him of repeated disagreements

[23] 'Como fue importunado, y desseaua complazer...lo hizo,' says Herrera, loc. cit. Gomara assumes that Cortés took the accompanying officials with him of his own accord, to soothe them. In the acts of the municipality all three rulers are termed tenientes por el gobernador, Zuazo standing at the head. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 24–5; *Zumárraga*, *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 109.

[24] Alluding to this appointment, in a letter written after the reported death of Cortés, he relents so far as to admit the loyalty indicated thereby. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. Doc.*, i. 487. Albornoz had been worsted by Cortés in a love affair previous to the conquest, and he never forgave him.

[25] For a full account of the expedition, its strength, sufferings, and achievements, see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 537–83, this series.

between Estrada and Albornoz, who on one occasion went so far as to draw the sword on each other before the town council. They were warned to desist, or their commissions would be revoked. This had no effect, and on reaching Espíritu Santo, Cortés received an urgent demand for a remedy in the matter; his presence was imperative. Salazar and Chirinos were not displeased at the success of their machinations. The condition of affairs was now more favorable for their return, and they certainly would never proceed farther than Goazacoalco. By stirring the discord and using their influence over the weaker Albornoz, they might emerge into a commanding position. There were even better prospects, for if they could so readily procure the appointment of their associate, their own could be obtained, and for this, indeed, they had been striving. None could have shown greater attention to Cortés than they, particularly Salazar, who always doffed his hat in addressing him, says Bernal Diaz; ever obsequious and intent on flattery. Finding his importunities unavailing for Cortés' return,[26] he did not fail to detract from the character of the rulers at Mexico, and to insidiously urge his own ability and devotion.

Cortés was a good judge of human nature, much of his success being in fact due to this instinct, yet he often misplaced his confidence. Like many men of genius he was irregular, erratic in certain lines of

[26] According to the custom he gave them a poetic form, singing:

Ay tio, boluámonos,
Ay tio, boluámonos.

To which Cortés replied:

Adelante mi sobrino,
Adelãte mi sobrino,
Y no creais en agueros,
Que será lo que Dios quisiere,
Adelante mi sobrino.

Which may be translated:

Alas, uncle, let us return,
Alas, uncle, let us return.

Reply:

Onward my nephew,
Onward my nephew,
In vain omens put no trust:
What God wills to happen, must.
Onward my nephew.

Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad., 196.

action, and allowed weaker traits to overcome his judgment. Such missteps are noticeable in the career of the most illustrious leaders, and create astonishment even in commonplace minds. Generally it is the result of miscalculation, often of preoccupation. In this instance Cortés was too absorbed by his immediate projects to sound their hollow deceit, though he accepted but little they said as true. At any rate he was persuaded to issue a commission for Salazar and Chirinos to rule jointly with the other lieutenants at Mexico; and further, to give them a secret mandate to suspend the treasurer and contador, if still creating trouble, and to rule jointly with Zuazo alone.[27]

Cortés is said to have been warned against these men, particularly by the friars, to whom he ever lent an attentive ear, but their voice had not the influence of good Olmedo. He could not endure the idea of returning to Mexico to settle the difficulty, for this involved not alone delay, but a probable abandonment of the expedition. Agents must be sent, and he did not see the danger of selecting these officials who besides were proving irksome witnesses to his acts and movements. Their appointment might prove a bond of gratitude, and an additional commendation before the sovereign. It is not unlikely, as Herrera suggests, that he also hoped through their dissensions to find his own conduct and policy placed in a more favorable light, by contrast and by the discredit to be thus cast upon their testimony.[28] The officials were eager to hurry away with the precious commissions, and on taking leave, says an eye-witness, Salazar sobbed as he embraced his dear friend, Cortés, the commissions heaving in sympathy from the breast-pocket.[29]

[27] 'Para que castigassen los excessos del Tesorero, y Contador...pero con limitacion, qui si los hallassen conformes, no tratassen de castigo, sino que todos juntos gouernassen.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. xi. Bernal Diaz intimates that the commissions were made out by a secretary friendly to Salazar. *Hist. Verdad.*, 196.

[28] Even Salazar is said to have made some faint objections to the distribution of power among so many. *Herrera*, ubi sup. *Torquemada*, i. 589.

[29] 'Que parecia q̄ queria llorar al despedire, y cō sus prouisiones en el seno de la manera q̄ él las quiso notar.' *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit.

On reaching Mexico, during the Christmas holidays, they found Estrada and Albornoz in harmony;[30] but since this did not suit their plans, concocted on the way, they exhibited merely the secret commission empowering them to remove these two officials and to assume their places. On the 29th of December 1524, accordingly, they were received by the cabildo as sole rulers in connection with Zuazo. Soon the trick became apparent, however, probably through letters from the camp,[31] and presenting themselves before the town council, Estrada and Albornoz demanded to be reinstalled as lieutenant-governors. The case was referred to Zuazo, as one learned in law and at the head of the tribunal, and he deciding in their favor, they were admitted as joint rulers with the others on the 25th of February.[32] Salazar and Chirinos had sought to win Zuazo to their side, but he was incorruptible, and in their disappointment they vowed vengeance. To resist the decision of the council was out of the question, for this body was really more powerful than the combined lieutenants. It could be made an instrument, however, through the power possessed by the governor to appoint regidores. The present members being of Cortés' selection, his word and interests were law to them. By and by the new rulers, through intrigue and forcible appointments, managed to obtain a controlling voice in the assembly, and consequently the power to carry out their own schemes.

Matters went smoothly for some time, during which Salazar, seconded by Chirinos, was maturing plans for the removal of his obnoxious partners in the government. The most influential man in Mexico at this

[30] They had become reconciled the very day after the sword-drawing. *Memoria*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 512. A document attributed to Estrada.

[31] Zumárraga states that on arrival the twain had taken Albornoz into their confidence, and he offered to withdraw from the government so as to promote the removal of Estrada and thus be revenged upon him. Soon they became friends again, and now Albornoz demanded the reinstallation of both. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 109–10.

Libro de Cabildo, MS., 25, 31–8.

period was Rodrigo de Paz, who, as relative of Cortés, in charge of his vast interests, and figuring as alguacil mayor, stood the conceded leader of his controlling party. The success of Salazar's schemes required the coöperation of such a man; but he was the friend of Zuazo and Estrada. The first step, therefore, must be to alienate him from them. Finding that some old offence of Paz still remained unpunished, Salazar demanded that the joint governors should sign an order for his arrest. Estrada suspected sinister design on the part of his opponent, and objected, declaring the offence insufficient for the proposed penalty. The others were persuaded, however; the joint signature was obtained, and the alguacil mayor found himself suddenly carried off in shackles to Salazar's house. This selection of a prison was part of the plan.

After allowing time for his feelings to foment, Salazar presented himself. "This is rather severe treatment your friends subject you to, señor," he said. "Had you been so devoted to me as to them, I never would have permitted such an outrage." Nor did he fail to paint their motives in colors as black as their deeds; he declared his aversion to them and his sympathy for him, and finally proposed an alliance. He would liberate him, cost what it might, and jointly they would drive the others from the government and share it between themselves. The prisoner acquiesced. Within two hours their compact was ratified by solemn oaths and tokens,[33] and within two days the other governors had been prevailed upon to allow the liberation of the prisoner.

Rumors of the compact reaching the ears of Salazar's partners, they challenged his conduct. He denied the accusation, and pretended to be angry with Paz, and proposed a combination for his overthrow. To strengthen the proposal, and lull their suspicions,

[33] Bello, chaplain to Salazar, administered the oaths. Paz surrendered a valued ring as token. *Memoria*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 514–15.

he joined them at communion,[34] and on Easter Sunday he dined with Estrada. Next day the three conspirators proceeded to the council, where Paz had managed to win the majority to his side, and had arranged for the exclusion of Estrada and Albornoz from the government, partly on the plea that they were seeking to ignore the authority of Cortés. On the 19th of April 1525[35] they were accordingly declared excluded, on the strength of the secret commission already so effectually used by Salazar and his companion. Zuazo protested, as did the minority in the council, and the excitement became so great in the city that bloodshed was feared. Indeed, Pedro, a brother of Paz, came to blows with Albornoz. Estrada rushed to the rescue, and Rodrigo de Paz joined in the mêlée with a large force, showering stones.[36] Peace was restored, and Pedro placed under arrest, only to be released by his patrons.

Francisco Dávila, one of the alcaldes, now issued a proclamation, forbidding any recourse to arms under heavy penalties. This being directed against the Salazar faction, they indignantly attacked him, broke his staff, and carried him to prison. Here an effort was made to win him to their side, and this failing, an assassin was instructed to remove him. He escaped, however, to a place of refuge, and his pursuers wreaked their vengeance on his property.[37] Estrada and Albornoz continued to sign documents as lieutenant-governors, regardless of the injunction, and orders were issued for their arrest. Fearing more trouble, the Franciscans interposed and prevailed on them to submit.[38] This effectually excluded them from the government.

[34] 'Para que su conformidad fuesse mas notoria al pueblo, y nadie se atreuiesse a assistir a Rodrigo de Paz.' *Herrera*, loc. cit.; *Memoria*, ubi sup.

[35] *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 41–5.

[36] Pedro de Paz intended to kill Albornoz, three of whose companions were wounded. *Memoria*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 516.

[37] He was reinstated under the later rule of Estrada. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., February 22, 1526.

[38] At their respective residences, under the guard of Paz. *Zumárraga, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 110–11.

The removal of Zuazo was equally desired, but this could not be effected for want of grounds. It so happened, however, that a cédula arrived demanding the licentiate's presence in Cuba to undergo residencia in connection with his administration there. This fell into the hands of Paz in opening the despatches for his master, and was only too eagerly seized upon to further his plans. On the evening of May 23d, Zuazo was summoned to confer with Salazar and Chirinos, and in their presence the alguacil mayor exultingly snatched from him the staff of chief-justice, and he was ordered to be immediately removed as a prisoner to Medellin, there to await the first departure for the Islands. "I thank God for taking me from a country so rife with discord," he exclaimed, as the guard bore him away.[39]

This treatment of a man so irreproachable and so universally respected created no little excitement, and many residents prepared to abandon the city, but Paz came forward with the cédula and reassured them.[40] Shortly afterward news was received of the approach of Casas and Gil Gonzalez, on the way from Honduras to report to Cortés their overthrow of Olid. While they were advancing along the easy highways of conquered Guatemala, their chief was marching in the opposite direction, along the eastern borders of Vera Paz, wading through marshes, climbing rugged ranges, and cutting his way through dense forests, struggling with famine, disease, and discontent, and all in pur-

[39] According to Oviedo 200 men surrounded his dwelling at midnight. Having a number of armed men with him, he prepared to resist, but Paz as 'his friend' persuaded him to surrender, promising that his person and property would be respected. Casas joined him at Medellin with 200 cavalry, and offered to install him at Mexico as sole ruler, but Zuazo refused to create trouble. All this is unlikely. He was embarked at San Juan in shackles, in the middle of August, for Habana, where all vied to do him honor. He passed the residencia without a stain, and was thereupon appointed oidor of the audiencia at Santo Domingo with a pay of 300,000 maravedís. There he died in 1539, rich and honored. *Oveido*, iii. 518–21, i. 542; *Navarrete*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, ii. 376–9.

[40] Estrada and Albornoz appear to have been among the alarmed ones, and to have gone in hiding in the suburb, while the forces of Paz scoured the city for them. *Memoria*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 516.

suit of an object already accomplished. Estrada and Albornoz were the first to receive the information, and with a view to obtain news of Cortés, and to take counsel with Casas about the policy to be pursued, they proposed to meet them. As they could not leave the city without permission, they obtained this on the plea of conveying a quantity of gold to Medellin for shipment to Spain. No sooner had they gone than Chirinos also learned of Casas' approach, and hurrying after them with a squad of men he brought them back to their houses, seizing their arms and horses.[41]

A week later Casas and Gonzalez arrived in the city, and proceeded to Estrada's residence. Rumors of their intention were rife, and formal charges against them were made before the notary, concocted probably by the lieutenant-governors, who resolved not to afford time for conspiracies.[42] That very night they appeared before their house and demanded the surrender of certain armed men harbored by Estrada contrary to orders. Whatever may have been the projects of the treasurer and his guests, they were not prepared to resist this prompt summons, supported by a strong force with artillery, nor did Casas feel it proper to oppose Paz, the relative and representative of Cortés, and so the gate was opened.[43] All the arms were now seized, even those of Casas' party, and five armed adherents of Estrada were carried off to be lashed and exiled, regardless of their rank as hidalgos. Salazar did not fail to wreak his

[41] The hostile object of their journey was confirmed by the absence of the royal treasure which they pretended to convoy. *Ocaña* in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 524–5. This is stated also by other witnesses. Estrada declares the Casas meeting to be an invented charge, and states that they did convoy gold, yet with the object also of sending private despatches to Spain. *Memoria*, in *Id.*, 516. Herrera says the friars interfered to prevent bloodshed when Chirinos overtook them.

[42] Estrada proposed to seize them, including Paz, and assume the government, with Casas for alcade mayor. *Testimonio*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 217. Ocaña, ubi sup., was the notary who recorded the charges.

[43] 'This was done at the instance of Casas,' says Herrera, yet other testimony intimates that he would have been ready to aid Estrada in resisting. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 77, 402.

hatred on Casas in abuse and insinuation, and the latter being a high-spirited cavalier retorted in no measured terms.[44] Such insolence was beyond endurance, but as it was conveyed by a relative of Cortés, whom Paz would most likely protect, the factor was obliged to nurse his wrath for the present. Casas thought it prudent, however, to leave for his estates in Oajaca.[45]

[44] He even ventured to attack Salazar's party one day, and maltreat Albornoz, whose vacillating demeanor did so much to aid the former. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 248. He would hardly have dared to raise his hands against Salazar. Bernal Diaz gives some doubtful details about Casas' conduct against Salazar. *Hist. Verdad.*, 210–11. He was not present. Estrada was confined in another house, and Albornoz in the arsenal. *Memoria*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 519.

[45] 'Exiled by Salazar,' says a witness in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 403.

CHAPTER XI.

SALAZAR'S USURPATION AND OVERTHROW.

1525–1526.

OVERTHROW OF PAZ—HIS TERRIBLE FATE—PERSECUTION OF THE FRIENDS OF CORTÉS—ALVARADO CONSIDERS THE MATTER—SEARCH FOR CORTÉS—HIS FUNERAL HONORS—SPOLIATION OF HIS PROPERTY—LASHING A WIFE—TYRANNICAL PROCEEDINGS OF SALAZAR—IT LEADS TO REVOLT—GENERAL ALARM—EXPEDITIONS AGAINST REBELS—CHIRINOS' FIASCO—THE FRIARS HURL ANATHEMAS—THE GOVERNORS HUMBLED—THE MYSTERIOUS MESSENGER—RISING OF THE MEN OF CORTÉS—ELECTION OF ESTRADA AND ALBORNOZ—ASSAULT ON THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE—SALAZAR ENCAGED—CONSPIRACY TO RELEASE HIM.

AFTER aiding Salazar in the achievement of his plots, Paz was no longer indispensable; indeed, he was an obstacle to the free sway of the lieutenants. Their longing for uncontrolled action was fostered partly by rumors of disasters to Cortés, borne from the natives of the south, and all the more alarming in the absence of news from him. The ruling faction did not hesitate to magnify these reports and to circulate fantastic stories about Cortés, Marina, and Sandoval having been seen burning in vivid flames in the Tlateluco church-yard.[1] Machinations against the immediate adherents of Cortés could accordingly be ventured upon, but their leader must above all be removed. An additional incentive existed in the wealth of the captain-general, of which Paz was the guardian, and in the enmity of Chirinos, who had lost to him at the gambling-table the greater part of his fortune.[2]

[1] The man who saw it became sick with horror. Their ghosts were seen also at Tezcuco. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 210.

[2] Some 20,000 pesos de oro. Estrada assumes this to have been the principal cause for the plots against Paz. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 519–20.

In furtherance of the design the devoted friends of Cortés had been gradually replaced by more pliable members. An able adviser and promoter of these machinations existed in Diego de Ocaña, who had lately arrived as royal notary, probably at the recommendation of Cobos, the powerful patron of his principals.[3]

Paz had given umbrage to the Franciscans by a neglect of religious duties and want of respect for the friars, a proceeding which was aggravated by his passionate and reckless nature. Salazar represented this to Father Valencia, the custodian, and agent for the Inquisition, and proposed that authority be given to seize and arraign him. The friar replied that the anger of the church had been propitiated by humble penitence, and that Paz stood absolved. This answer may have been dictated partly by a repugnance toward the applicant, whose every proposal seemed to cover some deep-laid plot, and whose reverence for the cloth was by no means conspicuous. Thus foiled, Salazar turned to another quarter.

After the treatment received from Paz, neither Estrada nor Albornoz could be expected to harbor any good-will for him, and they were readily induced to join in the not altogether improper demand upon the mayordomo of Cortés to exhibit what treasures his master had sent to Spain, so that the royal fifth might be collected where still due; and further, since Cortés was evidently dead, to repay to the treasury the sixty thousand pesos de oro taken by him. Paz naturally objected, and his refusal was made to appear as contempt for the officials of the king, strongly indicative of treason. With loud words about the necessity for protecting the royal interests, Salazar and

[3] In *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 524–37, is printed a letter of this person, addressed probably to officials of the Casa de la Contratacion, with which he seems to have been connected. It is full of malicious charges and insinuations against Cortés and his party, and reveals him as a base hypocrite, as old in wickedness as in age, whereof he claimed over 60 years.

Chirinos began to summon men to their support, promising repartimientos and other favors to some, and assuring others that no harm should come to Paz himself. Observing this movement, the latter also began to muster for defence. A proclamation was issued forbidding any one under heavy penalties to resist the royal cause. Nevertheless, when the lieutenant-governors appeared before his house on the 19th of August, Paz had quite a force within. Estrada now spoke to him, and, representing the treasonable appearance and danger of resisting royal officials in discharge of their duty, he prevailed upon him to yield, after receiving the solemn oath of Salazar and Chirinos that his person should be respected.[4]

After disarming and dismissing the opposing force, and sending Paz to the arsenal, the four royal officers took possession of the residence of Cortés. An examination of the premises followed, and a number of valuables at once disappeared, while the native princesses and ladies of noble birth there living as wards were grossly insulted, to the deep humiliation of their people. The belief was that vast treasures lay hidden in or beneath the palace, and Estrada and Albornoz were directed to retire so that the lieutenants might have no official witness to their further search. The better to promote their designs these worthies caused themselves on the 22d of August to be sworn in as lieutenant-governors for the king, till his Majesty should decide, with the same power as that possessed by Cortés in his offices of chief justice and captain general.[5] A devoted adherent named Antonio de Villaroel was at the same time installed as alguacil

[4] This oath, termed *pleito homenage*, was tendered before several cavaliers and friars in the presence of Jorge de Alvarado and Andrés de Tapia. Both of these being afterward proscribed, Salazar may have considered the oath less valid. Gil Gonzalez was among those who persuaded Paz to yield, says the *Memoria*, in *Id.*, 520.

[5] The council swore to obey them as 'Tenientes de Capitan General é Gobernador y Justicia mayor de esta N. E. por SSMM.' *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 70–6. 'Till Cortés should return,' was one of the clauses. Henceforth they are spoken of as governors, though the record title remained lieutenant-governors.

mayor, in place of Paz, and the subservient council was made to issue permission to the new governors to take an inventory of the property of Cortés.

The search for treasures proved comparatively barren, though every corner was examined and the ground dug up beneath and around the palace. They were fully convinced, however, that treasures existed somewhere, for a belief in the wealth of Cortés was too wide-spread not to be true, and it seemed incredible that he should have neglected his opportunities to enrich himself. The only question was about the hiding-place. Paz must know, and must be made to speak. Regardless of their oath they submitted him to torture, applying among other means boiling oil to his feet, which were then slowly roasted before a fire. In his agony he declared that Cortés had taken his treasures with him: he knew of none. This answer was not accepted, and the torturing continued till the toes fell off, and the feet were charred to the ankles.[6]

Regarding it as unsafe to leave alive an enemy so terribly outraged, to bear convicting evidence against them, the governors concocted fresh charges against him, notably that he intended to excite an insurrection, and condemned him to death. The popular feeling was strongly in favor of the prisoner, and efforts were made to enforce the appeals against the sentence; but the safety of his persecutors demanded its execution, and effective precautions had been taken to cloak the proceedings in the royal name, and support them with a considerable force, while stringent orders existed against armed gatherings on the part of ordinary citizens. Still hoping to extort a confession, Salazar held out to Paz the delusive promise of pardon if he would reveal the treasures. "I have none," replied the outraged victim, "and I implore Cortés to

[6] 'Diéronle grandes tormentos de agua é de cordeles é de fuego.' *Memoria*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 521. This authority believes the treasures to have been sent away before Paz came to serve Cortés, a year previous. 'Con hierro, y fuego le atormẽtarõ.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. xii. 'De que no podia vivir.' *Testimonio Mex.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 34.

pardon me for saying in my agony that he had taken them away; it is not true." Unable to walk he was carried to the square on an ass, and hanged.[7] What a fall was this of the haughty leader of a faction which but a few weeks before controlled the destinies of an empire! How far removed were such proceedings from those of savages? It is a singular coincidence that the representative of Cortés should have suffered the same torture for the same end as Quauhtemotzin, and have been hanged about the same time as this prince, under a similar pretext.[8]

Pedro, the brother of Paz, was seized to please Albornoz, but he escaped from prison and took refuge in the sanctuary of San Francisco, followed by a number of adherents of Cortés, such as Jorge de Alvarado and Andrés de Tapia, for none knew where the tyrants would stop, or whom they had marked for their next victim. The desire was now paramount to find Cortés if peradventure he still lived, as the only one who could save them and the country. Aware of this feeling, the governors ordered the sails of vessels at the gulf ports to be removed, so that none might go without their knowledge.[9] Efforts were made, however, to send intelligence through Guatemala, and Pedro de Alvarado was urged to come to the rescue and assume the government. The proposition fell on no heedless ears, for this leader was only too willing to figure as the savior of a country he had assisted

[7] 'Estuvo en piernas é desnudo é un paño sucio tocado en la cabeza...todo un dia.' *Memoria*, loc. cit. During his imprisonment of a month and a half his property was appropriated by Salazar and Chirinos, partly to repay the gambling losses of the latter. Albornoz, who had been left as his heir, says Herrera, ubi sup., with little probability, failed to receive any of the property. Villaroel claimed 12,000 pesos of it won from him at the gambling-table. Paz was evidently fortunate on the green cloth.

[8] Patriotic Mexicans did not fail to recognize in this occurrence, and in the spoliation of his estates, the divine vengeance for the torture and execution of the Aztec emperor by Cortés.

[9] Gomara writes that Casas had done a similar thing, shortly before, to prevent Salazar from sending false reports to Spain, or transmit royal moneys in his own name. *Hist. Mex.*, 248. Bernal Diaz states something similar, and adds that it was mainly this that drew upon him the persecution of the governors. *Hist. Verdad.*, 210.

to conquer, and if Cortés proved to be dead it was necessary to foster his own pretensions to independent sway in Guatemala. He accordingly prepared to set out with a small escort. At the last moment, however, the trip was abandoned, partly because it became apparent that a larger force was needed for the project than could be spared from Guatemala, and partly because his interests at court might be imperilled by an armed demonstration against officials cloaked in royal authority and protected by the powerful Cobos.[10]

Shortly before this, Diego de Ordaz had arrived from Spain, proudly bearing the new coat of arms commemorating his famous ascent of the Popocatepetl volcano. He was naturally interested in the fate of his former chief, and rumors coming from Xicalanco of the death of Cortés in that region Salazar agreed that he should sail down the coast with two vessels to investigate. On reaching the Usumacinta he obtained confused versions of disaster to the forces both by land and water, the latter under Cuenca and Medina having been destroyed near the coast. Among those captured was Medina who met a fearful death as a sacrifice to the idols. Wooden splinters were stuck into his body, and fired. Thus bristling with torches he was made to walk in solemn pace round a hole, till he dropped from agony and exhaustion, and was then burned to death.[11] This story by no means encouraged Ordaz to penetrate the country, and ascertain the truth of the reports that Cortés and his land

[10] Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that a great outcry was raised against his departure, but the municipal records show nothing of the kind, an escort being actually offered him on October 4, 1525. *Arévalo, Actas, Ayunt., Guat.*, 15. See also *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 7. Bernal Diaz, loc. cit., writes that he returned on receiving fresh news of Salazar's despotic measures and evident strength. Chirinos' expedition against Oajaca about this time is supposed to have been intended chiefly to intercept him. *Testimonio Mex.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 40.

[11] Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 247, relates that he met his fate when going in search of Cortés. See also *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 164. But Medina was of Cortés' party, as shown by his companion Bernal Diaz. *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 543–4, this series.

party had been killed some seven moons before at a city in the interior.[12] He contented himself with accepting the reports, and returned to curry favor with the new ruler, who rewarded his devotion with the office of alcalde mayor.[13]

Salazar and Chirinos eagerly circulated his statements with the authoritative declaration that Cortés was indeed dead. To impress this upon the people solemn funeral honors were ordered by the local authorities to be held throughout the country. The sermons on the occasion were duly tempered in deference to the hostile feeling of the ruling faction. At Mexico a monument was erected in the parish church, and a sum of money was assigned from the estate of Cortés to pay for masses.[14]

The evident effort to enforce the acceptance of this view, and by men of Salazar's intriguing nature, excited doubts among many. Such suspicions were regarded as mischievous to their projects, and the governors forbade their expression under heavy penalty. Juana Ruiz de Marcilla, wife of Valiente, secretary to Cortés, not only criticised the permission to marry granted to women whose husbands had left on the Honduras expedition,[15] but loudly declared that the followers of Cortés were not such poltroons as

[12] Albornoz gives the report with detail. Cortés had maltreated the lord of Cuzamelco, a lake city, seven days' journey from the coast—evidently Itza—and the natives had resolved to be avenged. At the next camp they fell upon the sleeping forces with sword and fire, and slew the greater number. The remainder, including Cortés, were sacrificed, not a man escaping. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 485–6.

[13] *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., November 2, 1525. 'Afirmó que era muerto y trajo ciertos Indios que lo decian.' *Ocaña, Carta*, in *Id.*, 526. He swore before Cortés afterward that he never affirmed the death of his party; he merely reported the native rumors. He sailed on to Cuba. *Hist. Verdad.*, 221. Herrera intimates that Ordaz pretended to have made greater investigations than he did, in order not to be regarded as intimidated by the natives. He comments on Salazar's neglect to properly search for a party engaged on royal service. dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. xi.

[14] When Cortés sued for the recovery of this and other funds, Juan de Cáceres, nicknamed the rich, bought the masses for his benefit! *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit.

[15] Chiefly with a view for the governors to obtain possession of two of these women. Their new husbands were given repartimientos, and conveniently withdrew from the city. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. xii.

the soldiers of Chirinos, to allow a horde of natives to cut them down. This contumacy must not be tolerated. Regardless of her sex, position, and wealth, she was ordered to be publicly lashed, as a warning to others.[16]

A certain portion of the estate of Cortés which could not well be secretly appropriated by the despoilers had been placed in the depository for the property of deceased persons. Salazar now ventured to have this sold at any price, and appropriated the proceeds to the payment of real or fictitious claims by himself and friends, also cancelling any of their indebtedness to the estate. So rapidly did the property disappear that when the royal treasurer made his claim for the sums which had served as pretext for the spoliation, there was not enough left to pay them.[17] When remonstrated with for this reckless management both of private and royal interests, he declared that the king did not know what orders were issued, nor the Council of the Indies what was observed. Besides, he had authority to seize Cortés, should he ever return, and might even hang him, a piece of bombast which tended to intimidate quite a number.[18]

[16] January 4, 1526. She received 100 lashes, according to her own formal complaint presented on the return of the husband. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 198–223. Cortés made amends by carrying her in procession on his horse, followed by all the cavaliers of the city, and by ever afterward giving her the noble title of Doña. Rhymster scoffingly alluded to this ennoblement. 'Dixeron por alla q̃ le auian sacado el don de las espaldas, como narizes del braço.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 248. Bernal Diaz states that Estrada made this amend. He relates that Gonzalo Hernandez of Goazacoalco narrowly escaped hanging for expressing a doubt. On humbly declaring this a falsehood told to console a sorrowing widow he was rewarded, but made to leave the city. *Hist. Verdad.*, 211. Cortés was later accused of having assumed the privilege to confer knighthood on several followers. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 163–4; ii. 119.

[17] This is Estrada's formal declaration, yet the obsequious Albornoz intimates that the royal claims could be covered by the real estate yet remaining, valued at 200,000 castellanos. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 503. Cortés estimates his losses through the spoliation at 300,000 ducados. *Rel. Servicios*, in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 224–6. Salazar borrowed large sums, which were sent to a safe place in Spain, says Zumárraga. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 113. Certain gold deposited by Cortés in the coffers of the sanctuary was also seized. *Herrera*, ubi sup.

[18] 'Aunque Fernando Cortès fuese vivo, y bolviese, no le recibirian, sino que lo avian de ahorcar.' *Torquemada*, i. 593. *Testimonio Mex.*, in *Pacheco*

Not only the estates of Cortés, but the offices, lands, and Indians of his followers, were appropriated for the benefit of the governor's friends, and many who had failed to take refuge in the sanctuary were arrested. This created a further dispersion, and not a few fled to the mountain regions, preferring to trust themselves among the half-revolted Indians rather than to the tender mercies of the executioners of Paz. In this persecution Casas and Gil Gonzalez were not overlooked, the former indeed being too dangerous. They were arraigned for the murder of Olid and condemned to death; to decapitation in this instance, since the culprits were by their rank exempt from the ignoble noose. Their appeal to the sovereign was at first disregarded, but their friends were sufficiently influential to prevail upon the governors to modify the decision and order their removal to Spain for judgment.[19]

By the vessel in which Gonzalez embarked, the governors sent a paltry remittance to the king, and a large number of costly presents[20] for friends and their patron, whose favor and efforts in their behalf would be more effective than any services they could perform for the crown. The fate of the chivalrous Vasco Nuñez, and the success of the nefarious schemes of the tyrant Pedrarias had proved a lesson to many another besides Salazar, and the sovereign suffered

and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 35. He came not only as factor, but to seize Cortés, and would have done so had he not departed for Honduras. *Zumárraga*, ubi sup.

[19] Gonzalez gave bonds on November 22, 1525, as knight of Santiago, to embark. Concerning his fate, see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 534, this series. Although most authorities assume that Casas also embarked, this is doubtful, for he is said to have been with Cortés shortly after his return in the middle of 1526. Testimony, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 310, etc. He probably remained in hiding on his estates in Oajaca. Herrera includes Hurtado de Mendoza in the condemnation.

[20] These went in charge of Juan de la Peña, with instructions how best to promote the governors' interests. The remittance to the king was merely 12,000 ducados says Loaisa, in *Oviedo*, iii. 523. Albornoz enumerates two remittances of 20,000 and 21,000 castellanos in gold, and 102 marcos of silver, sent in August and December by way of Española. He remarks on the insignificance of even these amounts, due to reigning disorder. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 501–2.

deservedly for listening to partisans to the discouragement of loyal and zealous servants. For support of their pretensions the governors convoked the delegates of the Spanish settlements in the country, as well as the town council of Mexico, and by subterfuge and intimidation compelled them to sign a representation to the king recommending their confirmation as governors in lieu of the defunct Cortés.[21] The same persons were made to elect as agents or procuradores in Spain two of Salazar's friends, Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia and Antonio de Villaroel, to replace those appointed by Cortés. They reached Spain, though the vessel was wrecked on Fayal Island with the loss of the treasure and most of the documents, including the process against Casas and Gonzalez.[22]

With a view to render themselves secure, the governors fortified their residence with artillery and arms from the arsenal, appointing Luis de Guzman captain of the battery, and several others as captains of their guard and house.[23] The apparent devotion of their followers made them quite overweening in their confidence, and they ventured to sneer even at demands and regulations connected with the royal interest, declaring that any royal judge who might arrive and presume to interfere with them would find it difficult.[24]

[21] Francisco Cortés and other procuradores of settlements swore that they never affixed their signature to the document for their appointment as governors. *Ortega*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xxix. 93. The authorities of Mexico in their representation to the king, February 1526, declare that they were obliged to sign documents without learning their contents. *Testimonio Mex.*, in *Id.*, xiii. 36–8. Though confirmed by the delegates as governors for the king, the municipal acts allude to them as lieutenant-governors. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., December 16, 1525, etc. In January, however, the absent Chirinos is called simply by his royal office of veedor, while Salazar figures as the 'gobernador.'

[22] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. xii. Yet Loaisa, loc. cit., states, 'salvóse el oro.' The agents were further secured with large salaries and fees, Villaroel recovering 12,000 pesos of gambling losses from the estates of Paz, says Herrera. His office of alguacil mayor was conferred on Ordaz.

[23] Arteaga was made captain of the guard, Ginés Nortes received another important trust, etc. *Bernal Diaz*, *Hist. Verdad.*, 211.

[24] Alcalde Bonal of Villa Rica declared that he had orders from Salazar to arrest any royal judge who might arrive, and send him back to Spain. *Herrera*, ubi sup.

They hampered the treasurer and contador in their duties, and transferred crown lands and diverted revenues into different channels whereby they and their friends might profit, going even so far as to appropriate them partly as presents to influential friends at court.[25] In this process of enrichment the defenceless natives were subjected to every extortion. Salazar's agents scoured the provinces, and entering the houses of all who appeared rich carried off every object of value, maltreating those who failed to satisfy their expectations. Many caciques out of fear or self-interest assisted to extort property from their wealthy subjects. Itzcuincuani, the lieutenant at Tezcuco, aided to sack the palaces of his royal master Ixtlilxochitl, absent on the Honduras expedition, and to persecute his family, distributing, besides, his lands and revenues, in the belief that he must be dead.[26] All this greatly excited the natives, and in a number of districts the feeling led to serious demonstrations. Yet a general revolt was prevented through the numerous matrimonial alliances established with the conquerors and colonists, and through rivalry between tribes, classes, and caciques, for the hostile feeling of provincial peoples against those of the lake valleys was still bitter, the former clinging to the white leaders who had guided them to the long-desired victory, or vying for the favors which flowed through them alone. The friars also had acquired great influence, and knew how to apply their warnings and counsel, informed as they were by the children, of the projects of their elders.[27]

[25] Some treasures discovered in a certain building, and properly claimed for the king, were appropriated by Salazar on the ground that the house adjoined his own. *Id.* Estrada presents a doleful complaint against the criminal mismanagement and treasonable conduct of these rulers. They are prepared to do anything against the king. *Memoria*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, I. 522–3. Ocaña defends their management, as may be expected. *Id.*, 526.

[26] *Ixtlilxochitl, Rel.*, 446.

[27] The lingering doubt about the death of Cortés had also an effect. 'Mas esperauan que Quahutimoc se lo embiasse a dizir,' says Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 250, in allusion to the proposed revolt of this prince during the march to Honduras.

As it was, the natives did rise in several directions, notably in Oajaca, Goazacoalco, and Pánuco regions, attacking the Spaniards not only on the road and in the mines, where isolated, but in the settlements. Quite a number were killed, and many under the most atrocious tortures that gradually accumulated wrongs could exact or invent. Some were kept without food until famished: then one of their legs or arms was cut off and cooked and eaten before their eyes. Some were flayed alive, or roasted over slow fires; others were used as targets.[28]

The absence with Cortés of so many of the influential conquerors tended to increase the alarm, and the colonists retired to the larger settlements, particularly to Mexico, to prepare for what might happen.[29] As it would not answer to encourage the natives by a neutral or vacillating policy, several expeditions were formed to chastise the revolted districts, and to keep the others in awe. One party of sixty men, under Captain Vallecillo, proceeded in the direction of Tabasco, there to encounter great hardships, the leader among others becoming incapacitated for active service. Under these distressing circumstances, one man, Juan de Lepe, ventured to find his way to Medellin alone, and thence to Mexico, where his appeals were responded to with a fresh force, under Captain Baltasar de Gallegos, bearing extra supplies and arms. The conquest was now completed; the country was divided among the soldiers, and near the spot where Cortés had gained his first victory in New Spain a town was founded under the commemorative name of Nuestra Señora de la Victoria.[30]

[28] In Tututepec region, toward the North Sea, a number of captives were placed in a yard enclosed by a stone wall, and goaded with pointed poles, like bulls. Some climbed the walls to receive a quicker death; others knelt in resignation. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 164. Fifteen were killed at one town. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. xii.; *Testimonio Mex.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 39.

[29] Torquemada, iii. 57, assumes that before the influx Mexico contained but 200 defenders, but this is evidently too low a figure, as will be seen.

[30] One league from the sea, where vessels could load close to the bank. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. iii. The name applied by Cortés to the na-

The chief expedition sent out in consequence of the revolt was directed to Oajaca, where the most serious slaughter of colonists had taken place,[31] in the Coatlan Mountains. The party consisted of about two hundred men,[32] commanded by Chirinos, who prided himself on his military qualities, and preferred to figure as captain general, while Salazar was only too glad to rule as sole governor. In these inclinations and qualities of the worthy pair, respectively soldier and diplomat, may be found an explanation for their continued harmony, when all other bonds were disregarded. Chirinos had evidently been content to cede the first place to his partner in civil matters, receiving in turn supreme control in the military department. A still stronger bond was perhaps that both were protégés of the king's secretary, to whom they owed everything. The leading men in Mexico attributed the present elaborate expedition chiefly to the prospect of an encounter with Pedro de Alvarado, who was also supposed to have incited the revolt in Oajaca.[33] However this may have been, Chirinos found occupation enough with the rebels, who unable to face him on the plains took refuge in the hills with their treasures, and finally concentrated on the peñol Coatlan. This was impregnable, or nearly so, and the party was obliged to invest it. The siege continued, with gambling and feasting in the camp, until the natives were almost forgotten. The besieged were more watchful, and one night they surprised the camp and killed a number of men before they were driven back.

tive town here appears to have been slightly changed. See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 92, this series. Bernal Diaz names Baltasar Ossorio, an hidalgo of Seville, as the leader sent by Aguilar to settle Tabasco. *Hist. Verdad.*, 221. Aguilar ruled after July 1526.

[31] Fifty Spaniards and from 8,000 to 10,000 slaves being killed in the mines. *Oviedo*, iii. 518. It is more likely that the 10,000 slaves killed the 50 taskmasters. Gomara places the incident in Huaxacac and Zoatlan. *Hist. Mex.*, 247.

[32] *Oviedo*, iii. 514. The *Testimonio Mex.* has '60 infantry and 50 cavalry,' which may be the force taken from Mexico city alone, as Herrera places the total at 300, of which 100 were horsemen.

[33] 'Su principal motivo fué ir á resistir el capitan Pero de Albarado.' *Testimonio Mex.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 40.

Shortly afterward the Spaniards awoke to find the peñol evacuated, and all the effects, including a serpent of pure gold, carried away. Circumstances now compelled Chirinos to take a hasty departure, leaving in command Andrés de Monjaraz, who had lately arrived with reënforcements.[34]

Affairs had been gradually assuming a different aspect at Mexico, where the overweening confidence and attendant excesses of the usurping rulers were preparing the way for their downfall. Particularly unpleasant to their sight were the refugees in the San Francisco sanctuary, whose mere presence there seemed a defiance of their power, against which they were known to be plotting. Repeated orders were issued for them to leave the temple and return to their homes, but this demand implied in itself some nefarious project, and after the disregard shown by the authorities for solemn oaths, none could trust himself in their hands. The obsequious council now assisted in condemning the refugees as traitors, with confiscation of property.[35] In his bitterness Salazar even went so far as to forcibly take them from the sanctuary.[36] Friar Valencia, the custodian, protested against this desecration, and no heed being given to his words, he laid the whole city under excommunication, and departed from it with his Franciscans, carrying away also the sacred vessels and other paraphernalia. Imagine the excitement created by this withdrawal of the divine favor! The church was no longer so omnipotent as in the days of Hildebrand, who compelled the mighty Henry to creep for mercy at his feet, yet among the Latin races it still appeared as an arbiter invested with superhuman attributes, by whose decree

[34] The news of Cortés being alive contributed to their reduction soon after. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 215; *Loaisa*, in *Oviedo*, iii. 524; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. viii.

[35] Their houses would be torn down and salt scattered upon the site. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., December 16, 1525.

[36] To despatch them to Spain, says Herrera; yet it is probable that some were intended for a worse fate.

a world was partitioned, and by whose servants millions of souls were redeemed from paganism. Men who had tamely submitted to Salazar, even yielding their leader to his executioner, now dared to raise their voices, so that his adherents wavered and fell back. Comparatively free from the passion of the others, the governor had failed to weigh the effect of his step. It dawned upon him with the first protest; but he was too proud to retract. Now he must yield, however, and with curses on his lips he bent to implore forgiveness of the friars. The prisoners were restored, and he received absolution.[37]

This humiliation of the tyrant brought about a revulsion of feeling, as he probably had feared, for the result of the excommunication revealed how slight was his hold on the community, despite his seemingly unbounded sway. Men who had hitherto shunned their neighbors with suspicious fear, now began to reveal their feelings, encouraged also by the mute support of the friars. Opinions were revived that Cortés was alive, and these appear to have been based not alone on hope, or a longing for relief, but on a letter from Pedro de Alvarado, and probably on reports from the Islands, whither Cortés had despatched vessels from Honduras, in the early part of the summer.[38] The friends of Cortés grew confident again, and began to collect arms and discuss the best means for removing the usurpers, whether by the hand of an assassin, or by declaring open war. Salazar became alarmed, and proportionately profuse with favors and promises to his adherents. So serious did he regard the movement that he convoked a meeting of citizens to consider repressive measures, and sought at the same time to propitiate them by tendering an enter-

[37] 'Con poca reverencia de la Iglesia, diciendo muchas injurias.' *Torquemada*, i. 593; iii. 57–8. The friars had gone to Tlascala. He and other chroniclers comment on the frequent service the friars rendered by their interference, but he forgets that this very meddling frequently allured the best men from the determined action demanded against nefarious schemes. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 20–1.

[38] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 571–2, this series.

tainment at his gardens, a league from Mexico, whither he led them with great pomp.[39]

In the midst of this turmoil, on the night of Sunday, the 28th of January 1526,[40] a man in laborer's attire knocked at the gate of San Francisco convent, and was admitted. In a close conference with the inmates he revealed himself as a messenger from Cortés. He related how poignant had been his master's grief and anger on receiving from the exiled Zuazo an account of the outrages and misrule in Mexico;[41] how he had prepared to come in person to restore order, but had been deterred by a succession of mishaps wherein he perceived the desire of God for him to remain and achieve the conquest of Honduras.[42] He had accordingly contented himself with sending instructions by the hand of his groom, Martin de Orantes, a man of great intelligence, who left Trujillo during the new year celebrations, accompanied by several cavaliers and chiefs, through whom the statement of the messenger might be verified. The captain and pilots of his vessel had been well paid to observe every precaution, and Orantes was landed alone, some distance above Vera Cruz, while his companions sailed onward to the safer district of Pánuco. Disguising himself as a workingman, in bushy beard, with the despatches concealed round his body, he proceeded to Mexico on foot, avoiding Spaniards as much as possible. The despatches which he now exhibited revoked the existing gubernatorial commissions, and invested Casas with the supreme command. In case of his absence, Pedro de Alvarado should govern. If neither appeared, Orantes was to institute inquiries,

[39] On January 19, 1526, several gardens were granted by the council to Chirinos, Salazar, and other prominent persons, those of the former lying at San Cosme. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS.

[40] Salazar's own letter gives it with great precision as 3 A. M. on Monday. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxix. 95.

[41] 'Dixo: Al ruin ponelde en mando, y vereys quienes.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 270.

[42] For a full account of these singular mishaps and their result, see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 573–6, this series.

guided by the friars, in whose judgment and devotion Cortés reposed great faith, and if Estrada and Albornoz appeared in accord and trustworthy, to surrender to them the despatches and command.[43]

The treasurer and contador were accordingly summoned, together with the refugees of the Cortés party, among whom Andrés de Tapia and Jorge de Alvarado were the leading spirits. These two immediately summoned the less hostile members of the council and the reputed adherents of their party, and sent to traders and friends for lances and other arms. A sufficient number having gathered, including thirty horsemen, Alvarado led them through the city in the moonlight, shouting Viva el rey! and calling upon the citizens to assemble at the convent in the service of the king. The news had spread by this time, and soon a large crowd was gathered. As Tapia read the letters of Cortés, cheers upon cheers rent the air, revealing clearly enough the popular feeling. He thereupon reviewed the usurpation and despotic rule of the incumbents, now dispossessed by their chief, and indicated his wishes in the appointment of Estrada with Albornoz, who had governed so acceptably before. This selection was by no means to the liking of a large number, but the evident wishes of Cortés must be respected; and it would have been difficult to find one more fitting for the position than Estrada; for the condition of affairs demanded a man of influence, like the leading royal official, upon whom the

[43] Such is the intimation of Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 213, and of Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 248–9, both of whom must have known the facts; yet Herrera writes that Andrés de Tapia and Jorge de Alvarado received the confidence and despatches of Orantes, and that Tapia in particular managed to impress upon the adherents of Cortés summoned to the sanctuary the necessity for choosing Estrada and Albornoz as rulers, since Casas was absent. dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. v. This is probably taken from the memoirs of Tapia, to judge by the prominence given him for several pages. Zuazo had not failed to speak favorably of his fellow-sufferers Estrada and Albornoz, whose government had progressed smoothly till Salazar overthrew them, and although he preferred such able military men as Casas and Alvarado under the circumstances, yet there could have been no reason for him to set aside these royal officials. The acts of the town council allude to no appointee save Casas, but Cortés could not have failed to signify several selections, by which the council must have been guided.

majority could unite without the reproach or jealousy which might have tended to division and consequent failure if any of the refugees had been chosen. The objections centred probably in Albornoz, and the feeling was not diminished when he was met shortly after, coming from the house of Salazar, whom he had hastened to warn of what was brewing, promising to take no active part against him. Not possessing sufficient confidence in the strength of the new party, even to voluntarily accept the position then offered of joint governor, he insisted that they should take him prisoner, so as to give an appearance of compulsion to his election.[44]

The meeting before the convent having declared in favor of Estrada and Albornoz, and having promised to assist in overthrowing the usurpers, Tapia, Alvarado, and Álvaro de Saavedra Ceron, a cousin of Cortés, were chosen captains to plan the operation and lead the party. While a portion scoured the city to obtain fresh arms and supporters, Tapia proceeded with the rest to the house of regidor Luis de la Torre, to which the council members had been already summoned. Having nothing more to gain from Salazar, the majority of these were readily induced to listen to a deputation so numerous and well armed, appearing, besides, under the auspices of the mighty Cortés. The two candidates were accordingly sworn in as lieutenants of the real governor and captain general,[45] and they in turn strengthened their position

[44] 'Para que si la parte contraria venciesse, pudiesse deçir que yba forçado,' *Loaisa*, in *Oviedo*, iii. 524.

[45] The members who elected them were: Alcalde Juan de la Torre, and regidores García Holguin, the captor of Emperor Quauhtemotzin, Comendador Leon de Cervantes, Hernan Lopez de Avila, Luis de la Torre, and Francisco Verdugo. The new governors appointed Cervantes alcalde in place of the hostile Diego de Valdenebro, Rodrigo Rangel receiving his vacated office of regidor, and Andrés de Barrios that of an obstreperous regidor named Carbajal. Arriaga and Tirado, the procurador and mayordomo of the city, were removed in favor of Miguel Diaz and Hernando de Villanueva, and the irascible notary Ocaña was dispossessed in favor of Hernan Perez, while his garden was given to Orantes. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., Jan. 29, Feb. 3, 9, 1526. The plea for the election of the governors was that they had held the office before, by the appointment of Cortés, and that the choice would obviate disorders.

and rewarded supporters by appointing Bachiller Juan de Ortega alcalde mayor of the country, Andrés de Tapia, alguacil mayor, Jorge de Alvarado, alcalde of the arsenal, and Saavedra Ceron, lieutenant at Vera Cruz and adjoining ports, while the council was strengthened with two new men to take the place of obstreperous members, Comendador Cervantes being promoted to joint alcalde with Juan de la Torre.[46]

On leaving the council the party joined the gathered citizens, now about five hundred strong, and marched to the residence of Salazar. The new governors were kept in the centre, Tapia and Alvarado led the van, and a notary and a crier attended to attest and announce the new order of affairs. On reaching the house they found it held by some two hundred men, protected by a strong battery.[47] After arranging for the distribution of his force, Tapia demanded a parley. Although he and his comrades had been deeply injured, they bore no malice, but desired peace. Salazar had declared himself empowered to arrest Cortés. Let him exhibit this and other orders from the authorities in Spain and they would obey him. If he possessed no such authority, it behooved all loyal men to adhere to Cortés, or his substitute, as the legal representative of the king. Salazar replied that he had no such orders, but had acted as he thought best under the circumstances. He would continue to rule or perish in the attempt. "Gentlemen, you hear!" cried Tapia to those attend-

[46] Tapia claims to have been invested with the office of captain general, or rather with the control, under the governors, of the military department. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. v. Ortega was afterward arraigned for accepting the office of alcalde mayor. He was a graduate of Salamanca University and about 50 years of age. *Ortega*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xxix. 7. Ocaña, *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. Doc.*, i. 527, and witnesses in *Cortés*, *Residencia*, i. 81, stamp the changes made by the new movement as effected by intimidation and force. According to them two regidores and one of the alcaldes were placed under arrest. One of these regidores was Mejía, probably an alternate, who figures shortly after among the loyal ones in directing a statement to the king against Salazar. *Testimonio Mex.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 34–45.

[47] *Locisa*, in *Oviedo*, iii. 525. Herrera raises the number to 1,000, with 12 cannon.

ing Salazar. "Seize him, for you cannot afford to be traitors to your king!" "Be still, or I will fire!" shouted the other, at the same time taking up a match. No less resolute, Tapia gave the signal for attack, whereupon his opponent applied the match, calling on all to rally round him. The men of Cortés had watched the movement and had opened a path along the range of the cannon, so that the ball sped harmless into the church wall. The next moment they rushed forward amidst ringing cheers. Little resistance was offered, for no sooner had the wavering supporters of the usurper observed the number and determination of the assailants than they threw their arms right and left and turned to escape, a large proportion joining the opposite party. Among the first to desert was Guzman, captain of the artillery, whose example was followed by some other leading men, hitherto vying with one another for the favors of their chief, now jostling at the windows for an exit, or scrambling for the roof. Only about a dozen followers remained true, with whom Salazar retired to a less exposed position, only to delay for a brief moment the inevitable capture, yet not till Tapia had received a sharp reminder in the form of a stone-throw, which knocked him down, though not permanently injuring him.[48]

The feeling against the resolute captive was intense, and but for the protection afforded him by the new governors and leaders he would have been killed. There was no restriction as to abuse, however, which flowed in endless tirade as he was led through the streets by a chain. Nor did it stop with that day, for he was not conducted to the regular prison, but was placed in a cage of strong timbers, under two keys and

[48] Bernal Diaz names a few of those who remained with Salazar. He assumes that Salazar was seized before he could fire the gun. *Hist. Verdad.*, 214. Zamárraga implies a considerable resistance, by saying that the adherents of Cortés had to force an entrance with artillery. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 114. During the parley, or immediately before, Guzman withdrew his artillery into the building to prevent its capture. *Herrera*, loc. cit.; *Oviedo*, iii. 518, 524; *Cortés*, *Residencia*, i. 171.

a faithful guard, there to be submitted like a wild beast to public gaze and jeers. To this ordeal his associate Chirinos had also to submit. This leader had hastened from Oajaca at the first report of troubles to aid Salazar, but learning the result he fled to Tlascala and took refuge in the monastery. This being still in the hands of the builder, his pursuers declared that it could not be regarded as sacred protection, and carried off the refugee, placing him in a cage adjoining that of his ally. Not long after it was decided to restore him to the monastery.[49]

The citizens repeatedly demanded the condemnation to death of the two prisoners for their treatment of Paz, and for other offences, and Estrada does not seem to have been averse, but Albornoz had a wholesome respect for their powerful patron at court, and so they were allowed to live. He resolved not to commit himself in behalf of a man with such precarious favor at court as Cortés, for whose downfall he himself had ardently labored.

Notwithstanding the obstacles interposed by this man, several reforms were carried out. The officials of Cortés were in many instances restored, among them the procuradores in Spain, and sequestrated property was released, while that of despoilers passed into the hands of trustees. During this spoliation the governors did not fail to profit by the example of their predecessors in striving to obtain the lion's share of offices and wealth for themselves and their friends. Their tenure of power might not last long,

[49] Their safety was intrusted to Villafuerte whom they had kept under arrest. *Ocaña*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 528. Cortés claims that he restored to sanctuaries several persons taken forth by Estrada, and this he did to avoid the imputation of passionate judgment in his own interest. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 482. Commenting on the evil of these turmoils, Zumárraga observes. 'Tanto escándalo, alboroto y riesgo, que en no perderse aquel dia la tierra parece á los que lo vieron cosa miraculosa, porque...los indios estavan tan alborotados.' *Carta*, in *Id.*, xiii. 115. Carpenter Torres received seven pesos de oro for work on the cages. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 191. The abuse of sanctuary immunity was considerably reduced in accordance with an appeal from the crown to the ecclesiastics, dated March 29, 1532. By law of April 12, 1592, the privilege was further restricted. *Recop. de Indias*, i. 35.

a fear which to the disgusted adherents of Cortés became a hope.

So fierce was the raid against the late party that a revulsion set in among them, strongly in sympathy with their liberal chiefs. Indeed, a conspiracy was formed to restore them to power. With this object the ruling men were to be killed, including Ortega, who as alcalde mayor had shown a pronounced zeal for the interests of Cortés, and the caged leaders released so that they might assist in carrying the movement to a successful issue. Since the cages could not well be broken, keys were needed, and application was made to a locksmith named Guzman,[50] a supposed adherent of Salazar, but above all devoted to his own interests. With expressions of sympathy he secured their confidence, and on the easter eve set for the attack revealed the plot. A number of the conspirators were arrested, largely composed of deserters from Guatemala, and seven of the ringleaders suffered death, the rest being lashed and exiled, with loss of property.[51]

[50] Son of a Seville Jew, who took this name from his godfather. He was an adept in making cross-bows and locks. *Oviedo*, iii. 525.

[51] In *Ortega, Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxix. 6–45, three hidalgos are named as the leaders, who were beheaded; three others were hanged, and one was dragged to death. More would have been executed but for the arrival of Cortés. Testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 244. Bernal Diaz states that Albornoz knew of the revolt, and had an interest in it, according to the confession of prisoners. Estrada therefore arrested the culprits without informing him. *Hist. Verdad.*, 214. But this may be but rumor. In addition to the authorities already quoted in this chapter I may mention *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 387–8; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 318–403, 486; xiii. 32–49, 70–1, 109–11, 368–9, 394–400; xxix. 95–6; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 20–1, 470–537; *Puga, Cedulario*, 16, 20; *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 105, 224–6; *Archivo Mex. Doc.*, i. 75–82, 147, 177–8, 215–18, 244 et seq.; ii. 16, 208 et seq.; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 101–2; ii. 378–9; iv. 227; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 13, 164; *Oviedo*, i. 542; iii. 468, 510–25, 549; *Recop. de Indias*, i. 35; *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, ix. 435–46; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 31–56, 70–1; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, serie ii. tom. v. 7–19, 47–50; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 115–25, 147–54, 181; *Torquemada*, i. 524–6, 569, 588–96; *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 275–89; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 172, 194–5, 222–45, app. 24–6, 162–214; ii. 51, 312, app. 3–14; *Solis, Hist. Mex.* (Madrid ed. 1843), 471–8; *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 300–6; also notes in Mex. eds.; *Helps' Cortés*, ii. 330–41; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 706–22; *Salazar y Olarte, Conq. Mex.*, 318–23, 393–7, 416–25; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 11, 12; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 118–19; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 45; *Id., Gob. Mex.*, i. 19–22; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*,

iii. 589–93; *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 593; *Zamacois, Hist. Mex.*, iv. 233–52, 327–57; *Armin, Alte Mex.*, 362–6; *Bussierre, L'Emp. Mex.*, 340–54; *Bustamante, Gab. Mex.*, ii. 46; *Escosura, Conjuracion*, i. pp. v.–xcvi.; *Lacunza, Discursos Hist.*, pt. xxxiii. 453–2; *Mendoza* and *Romo, Nociones Cronológ.*, 287–8; *Mex., Not. Ciudad*, 264–6; *Mesa y Leompart, Hist. Am.*, i. 235–9; *Viagero Univ.*, xxvii. 188–9; *Gottfried, Reysen*, iv.; *Museo Mex.*, iv. 454–63; *Gordon's Anc. Mex.*, ii. 215–18; *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, xi. 8–21, 59–65, 94–104; *Granados, Tardes Am.*, 274–8; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, i. 241–9; *Voyages, Selection of Curious*, 661.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PONCE DE LEON EPISODE.

1526.

ALTAMIRANO SENT TO BRING CORTÉS—HIS ARRIVAL AT MEDELLIN—DEMONSTRATIVE RECEPTION—REFORM MEASURES—A JUEZ DE RESIDENCIA SENT TO NEW SPAIN—PONCE DE LEON AND HIS INSTRUCTIONS—HOW CORTÉS RECEIVED THE BLOW—THE BANQUET—A SCHEMING FRIAR—PONCE DE LEON ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT—THE RESIDENCIA OF CORTÉS—DEATH OF PONCE DE LEON—AGUILAR SUCCEEDS HIM—HIS UNFITNESS AND DEATH.

HOWEVER promising the new administration might have been, it could never be regarded even by the most confident of the adherents of Cortés as anything but temporary. Cortés alone would be able to restore order and save the country. The efforts to accomplish his return were therefore continued, and while some wrote to Pedro de Alvarado to go in search of him, others persuaded to the same end Father Diego Altamirano, cousin of the great captain, and a man of sagacity, who had also followed the profession of arms. Family interests did much to prevail upon the cousin, and chartering a vessel at Medellin he reached Honduras, there to find his kinsman absorbed in glowing visions of conquest. Kindly, yet firmly, he remonstrated with him for abandoning actual possessions and neglecting his duty to family, friends, and sovereign, for shadowy gains. Interference with governments already conferred on others would surely meet with condemnation, and further injure his tottering interests at court. He had already achieved as conqueror of Mexico a reputation far above that of any man in America, and

he must not imperil it by doubtful projects. He must return, assume the dignity due to his position, and exact reverence from subordinates and recognition from his king.

The sagacious Altamirano succeeded in every particular, and Cortés embarked at Trujillo on the 25th of April 1526, with a few followers and a number of natives.[1] When off Yucatan a gale compelled him to seek a not distasteful refuge at Habana, where several days were passed in the society of former comrades. A voyage of eight days brought him on the 24th of May to the port of San Juan, whence he proceeded on foot to Medellin.[2] It was midnight when he reached the spot, and all had retired; but the door of the church stood open, and the weary wanderers entered to give thanks for their safe return. The sacristan had heard their heavy tread, however, and rushed forth to alarm the settlers, who soon appeared in a body. Hardships and fever had so changed their chief that he was not known until his voice revealed him. Then all crowded round him to kiss his hand, overjoyed at his presence. He was escorted in triumph to the best house in the town, where night was turned into day with lights and bustle. Messengers were immediately despatched to carry the news, and in a special letter to the town council of Mexico Cortés commended their adhesion to Estrada and Albornoz, and requested that in view of the unquiet condition of the country none should leave the city to meet him, except perhaps when he approached it.[3]

Great as was the joy among the colonists at his arrival, that of the natives appeared to surpass all bounds. Malinche was cherished by them not alone for his brilliant qualities as a military leader, so alluring to any race, especially to a people constituted as were

[1] For details, see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 580–2, this series.

[2] Bernal Diaz writes that they met a pack-train en route with passengers for San Juan. This carried them to Medellin. *Hist. Verdad.*, 215. But Cortés states that he walked the four leagues to the town. *Cartas*, 479.

[3] *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 117–19; *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 102–6.

the Mexicans; but he had endeared himself by what they regarded as magnanimous acts in a conqueror, and by his efforts to protect them from the more cruel soldiers. These efforts acquired an even brighter color under the late oppressive administration, until the persecuted beings began to invest their hero with the divine attributes of on omnipotent savior, a messiah, who must come and deliver them. From afar they flocked into Medellin to pay him homage, bringing presents of food, fabrics, feathers, and gold, and offering their services against his enemies. They were willing to die for Malinche, they said. This well known influence over them, greater than any one ever has since wielded, combined with the devotion of soldiers and friars, was the foundation of the suspicions that Cortés might place himself at their head and found a kingdom for himself.

At Medellin even he found evidence of wrongs against him by the removal of its chief interests and settlers to Vera Cruz, by order of Salazar.[4] After a sojourn of eleven days he proceeded by slow stages toward Mexico. It was a triumphal march worthy of the conqueror and governor, and in accordance with the lordly dignity that Altamirano had prevailed upon him to adopt. Pomp, indeed, came naturally to him, and complacently he received the title of *señoría* from the deeply bowing suite. It was one series of demonstrations, by settlers and natives, who congregated from every direction at the stations, laden with presents and burdened with complaints. The natives swept the road and even strewed it with flowers, as if indeed a monarch were advancing; and in the desert they erected shelter, with food and water.[5]

On approaching Tezcuco he was met by Albornoz with a large following, and a brilliant reception was

[4] Álvaro de Saavedra, who suffered great loss by this removal, was at the instance of Cortés granted compensatory interests in Vera Cruz, by royal order. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. viii., dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. ii.

[5] Inns existed in several places along the route, as shown by the record of grants in *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., Nov. 28, 1525.

accorded him and his companion, Prince Ixtlilxochitl, the lord of the province.[6] Still more imposing was the procession headed by Estrada, which came forth from Mexico. It included nearly every Spaniard in the city and suburbs, all arrayed in gala dress. Natives innumerable lined the roads and covered the lake in their canoes, presenting a brilliant spectacle in their variegated devices, flowing plumage, and glittering paraphernalia. Music sounded in every direction, accompanied by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon, and at night there were bonfires and illumination, with feasting, singing, and dancing. The return of so small a proportion of the native warriors and princes who had shared in the Honduras expedition does not appear to have diminished the general joy among the natives. Cortés proceeded directly to the convent to render thanks; and there he spent a week, partly in religious meditation, partly in consulting the friars and others about needful reforms. The place was constantly thronged with visitors and participants in the solemn praise services in honor of his return. Presents and complaints flowed in, even from distant provinces and native courts. Many chiefs came to clear themselves of the suspicions cast upon them and their vassals during the late troubles, and to renew their homage. Inquiries were made into the recent abuses and disorders, and wrongs were righted by the restoration of estates and offices, several new appointments being also made,[7] notably that of Alonso de Grado as inspector general of the

[6] This prince recovered little of the property squandered by his faithless lieutenant, and sank into comparative obscurity, neglected even by Cortés, for whom he had sacrificed family, country, honor. He married in 1526 the widow of Emperor Cuitlahuatzin, and henceforth cultivated chiefly the society of the friars, whose sympathy formed a consolation. His last notable act was to set his subjects the example of carrying stones for the church building of San Francisco, at Mexico. *Ixtlilxochitl, Rel.*, 447, etc. After his death, in about 1529, Yocontzin succeeded to the lordship. *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, ii. 277; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 124–5.

[7] The *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 121–2, reveals several changes in the council, alcaldes Francisco de Dávila and Juan de la Torre being replaced by Juan Xaramillo, the husband of Marina, and Cristóbal Flores and a number of alcaldes following the example.

Indians, with a view to remedy their grievances. He was instructed to make a tour of all settlements in New Spain, with full power to release the wrongfully enslaved, to enforce good treatment for others, and to arraign civilly or criminally all offenders against the laws for protection of natives. In order to bind him more closely to his new sphere of duty he received for wife the beautiful Tecuichpo, widow of Quauhtemotzin, enriched on the same occasion with a dowry of several large encomiendas.[8]

In measures like these, not entered upon for effect only, but with earnest intent, we may find qualities elevating the hero to the plane of true greatness. They were the crowning deeds of his life; atonements they might be called, as he was the primary instrument in the grievances calling for redress. No wonder that the name of Malinche, if at first fear-inspiring, gradually became hallowed among the natives with grateful remembrances, exalted by simple contrast with others. Yet during the republican frenzy of a later century all seemed to be forgotten, save the abhorrent fact that he had led the first of the hordes which descended upon the country like birds of prey.

Cortés was less prompt and determined in regard to his own interests. Salazar and Chirinos, who had tarnished his memory, persecuted his friends, despoiled his estates, and well nigh overthrown his life's work by endangering possession of the country—these men were left unharmed, regardless of the importunate cries of the supporters of Paz, and his own desire. So sure did he feel of their condemnation before a tribunal, that he preferred not to figure as judge in his own case, especially against royal officials. Nor

[8] Granted her as the daughter of Montezuma. See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 459, this series. Grado's instructions are given in the *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., June 28, 1526. In Cortés, *Escritos Sueltos*, 95–102, is the fragment of a regulation for treatment of Indians, issued soon after, probably. Ocaña, who picks out only the faults in the new measures, mentions the assumption of the *señoria* title, the sale of the office of notary at a low price to a friend, and so forth. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 528–30. This very Ocaña and the troublesome Ocampo were arrested by Cortés. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 216.

was he wholly free from the fear of Cobos which pervaded all who had interests to sustain at court.[9] He was greatly blamed for this leniency, even by members of the Council of the Indies, it is said, and the common opinion was that no serious exceptions would have been taken had he executed them.[10] Whatever may be the opinion regarding his cautious policy, he certainly was no longer the same determined, self-reliant commander that had achieved the conquest. The hardships and attendant sickness of the journey to Honduras had evidently left an indelible impression, as shown by his puerile regard for omens there, and his vacillating attention to different counsels.

We have seen how the duke of Béjar and other influential friends of Cortés had prevailed upon the king not to condemn him unheard. Nevertheless the complaints of his enemies were too serious and the interests involved too weighty to permit the matter to rest. It was decided to send a judge to take a residencia on the spot, in accordance with the laws of Spain, and involving no actual indignity, as the government was naturally expected to give heed to the complaints of its subjects. It was an admirable arrangement of Spain to place this salutary curb on the ambition and avarice of its governors, though, like many similar enactments, it was liable to abuse.[11] In view of the interests at stake and the merits of the accused, a person of quality and learning was selected for judge, in the person of Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, a relative of the Conde de Alcaudete, and act-

[9] As Gomara himself intimates. *Hist. Mex.*, 247; *Cortés, Cartas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 482. In his letter from Medellin Cortés had sent the assurance that he would chastise none save those guilty of '*lese majestatis*,' or offence against third parties who complain. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 118.

[10] So Bernal Diaz, ubi sup., expresses it.

[11] In a letter to Cortés announcing the resolution the king takes pains to impress this necessity. He had every confidence in his loyalty, and was pleased with his services, and felt sure that the residencia would reveal the purity of both. *Cédula*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 101–2.

ing for him as corregidor in Toledo.[12] Though comparatively young he enjoyed quite a reputation as a well read man of admirable judgment. Both to sustain him in case of resistance, and in pursuance of the new policy to limit the power and domains of governors, the Pánuco region was granted to Nuño de Guzman, who nevertheless failed to present himself at his post for a long time. Further aids were provided in Comendador Diego Hernandez de Proaño, as alguacil mayor, and Pedro de Salazar de la Pedrada, as commandant at Mexico, with Lope de Samaniego, as lieutenant.[13] He was also empowered to call upon the audiencia at Santo Domingo and authorities for assistance, and letters were given him, addressed to the leading colonists and native chiefs, ordering them to support him.

In his instructions, dated November 4, 1525, Ponce was directed to forward the letters to Cortés and the royal officials immediately on landing at Vera Cruz, and to follow without delay, evidently with a view to give no time for placing obstacles in the way. He must communicate with the officials, select confidants, and while assuming the governorship and taking the residencia of Cortés, he must ask his opinion in all matters, so as to render less irritating the necessary measures for reducing any dangerous or undue control over vassals, soldiers, officers, and military machinery. The charges to be investigated embraced those already enumerated in the letters of the royal officials, notably the disregard of orders from Spain, the assumption of regal privileges, the proposal to withdraw the country from the crown, the possession

[12] *Oviedo*, iii. 494. 'Alcalde Mayor de Toledo, siendo Corregidor el Conde.' *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 119. Both of the ducal house of Arcos. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 229. A cousin of the count, says Bernal Diaz. *Hist. Verdad.*, 193. His pay was 3,000 ducats a year while on this service. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 135.

[13] Cortés complained sharply to the king at this reckless grant of important offices to the first applicant, to this boy Samaniego, a mere servant of Albornoz. *Escritos Sueltos*, 114–15. Salazar is written Salvador in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxiii. 371; *Mex., Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 5.

of vast rent-rolls, and the appropriation of immense treasures belonging partly to the king, partly to members of the expedition; also the causes for the death of Garay and Olid.[14] The three months of residencia passed, Ponce should send in his report and opinion. If Cortés proved disloyal he should be given a letter of recall from the king, who therein expressed a wish to consult him. If this was disregarded he should be forcibly embarked. In case the charges proved to be false, on the other hand, he should be given the commission of adelantado, with the title of Don,[15] and further honors would follow, according to the royal letter addressed to Cortés.[16]

Whether the charges against Cortés were false or not, the management and demeanor of the royal officials should be investigated.[17] A report should be prepared on the condition, features, and resources of the country, particularly the mines, with suggestions for needed measures and reforms. Alloyed gold was for-

[14] Disregard for God and king; preparing native warriors and war material for setting aside royal authority; autocratic measures; claiming for himself 40 provinces, extending over an area of 300 leagues, with over a million and a half of vassals, and 200 rent-rolls, of which one alone yielded 50,000 castellanos per day; the appropriation of Montezuma's treasures and 4,000,000 of money from the country, and shipping them to safe places with the vessels built on the South Sea; the exaction of a fifth of all treasures for himself; withholding the royal revenue; seizing the royal treasures saved during the escape from Mexico, while pretending that they had been lost; taking 60,000 castellanos from the treasury under shallow pretences. The alleged appropriation by Gil Gonzalez of 130,000 pesos de oro from Córdoba's party in Honduras must also be investigated.

[15] Ponce must have been favorably impressed with Cortés' loyalty from the day of meeting him, for in the official act of surrendering the governorship the latter is already styled Don. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi., 223–4. The king also addresses him as Don in cédulas of 1526. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, v. 440. Herrera states that a commission of captain-general was also to be given, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. xv., but this he already enjoyed. According to the arrangement with Ribera in the spring of 1525, the office of adelantado conveyed also the title of Don. Nothing is said about the habit of Santiago, then conferred.

[16] In this, or an accompanying letter, the king refers to the charges that Cortés had appropriated the best and greater number of provinces and pueblos for himself, leaving only a small part for the crown. His services deserved reward, but this must not exceed a just moderation. He asked him to excuse the seizure of his remittances to Spain; it was merely a loan. A governor had been appointed over Honduras, so that he must send no agents there. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 101–2.

[17] By cédula of Nov. 9, 1526, they were directed to send in a yearly statement of the royal rental. *Puga, Cedulario*, 20.

bidden, and new bullion stamps were provided.[18] Particular attention should be given to investigating the condition of the natives, to assure their good treatment; and the question must be settled whether they should remain in encomiendas, be placed as feudal vassals, or on the same footing as tax-payers in Spain. The well-being of the colonists was also remembered. The interests of early settlers and participants in the conquest should be accorded the preference in the bestowal of land and Indians; at the same time their vices and irregularities must be repressed.[19]

Ponce left San Lúcar on the 2d of February 1526, for Santo Domingo, there to wait two months for a vessel to New Spain. The delay caused him little anxiety, however, on learning of the expedition to Honduras, where Cortés was still supposed to be. On leaving the island, Ponce took with him Licenciate Marcos de Águilar, who had for some years gathered experience in colonial administration as alcalde mayor.[20] A number of Dominicans under Father Ortiz came on the same vessel, which carried about one hundred passengers. On arriving at San Juan, Samaniego was at once despatched with the letters of notification, but swifter messengers from the lieutenant on the coast brought the news to Mexico a day in advance.[21]

Cortés was probably little affected, for his friends in Spain must before this have warned him of the machinations which at one time threatened to bring about his removal. His prolonged meditations at the convent may have been due to such information, and

[18] 'Con la diuisa de su Magestad, q̃ era el Plus vltra.' *Herrera*, loc. cit. A mint would be provided, if needed.

[19] Such as gambling excesses. Their exemption from tithes on gold must apply only to mined metal. Instructions to Ponce, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxiii. 368 et seq.; *Puga, Cedulario*, 15–18.

[20] He came as inquisitor for the Indies, says Cortés, *Escritos Sueltos*, 110. He was a native of Ecija, and after serving as alcalde he left for Española in 1508, with Diego Colon, as alcalde mayor. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ix. cap. viii., etc. *Oviedo*, iii. 519; Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 219, allows him to be merely a bachiller.

[21] 'En dos dias por postas que auia puestas de hõbres.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 276.

intended to prepare him for any blow. Calm and dignified he assisted on the following day, St John's, at the public bull-fight, and while there Samaniego was introduced.[22] He placed the royal letter devoutly on his head, then kissed it, and after reading exclaimed, "I am glad the king has sent some one to learn the truth."[23] He had already despatched messengers to welcome the royal representative, and to ascertain what route he preferred to take, so that suitable preparations might be made. They met him pushing his way to Mexico in all haste, and declining their services. He had gone to Medellin with the intention to rest there after the fatigues of the voyage, but evil-disposed persons were at hand, stating among other things that Salazar and Chirinos would be executed unless he hastened to interfere. Thoroughly alarmed both for them and himself he set out immediately by the longest and most settled road, as the safest.

Informed of this, Cortés sent Tapia with presents to tender him a reception at Iztapalapan. Ponce declined the gift, but accepted a banquet, chiefly for the sake of his suite. Tired and hungry, and for a long time unused to good fare, the new-comers ate heartily, and imbibed the iced liquids in large quantities. Father Ortiz alone was abstemious and seemed to eye the dishes suspiciously. At last came a custard, and Tapia asked permission to serve him. "Not of this or any other dish!" was the curt reply. The rest partook, however, but hardly had they finished when Ponce was seized with vomiting. The friar immediately asserted his belief that he had been poisoned

[22] Yet Bernal Diaz says: 'al tiempo...queria recibir el Cuerpo de Nuestro Señor.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 217.

[23] 'I rejoice,' he writes to the king, 'at the immense favor Y. S. M. has done to me in seeking to learn my services and faults, and in signifying the intention to reward me. For one and the other I kiss a hundred thousand times the royal feet of Y. C. M.' *Cartas*, 481. But for the well known loyalty of Cortés some terms in the letter might be considered ironical. In *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 254 et seq., is testimony to the effect that several adherents urged him to exclude Ponce by force. Later developments will show that he could not have listened to them for a moment.

by that last dish which he himself had prudently avoided, and others were quite prepared to echo so authoritative a statement, regardless of the evident cause, excessive indulgence in rich food and iced drinks.[24]

The following morning Ponce left Iztapalapan at an early hour, apparently in good health. His object was to avoid a public reception, but fully advised of his movements, Cortés met him at the entrance to the capital, attended by a long train of cavaliers. Both were most profuse with courtesies,[25] and as they advanced side by side toward the monastery, Ponce expressed his surprise at the greatness of the general's achievements in conquering so large and populous a country, with so many strong cities. After mass Ponce was conducted to his residence, which had been arranged with all possible elegance. Indeed the judge was quite delighted both with the house and host, and declared that the latter must long have been used to the life of a lord. Cortés spoke freely about the charges against him, and explained his acts so clearly that the other expressed himself convinced of his loyalty, and politely postponed the transfer of authority.

That same day the meddling friar, Ortiz, called on Cortés and mysteriously intimated that Ponce had power to behead him, and this might be done unless he took precautions. It is supposed that the Domini-

[24] Proaño ate from the same plate and felt no inconvenience, yet several vomited, 'Y juntamente con el bomito tuuieron camaras.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 276–7. Only one became sick according to Bernal Diaz. Tapia's presence was chief cause for the suspicions. *Hist. Verdad.*, 217. Lúcas testified afterward that he heard Tapia say to a friend, he would give Ponce a banquet, and if that sufficed not, another! Samaniego declared that he warned Ponce not to eat at the banquet, for rumors were abroad of intended poisoning. Proaño's plate was taken from him with the remark that a better part would be given him. This roused Ortiz' suspicions, and he immediately went out to reject the food, urging Proaño and Ponce to do the same. The latter could not, and he afterward told the witness that he believed the cream was poisoned. Zárate tells an equally damaging story. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 161, ii. 316–20. Any one who examines the testimony during this residencia must admire the promptness with which witnesses swore to anything their memory had treasured from vague rumor.

[25] Ponce excused himself for a long time from taking the proffered hand of Cortés, till the latter insisted. *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit.

can, who bore the reputation of being both untrustworthy and scheming, had an eye to the influence and profits which must be his if he once succeeded in becoming the confidant and mediator of one reputed so wealthy and powerful. Cortés opened neither his heart nor his purse, and the friar departed, his declared enemy.[26]

The following morning, after mass, before a general gathering in the church, Ponce exhibited his commissions, which were reverently kissed by the authorities in turn, with the promise to obey them. He thereupon received all the staffs of office, returning them immediately, however, save that of Cortés, to whom he said with great politeness, "Your worship, his Majesty desires me to retain this." No change was made in the captain-generalship, including the control of Indians, as it was deemed unsafe to disturb the influence of Cortés.[27] The residencia was thereupon proclaimed against the suspended governor and his officers, and shortly afterward the new commandant and alguacil mayor were installed.

A few days later Ponce was seized with fever, accompanied by delirium, which lasted for three days. It soon became evident that he could not live, and the sacrament was administered. Nevertheless he remained cheerful during the lucid interval that followed, and one afternoon he demanded some favorite airs on the guitar, to which he kept time with feet and humming. When the music ceased, his power of speech was gone and he died during the night, the 20th

[26] Such is Cortés' own statement, though he writes more strongly: 'me aconsejaba que para lo remediar, yo no recibiese al dicho Luis Ponce.' He even implored him, and the Franciscans also. *Carta*, January 12, 1527, in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 124. *Bernal Diaz*, ubi sup., places the occurrence a day or two later.

[27] The official report of the proceedings in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 195–8, shows the surrender of the 'vara de la Xusticia' alone; yet, in the proclamation for the residencias, Cortés is alluded to as Don Hernando, late captain-general and governor. Cortés himself mentions that he retained the office. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 118. And a royal cédula of June 1526 calls him both governor and captain-general, since he was merely suspended. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, v. 440.

of July.[28] The body was deposited with great pomp in the church of St Joseph.[29] Cortés donned deep mourning, as for a father, and most of his followers shared his sincere grief; for the geniality, clear judgment, and impartiality of the deceased had filled them all with the hope of obtaining justice and the desired reward for their services. Cortés in particular had longed for the disprovement of the charges against him, and for a public vindication of his loyalty and good services. He reveals his bitter disappointment to the king. For seventeen days, he declared, the residencia had been proclaimed, without bringing forth a single demand against him.[30] This was on account of intimidation his enemies said. The charges against him were chiefly rumor. Cortés took the opportunity, however, to review them in a letter to the king, and demonstrate the absurdity of some of them. Whatever the riches acquired by him, he had expended far more for the advancement of the royal interests, so much so that he was now in debt to the extent of half a million of pesos de oro. The domains he had gained for the king were greater in wealth and extent than any so far conquered by others. As a proof of his comparative disinterestedness he offered to surrender all he possessed, including the rumored two hundred rent-rolls, for a score, ay half a score, of moderate rentals in Spain.[31]

[28] *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. After seven days of sickness, says Oviedo; nine days, according to Bernal Diaz.

[29] *Vetancvrt, Ciudad Mex.*, 6. Bernal Diaz states, and testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 290, intimates, the San Francisco convent, but this mistake may be due to the close proximity of the temples, and the assistance of the friars at the ceremony.

[30] *Cartas*, 482. 'Entre algunas fortunas contrarias...una de las mas adversas para mí ha sido la muerte de Luis Ponce.' *Carta*, September 11, 1526, in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 110.

[31] 'Much land and gold have I received in truth,' he says, in substance, 'but more have I expended, till I am indebted for 500,000 pesos de oro, without a castellano to pay with; all expended to increase the domains of Y. M. My books show more than 300,000 pesos de oro of my own estate expended on conquests, in which my life and health have also been ventured. From these conquests Y. M. has received larger returns than from all other lands so far subjugated.' He thereupon recounts what he has done, and what he proposes to do. 'From Montezuma's treasures I and my men assigned more than the fifth due to Y. M. They say that I possess 200 rent-rolls. I am willing to

Ponce's death so soon after his arrival, revived the charge of poisoning, although the doctors under oath declared malignant fever the cause. The disease was even regarded as a pest, for a large number of those who came with Ponce died from the same malady, and also several settlers.[32]

A few days before his death Ponce had summoned the town council and substituted Marcos de Aguilar as alcalde mayor in place of Ortega, with instructions that he should be recognized as his successor. This recognition was made on the 30th of July;[33] but immediately after, the adherents of Cortés raised the question whether the late judge had a right to transfer his power as governor, and the council together with the delegates from the other towns formally called upon Cortés to reassume the post till the king could decide. He refused, however, to take a step that might imperil the opinion of his obedience, and he even counselled Sandoval to decline the proposal to associate him with Aguilar. The latter was accordingly received as governor the 26th of August,[34] and

surrender all I have for 20 (on the next page he says 10) rent-rolls in Spain and go to serve Y. M. there, where none can accuse me of securing further revenues.' If this is not agreed to, he begs permission to keep what he has for himself and his heirs, so that he may not be obliged to go to Spain and beg his bread, the purity of his motives being proven. Letter of September 3, 1526, in *Cartas*, 482–9.

[32] Writing in the beginning of September, Cortés states that 30 of Ponce's companions had died, including two friars, and two settlers, a large number of both classes being still in a critical condition. *Cartas*, 482. Bernal Diaz places the mortality about three times higher. *Hist. Verdad.*, 219. The alcalde, Pedrada, was among the dead. Gomara states that most of Ponce's travelling companions died. *Hist. Mex.*, 277. It was assumed by those who testified to the belief in poisoning that the custard at the banquet brought about the death. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 161, 239, 288–90, 442. The charge was revived in 1543–5. See *Pacheo* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxviii. 245–80. The doctors who attended Ponce and gave a statement of the nature, progress, and treatment of the disease, were Ojeda and Licentiate Pedro Lopez, protomédico of Mexico, who presented his appointment as such on January 11, 1527. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro*, i. 7, wrongly claims the protomédico title for Doctor Olivares, who came with a royal license dated July 8, 1524, as he says. The belief in a murder was sustained to some extent by malicious verses sung in Mexico. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 138.

[33] *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. His appointment as alcalde mayor was made on July 16th. Ocaña writes that he had offered to assure him 10,000 pesos de oro a year as lawyer; but when the royal interest demanded his services he threw aside this brilliant prospect. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 529.

[34] *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 111; *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. The negotiations

Cortés now made a formal demand upon him to continue the residencia, but received answer that he possessed merely the power of a ruler.[35]

Cortés still retained the office of captain general, with the administration of Indians, as the most experienced and needful person for the position, and in this capacity he issued a decree promoting the good treatment of his charge. Certain clauses were deemed objectionable by his opponents,[36] and quite an outcry was raised. Galled by the recent opposition to his appointment, and encouraged by success, Aguilar readily listened to the proposal to curtail the power of his rival. As a preliminary step he conveyed the imprisoned Salazar from the house of Cortés to the regular prison. This created a certain commotion, and a number of armed adherents presented themselves to support the remonstrances of their chief. The governor now issued an order forbidding armed assemblies, and then called on Cortés to show cause for retaining the office of captain general, or to resign. Finding his opponents intent on creating trouble, which under the circumstances might affect his interests at court, Cortés surrendered the office, under protest.[37] One reason for this arbitrary action of

for Cortés' reassumption of office are given in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 256–80. Ocaña seeks to show that the recognition of Aguilar was due to the persuasion of Estrada and Albornoz. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta*, i. 530.

[35] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 235–7. Bernal Diaz assumes that Cortés was driven to make the demand by the clamor of his enemies. *Hist. Verdad.*, 219, but he is probably wrong.

[36] Spaniards were ordered not to leave the towns wherein they were settled without his permission, nor to sell their grain—lest their dependants suffer want, it would appear. Testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 294. It was said that he wished to sell his own stock of grain, and make the people dependent on him.

[37] Which is recorded in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi. 241–6. In case of Indian troubles he was to resume the office, says Estrada, *Carta*, in *Id.*, xiii. 85, who appears to have used his persuasion in favor of Aguilar. Ocaña, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 533–4, does not fail to cast imputations on Cortés. Blank orders should be sent to arrest him and his adherents so that witnesses may freely testify against them. Cortés pours his complaints over these outrages committed by an incompetent judge. He demands that the residencia be taken so that his loyalty may be manifested. *Carta*, in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 118–22. One reason for the outcry against the decree had been the use of the title governor, which Cortés claimed that he could use in virtue of recent royal letters being so addressed to him.

Aguilar was the approach of Pedro de Alvarado, with a large force of Cortés' soldiers, who had taken the land route in returning from Honduras. It was feared that their presence would render the power of Cortés too imposing, and so the measure was precipitated. It would have little availed the opposite faction, however, had Cortés chosen to lay aside for a moment his prudence, and give the signal to his adherents.[38]

Aguilar was hardly the man to hold the reins of government during times so troublesome, and it was owing chiefly to the forbearance of his opponent that affairs progressed as they did. He was not only aged, but so enfeebled by diseases resulting from bad habits that his flickering life could be sustained only by suckling.[39] The task and worry of office had its effect, and a fever came on which induced him to appoint a deputy in the person of Gerónimo de Medina.[40] On his sick-bed, however, February 23d, he appointed Estrada as successor. Again the right of transferring power was disputed, and Cortés was called upon to assume the control; but he adhered to his former decision. The council and delegates thereupon insisted that he should at least manage the Indian and war department, while Sandoval, his sworn friend, should be associated with Estrada as governor.[41]

[38] Ocaña, ubi sup., alludes to the fears concerning Alvarado. Bernal Diaz, who came with the Honduras force, joined others in an appeal to Aguilar for a change of encomiendas, but received the answer that he had no power in the case. *Hist. Verdad.*, 221.

[39] He suckled a woman and also goats. 'Caducana, y estaua tullido de bubas, y era de poca autoridad...y hetico.' *Id.*, 219. His son had recently died from the same disease as Ponce. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 278–9.

[40] December 10, 1526. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. Cortés was again accused of using poison, and in the later residencia witnesses declared that he sent Aguilar some flemish-cured meat which nearly caused the death of an indulging attendant. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 297–8; ii. 288–9.

[41] Their installation took place on March 1, 1527. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS. On the day of Aguilar's death, a Friday, Cortés' friends had sought in vain to prevail on the sinking governor to appoint him. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 300–1. Some declare that Estrada had no objection to Sandoval, but rather desired him for a son-in-law, to whom the government might then have fallen. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 221.

CHAPTER XIII.

ESTRADA'S RULE—CORTÉS DRIVEN TO SEEK JUSTICE IN SPAIN.

1527.

CAMPAIGN IN ZAPOTECAPAN—SPICE ISLAND PROJECTS—LOAISA'S EXPEDITION—GUEVARA FINDS THE WAY TO ZACATULA—SAAVEDRA'S VOYAGE TO THE MOLUCCAS—CORTÉS SLIGHTED—HE IS EXILED FROM THE CAPITAL—RECONCILIATION WITH ESTRADA—GUZMAN APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF PÁNUCO—FINDING NO GOLD HE TURNS OPPRESSOR—ENCROACHMENTS ON MEXICO—RAID INTO LAS PALMAS REGION—SLAVE-TRADE HORRORS—CORTÉS TO PLEAD BEFORE THE SOVEREIGN—FEARS THAT HE WILL REVOLT—PREPARING FOR THE VOYAGE TO SPAIN.

UNDER Aguilar's rule a number of expeditions had been sent out to open new districts, and to assure the subjugation of others. One force of nearly three hundred men prepared to disclose the mysteries of the region to the north, between Michoacan and the gulf soon to be famed for its mineral wealth. This project, intended as the precursor to an entry to the Rio de las Palmas region, was carried out only in part,[1] owing to changes in the plans of Cortés, but others were developed, involving the occupation of Tabasco and Chiapas, and the continuation of the campaign against the Zapotecs and Mijes, connected with the late Coatlan revolt.[2] In order to render this campaign more effective, two expeditions were sent to operate on the south and north sides respectively. The southern, consisting of somewhat over one hundred men, with a

[1] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 282–3. The Palmas project was abandoned when news came that Narvaez had received a commission to conquer that district.

[2] A town had been formed with the Indians of Cortés to assure this district. *Ocaña*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 526. The preceding expeditions, alluded to by Cortés, *Cartas*, 490–1, and Bernal Diaz, loc. cit., are treated of elsewhere.

dozen horses, was placed under command of Diego de Figueroa, a friend of Estrada. On reaching the border he summoned Alonso de Herrera, the captain in charge, to place himself under his command, giving orders in such a tone as to offend the fiery Herrera, and soon a quarrel arose wherein Figueroa and several others were wounded. Neither commander nor men were accustomed to Indian warfare, and the toil of mountain marches was by no means to their taste. Finding that the graves of chiefs contained large treasures, they directed their attention rather to ghoulish raids, varied by occasional descents upon settlements for the purpose of extorting contributions. After accumulating about a hundred thousand pesos de oro, Figueroa, with a few friends, abandoned the district, now more disturbed than ever, and hastened to Mexico to prepare for the voyage home. They had hardly left Vera Cruz before a gale wrecked their vessel, and buried fifteen of them, together with the yield of their desecrations.

The northern expedition, similar in strength and quality of men, had a more soldierly captain, Barrios by name, who had seen service in Italy, and bore a reputation for bravery. He had little experience in native warfare, however, and one night the warriors surprised his camp, slew the leader and a number of his followers, and pursued the rest till they gained refuge in a friendly town. "Thus served these doughty captains from Europe," exclaims Bernal Diaz, "leaving us conquerors to remedy their failures."[3] Cortés had evidently nothing to do with the appointments for the Zapotec campaign, since his selection of officers was usually admirable, and the result better where he attended to the management. He was fully occupied.

Not content to explore the vast regions adjoining their new conquest, and there unfold the wealth which at a later period poured forth in streams to enrich the

[3] *Hist. Verdad.*, 222. San Alfonso was founded by the later expedition. The victorious tribe is called the Tiltepec.

enterprising, the fancies of the colonists were ever leaping far beyond to remoter points, invested by rumor with readier treasures. Toward the west in particular, the gilded path of the departing sun seemed ever to revive the ancient Hesperides, and attract visionaries. Not that all was a dream, for had not Magellan's fleet in that direction disclosed a series of alluring lands, among them the long-sought islands of spices, whose produce was esteemed equal to almost any treasure. More and richer islands must surely exist. At any rate, something new had been found, and attention was directed thither with absorbing interest.

During Cortés' absence in Honduras, Albornoz among others had pictured this feeling in a letter to the king, and suggested that the fleet in process of construction at Zacatula should be sent in search of the Spice Islands, which were thought to be quite near, and of other isles, "rich in pearls and precious stones, and undoubtedly in gold, since they lie to the south." The existence of these isles was asserted by natives on the Zacatula coast, who said that in the time of their forefathers large pirogues came from them at intervals to trade.[4] On his return, Cortés took up the idea with enthusiasm, and formed the project not alone to win fresh laurels, but to increase the value of his actual conquest by annexing to it the Moluccas and any other islands on the way, and making it the pathway for the prospective flow of wealth. In a letter to the king he offers to conquer and settle these islands free of all cost, and to hold them against any other claimant.[5]

This offer was formulated to a great extent by the

[4] Had Albornoz received authority to act, he would by this time have discovered the route to the Moluccas, which were supposed to be some 700 leagues off. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 496–7.

[5] 'Que V. M. no haya la especería por via de rescate, como la ha el rey de Portugal, sino que la tenga por cosa propria.' Letter of September 3, 1526, in *Cartas*, 490. In a letter of about the same date Ocaña urges that Cortés was so disloyal that he ought not to be trusted with such an expedition. 'Si Cortés lo va á hacer morirá con corona.' *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i., 532.

report of an expedition lately sent from Spain to develop the results of Magellan's discoveries. The people in Europe were also quite interested in the Spice Islands project, and in pursuance of an agreement formed with Portugal, at Badajoz, a fleet of half a dozen vessels was despatched in August 1525, under the knight García Jofre de Loaisa, with instructions to establish a settlement, without encroaching on the Portuguese, or endangering possession by hazardous operations. Loaisa was to remain on the islands as governor, assisted by a full staff of officials, and superintend the collection of spices for the annual fleet which should follow the present return shipment. The expedition encountered several mishaps: Loaisa died during the voyage, together with a large number of officials and other members of the party, including Sebastian del Cano, the first circumnavigator, and only one of the vessels reached the Moluccas, there to form a precarious settlement.[6] A second expedition was despatched in the same direction in April 1526, under Sebastian Cabot, who, on reaching Rio Plata in South America, was so captivated by the rumors of its wealth that he remained there to establish Spanish sovereignty.

Not content with these measures the king instructed Cortés to send his Zacatula vessels to open a route to the Moluccas, searching at the same time for Magellan's missing vessel, inquiring into the movements of Cabot, and joining Loaisa's fleet.[7] The captain general hastened to carry out an order so much in consonance with his own wishes, and so needful for the royal service, since news of disaster to Loaisa's expedition had already reached New Spain. Among its scattered vessels was a small craft under command of Santiago de Guevara. Unable to sight the consorts, and ill-

[6] The expedition is quite fully described, with its regulations and fate, in *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. v.–vii.; lib. ix. cap. v.–vi., ix.; dec. iv. lib. i. cap. vi., etc. See also the following notes.

[7] The cédula is dated June 20, 1526. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, v. 440.

provided with supplies, he concluded to seek one of the Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast of America. After great hardships, to which the captain among others succumbed, the vessel was brought into Cihuatlan harbor, in Zacatula province.[8]

Aided by the advice of her officer, Cortés began to prepare for his expedition, but neither Aguilar nor the royal officers were disposed to promote the aims of a rival, even when duty pointed the way, and he was obliged to meet not only the whole expense but the opposition of the officials.[9] The fleet consisted of the flag-ship *Florida*, the *Santiago* of nearly the same size, and the small brigantine *Espíritu Santo*, all well armed, and carrying provisions for a year. The command was intrusted to a cousin of Cortés, Álvaro de Saavedra Ceron, with the title of captain general.[10]

After a few days' trip up the coast by the brigantine, to a port named Santiago, the expedition left Cihuatlanejo on the 31st of October 1527. The two smaller vessels were soon lost to sight, never to be heard of again, and the flag-ship continued her course

[8] In July 1526, under command of Fortunio de Alango. On first arriving off the strange coast, a clergyman named Arraizaga volunteered to try for the shore, half a league distant, in a big box, the only means of conveyance left. Upset by a wave, he sought to swim ashore, but would have perished had not some natives come to his aid. He was not a little delighted to find himself in Spanish domains, and to be received with kindness. *Herrera*, ubi sup.; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 280–1; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 488. The port where the vessel entered is also called Macatan.

[9] The men he required were taken for different military operations, etc. The expedition cost him over 60,000 pesos de oro, as per accounts rendered. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 215–16. The details of cost are given in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, ii. 405–15. The king ordered the authorities of New Spain to repay the amount, *Cédula* of April 1, 1529, but it was understood that the disobedience of the order would not be regarded with disfavor. The amount formed one of the many standing claims of Cortés, for which he was ever pressing.

[10] Luis de Cárdenas commanded the *Santiago*, and Pedro de Fuentes the brigantine. According to Herrera, dec. iv. lib. i. cap. vi., they carried 50, 45, and 15 men, respectively. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 232, adds a vessel and increases the force to 250 'soldiers;' but this must be a mistake, though Herrera gives, erroneously perhaps, an armament which required a larger crew. The instructions for the different officers, and letters for Cabot, the kings of Cebu and Tidore, and others, dated May 27, 1527, are given in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 127–69; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, v. 442–64. No land must be taken possession of, and no trading undertaken, except by Saavedra, or in his presence.

alone, reaching the Moluccas in safety, after discovering on the way a group which was named Islas de los Reyes.[11] Saavedra found the remnant of Loaisa's party, under command of Hernando de la Torre, engaged in a struggle with the Portuguese, and was able to render some aid. He thereupon repaired his vessel, loaded a quantity of cloves, and after several mishaps, and cruises along New Guinea and other islands, he was able to depart for New Spain in May 1529. Two groups were discovered on the way, named respectively Los Pintados and Los Buenos Jardines,[12] and shortly afterward, when fully half-way across the Pacific, the commander died, whereupon the crew returned to the Moluccas, only to fall into Portuguese prisons.[13] Even had Saavedra succeeded in opening the route to New Spain, nothing would have resulted from it, for intermarriage between the royal families of Spain and Portugal, and other circumstances, caused Charles to abandon his Molucca schemes, and they were not revived for nearly half a century.

After a few months' rule under the triumvirate of which Estrada was evidently the head, a despatch arrived confirming Aguilar, or any appointee of his, as ruler, but without power to take residencia or to interfere in matters outside of the government. This order was owing chiefly to the efforts of Albornoz, who had left for Spain shortly after Ponce's death, chiefly to promote the interests of the anti-Cortés faction, and the aspirations of certain friends, while

[11] Galvano, *Discov.*, 174, assumes this to be the same group discovered by Sequeira, or rather, named Siquiera; but Burney, *Discov. South Sea*, i. 148, doubts it.

[12] Burney places them in 7° N., and 176° W. from Greenwich, and 10° to 12° N., 174° W.

[13] They numbered 18 on reaching the Moluccas, and 10 more died before they were enabled in 1534 to reach Spain. One of the survivors, named Nápoles, there rendered an account of the expedition which is printed in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, v. 465–86. Besides the authorities already quoted, see *Oviedo*, ii. 88–95; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 134–6; *Id., Hist. Mex.*, 280–2; *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. v.–vi.; lib. v. cap. vi.; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, ii. 67–93, with copies of documents. Most of these authorities refer also to Loaisa's expedition.

posing himself before the court as an officer wholly devoted to the sovereign. He did not fail to give his views of transatlantic affairs, and to urge measures which were many of them admirable; but he also predisposed the crown against Cortés, whose interference in government ought not to be tolerated. Estrada, who had personally complained of the associates forced upon him, was greatly elated, and presenting the royal decree, he was received, August 22, 1527, as sole ruler.[14]

This was not the only slight suffered by Cortés at the royal hands. Albornoz had been induced to befriend Salazar and Chirinos, and so well did he plead their cause, under the auspices of Secretary Cobos, that their release was ordered, though their sequestrated property remained in charge of guardians.[15]

Cortés felt this act deeply. He saw all hope fading for redress of the bitter wrongs suffered at their hands, wrongs which he could so readily have avenged, and which seemed too clear to escape punishment. As if to impress the infliction upon his rival, Estrada formed a sort of alliance with the two released officials, with a view to strengthen his own party against one of whose influence he was both jealous and afraid. The extreme to which he carried this feeling threatened on one occasion to produce most serious results. Figueroa of Zapotec fame had returned to Mexico with his spoils, and meeting one of Cortés' adherents named Cortijo, an altercation

[14] *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 200–3.

[15] These were instructed to pay them an allowance. The sequestration took place chiefly at the instances of relatives of Paz in Spain. They were condemned to death by the audiencia of Española, but the sentence did not take effect, though affirmed by the Council of the Indies. The audiencia of Mexico afterward ordered them to repay to Cortés all they had taken. Chirinos joined Guzman in his outrages on the Jaliscans, and shared in Mendoza's expedition, after which he left for Spain, in 1542, in charge of royal treasure. *Mendoza, Carta*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 254, 715. Salazar went to Spain at an earlier date, and joining Soto in the expedition to Florida he narrowly escaped hanging for disobedience to his chief. He died in obscurity. We shall find allusions to both during the next few years. See also *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ix. cap. viii.; lib. x. cap. i.; dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. i.; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 280; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. app. 221; *Puga, Cedulario*, 25, 43, 79.

ensued from which the former retired with a wound to attest a complaint to his friend Estrada. Such an outrage on one of his adherents by a follower of his rival could not be endured, and without listening to any defence the governor ordered the man's hand to be cut off.[16] Cortés, who seems to have retired to his beloved Cuernavaca, since the appointment of the treasurer for sole ruler, hastened to interfere, but came too late, and gave vent to his indignation in bitter words. Quite alarmed, Estrada summoned the royal officials and his friends to sustain him, and was counselled to exile his opponent from the city, as the only means to maintain order. There was every justification for such a step against a man who had dared to threaten the king's governor, and the temptation to humiliate the rival was too great to be withstood.[17]

"It is well," said Cortés, when notified of the measure, "that persons unfit to hold office should be allowed to exile me from the spot which I and my brave followers acquired for the king at the cost of so much toil and blood."[18] But after all Estrada may have overreached himself, for now Cortés would proceed to Spain and pray for justice against a man so ungrateful for the many favors conferred.

Great was the commotion when this measure became known, and many regarded a recourse to arms as inevitable; but Cortés silenced his angry adherents, and

[16] 'En termino de vna hora...y...le sentencio en destierro de Nueua España.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ix. cap. viii. Bernal Diaz calls the man an hidalgo, and states that he suffered for aiding Captain Herrera to attack Figueroa on the Zapotec border. A page of Sandoval suffered a similar punishment for stabbing a servant of Estrada. *Hist. Verdad.*, 222. The notary, Castillo, who ventured to remonstrate against this rash and unjust proceeding, was assaulted, removed from his office, and cast into prison, with sequestration of property. The audiencia was in 1528 ordered to restore the man to his office and estate after investigation. Cortijo appeared in Spain to complain and was permitted to return, while Estrada received orders to give 5,000 ducats surety to respond to the claims of the plaintiff for 3,000 ducats damages, besides costs. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. i.

[17] Lest he resent the outrage, observes Herrera. 'Por que no le quitasse el preso.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 279. Oviedo, iii. 519, considers that Estrada did his duty, though he regrets the humiliation inflicted.

[18] 'Daua gracias a Dios que dello era servido,' etc. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad*, 223.

withdrew, though a motion of his finger would have sufficed to overthrow his opponents. "For thy king and thy law must thou die," was an oft-used saying of his which he evidently resolved to uphold.[19] Estrada's wife,[20] among others, censured the governor for this treatment of a man who had so greatly favored him with appointments and grants, and warned him of the consequences. At this time arrived Fray Julian Garcés, bishop of Tlascala, and attention was diverted somewhat by the demonstrations attending the reception of the first prelate in the country.[21] His first task was to reconcile Estrada and his injured opponents. The former had already repented of his haste, and the bishop followed Cortés to Coyuhuacan to prevail upon him.

The first impulse of resentment passed, Cortés admitted that unjust as the governor might have been, the expulsion was brought about chiefly by his own hasty utterance. Not that this recognition alone would have induced him to relent, but potent agencies were the fear of imperilling his cherished prestige among the natives, and the need of Estrada's favor for certain projects. The good prelate therefore succeeded in his mission, and Cortés relented so far as to stand godfather to the governor's infant son.[22] Estrada was not so base and selfish as his advisers, and repentance for his ingratitude had moved him to some extent, as well as a politic regard for the great conqueror's influence over the natives whom it would be difficult to control in case they were roused. Still another motive may have influenced him: the pres-

[19] Also: 'El rey sea mi gallo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 280.

[20] Doña Marina Gutierrez de la Caballería, a most estimable woman, says Bernal Diaz.

[21] His commission was presented to the town council of Mexico October 19, 1527. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS.

[22] *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 14; *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib iii. cap. vii. This author and Oviedo leave the impression that the reconciliation was effected before Cortés left the city. The version of Lúcas is that 'el obispo de Tax-cala rogo al dicho thesorero que dexase entrar al...Cortés.' *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 308–9, 311. Bernal Diaz states on the other hand that Cortés refused to be reconciled, though the prelate appealed to him several times.

ence of a formidable enemy in the coast provinces, whose threatening attitude against both him and Cortés served to form a bond between them.

More than a year previous, Nuño de Guzman had been appointed governor of Pánuco, in accordance with the royal policy of restricting the power of officials, and with a view to support Ponce de Leon, in case of need, to obtain control at Mexico. He was a cavalier of good connection, from Guadalajara, who had long resided at Puerto de Plata, in Española, as encomendero, but beyond the claim as colonist, and a knowledge of law, he appears to have possessed no experience or merit for service rendered that could have warranted the bestowal of so important a portion of New Spain, conquered and settled by more deserving men. The preferment was due chiefly to the influence of the Velazquez party, who, regardless of the many zealous adherents in Mexico, chose to support a member of the ruling clique.[23] He was known, however, as a man possessed of the talent and resolution necessary to support Ponce and to face the dreaded Cortés in his own field.

Sickness and preparations detained him from his post for over a year, and he did not reach his capital of San Estévan del Puerto until May 20, 1527.[24] His entry was celebrated with processions, triumphal arches, and other demonstrations attending the inauguration of a new government from which conciliatory reforms and favors are expected. These hopes were not unreasonable, for Guzman was most engaging in manners, pleasant in converse, and of evident culture; and only time revealed the haughty disposition, the cruel nature, and the unprincipled ambition of the

[23] That he was of this clique appears from the advancement soon after of his relative Gonzalo de Guzman to the governorship of Cuba. *Zumárraga, Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, serie ii. tom. v. 19. 'Sin mas seruicios, ni esperiẽcia de guerra,' is Herrera's indignant comment on Guzman's appointment. dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. vii.

[24] Herrera indicates the year 1528. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 733, writes 1525, and others are equally in error.

self-sufficient autocrat.[25] His domains extended in a broad belt from the coast inward, under the name of Pánuco and Victoria Garayana,[26] penetrating a region as yet almost unknown, and looked upon as rich in gold, so much so that the authorities had issued special regulations securing the crown dues thereon.[27] All this had raised the hopes of Guzman, only to be brought low when he beheld the comparatively poverty-stricken expanse before him. He was resolved to make the most of it, however, and in particular to exercise the newly acquired dignity in a manner befitting his training as slave-owner on the Islands. Sweeping changes were made in offices and regulations, and agents were sent round to investigate the titles of all grants of land and natives, and to seize all that were not fully secured. As a partisan of Velazquez his efforts were directed with especial severity against the adherents of Cortés, who had assisted to conquer and settle the region. Of their repartimientos, indeed, almost every one was deprived on some pretence. The natives were treated with absolute disregard of justice. Their houses and lands were ravaged, and everything of value was carried away, including slaves, and even their scanty stock of provisions, so that some of them were reduced to actual want. In his imperious cruelty he caused several natives to be hanged for omitting to sweep the roads before him.[28]

These outrages were not prompted so much by avarice, which formed the main impulse with New World adventurers, as by egotism. Of a noble and

[25] Of noble birth, discreet, inclined to great deeds, enduring, and intrepid, are the features added by Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 99.

[26] *Puga, Cedulario*, 22. Guzman claimed the whole parallel to the South Sea. Zumárraga calls the province 25 leagues at its greatest width. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, serie ii. tom. v. 91. A later report gives it 50 leagues in length and breadth. *Informes*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. 446. This was probably after the audiencia defined the limits, as ordered.

[27] 'Que el oro de Panuco, se labrasse en barras por los quales...y corriesse por aquel precio...sopena de muerte...ni labrasse oro fuera de las fundiciones.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. x. cap. vii. Another significant rule was that soldiers should not be used in agriculture.

[28] His alguacil mayor, Halcon, appears to have been a zealous tool in these performances.

proud stock, Guzman had come to the Indies filled with the glowing hopes engendered by such achievements as those of Vasco Nuñez, Gil Gonzalez, and Cortés, but circumstances confined him to a narrow sphere, till now, the vista opening, his unbridled ambition was prepared to break every bound. He longed above all to acquire a wider influence, and the present efforts were chiefly toward this end. His own province was not sufficient, and he cast longing eyes toward the border along which lay a number of flourishing settlements. He declared that they belonged to his district, but the settlers stoutly objected to the claim. Guzman promptly sent to arrest the most unruly, notably Pedro Gonzalez de Trujillo and Francisco Ramos. Several of them being cavaliers refused to bend to the imperious governor, and were thereupon lashed and tortured; one was nailed to a post by the tongue for insolent language, and another was hanged,[29] while the natives of their towns were many of them butchered for obeying their masters.

News of this reaching Mexico, Estrada and Sandoval, who then governed jointly, sent peremptory orders for Guzman to exhibit his commission and to restrict himself to what they declared to be his boundary.[30] A number of despatches were exchanged on the question, wherein discourteous language was freely dispensed, particularly by Guzman in letters to Cortés, who as military chief became involved with him. Sancho de Caniego, cousin of the Pánuco governor, received such treatment at Mexico, in his character of commissioner, that he departed fuming with threats. No satisfaction being obtained, Estrada, who during the autumn assumed sole rule at Mexico, prepared an

[29] Testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 311, agrees with Bernal Diaz that Trujillo was hanged, without receiving a trial, though he was of noble blood. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 221. Herrera, loc. cit., declares that the person hanged was a servant of Trujillo, the master being tortured by nailing the tongue and the like.

[30] Regidor Hinojosa was sent with the message, but either a fear for his own tongue, or actual sick ess, caused another commissioner to be appointed. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., June 14 and 21, 1527.

expedition to enforce his demands. At this juncture arrived Juan Perez de Gijon, alcalde of San Estévan, and appealed for a stay of hostilities, chiefly for the sake of the settlers, promising either to effect a peaceful arrangement, or to return to Mexico as a prisoner. For this unauthorized mediation Guzman treated him rather severely, and like Regulus the alcalde went back to redeem his word.[31]

Meanwhile Captain Gil Gonzalez de Benavides, alcalde of Mexico,[32] had approached the boundary and taken possession of the tract in dispute.[33] A commissioner thereupon came down from San Estévan to arrange the matter, but nothing was effected until Guzman managed, under a change of circumstances, to settle everything according to his own fancy.[34]

Not content with encroaching on Mexico, Guzman had turned his desire also to the adjoining northern territory of Rio de las Palmas, granted to Pánfilo de Narvaez as a solace for the defeat inflicted by Cortés. Like other little known regions it was supposed to be rich in precious metals; not more so than his own interior tracts, but more alluring since it belonged to another; and he resolved to gather the first-fruit before the rightful owner appeared. To this end he sent his cousin, Caniego, with all his available force. The expedition penetrated for a considerable distance without finding any settlements of note, and struggling

[31] He left Mexico in the beginning of December, and returned March 16, 1528. *Id.*

[32] Testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 311–12, ii. 147, shows that Estrada at first proposed to go in person to seize Guzman and 'desolate Pánuco,' but the rumored disloyal projects of Cortés deterred him. Estrada was not a military man, however.

[33] 'Prendio a Andres Duero e a Juan Astudillo e a otros dos...e destruyo la tierra.' *Zuñiga*, in *Id.*, ii. 147. This Duero appears to be the secretary from Cuba who at first befriended Cortés and then became his enemy.

[34] Benavides offered to surrender 'Tepehuacan, Quautla, Yahualica,' but insisted on retaining the towns in the district of 'Meztitlan, Oxitapa, Tlamatlan, and Guazalingo.' *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., February 19, 1528. Caniego is named as the Pánuco commissioner, though he appears to have gone to Spain about this time. The audiencia of Mexico, which arrived this year, with Guzman for president, received orders to define the boundary, and to forbid any encomendero to hold land on both sides of it, or to keep natives out of their native district.

with obstacles of every description, and suffering great hardship. Finally dense forests obliged them to turn back, and the band reached San Estévan half famished and in a sad condition, with little to recompense them for their five months' search, except a report that the country beyond the forests must be rich and settled.[35]

This report was considered by Guzman to be a sufficient inducement to extend the exploration, but the means were wanting. As a last resource he seized upon the natives, and began to export them as slaves, pleading that the public good demanded such a measure, and pointing to even worse acts by other rulers. Besides, the voices of these natives could be suppressed only by removing them from home associates and placing them under strict supervision.[36] The argument found ready sustainers when the permission was given also to settlers to sell from twenty to thirty slaves each. Traders came by invitation to buy slaves, and others were exported by the ship-load, in chartered vessels, from the stock-yard in which they were branded and herded. A panic seized upon the poor creatures, and they began to desert the villages to seek refuge in the forests and mountains, preferring hunger and death at home to a worse fate abroad. Then hunting expeditions were sent out to ferret them, and to seize also upon Indians pertaining to Mexico. Caciques were tortured to reveal the hiding-places of their people, and to save themselves many surrendered even relatives as slaves. Some ten thousand of God's human creatures were thus carried away in more than twenty vessels, three of which foundered at sea. In their despair a large number of the kidnapped cast themselves overboard; others suffered so severely from con-

[35] Guzman justified the encroachment by sending an early complaint that Narvaez had received much of what belonged to Pánuco. The audiencia was ordered to define the boundary. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. vii.

[36] In a letter to the king, he pointed out that the royal service demanded horses, and that these could be obtained in no other way. He did not make one dollar by the traffic. On leaving Pánuco he forbade it, because he had heard that the king objected. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 410–11.

finement in the infected atmosphere of the hold as to die during the voyage, or immediately after, while the rest rapidly succumbed to the hardships of their new life, magnified by the change of climate and food.[37]

But neither reconciliation with Estrada, nor the demand for his interference in the Guzman dispute,[38] changed the resolution of Cortés to proceed to Spain. His position in Mexico was becoming insupportable, what with lost power, fading influence, and constant annoyance from insolent officials. Then, his presence was necessary at court to refute the accumulating slanders, to place in a proper light his many services, and to claim a fit reward,[39] besides advocating measures for the development of the country and the advancement of conquest. It was also time to solemnize the marriage arranged for him in Spain, so that he might obtain heirs to perpetuate his name.

His main effort accordingly was to obtain sufficient means to present himself at court in a manner corresponding to his fame and position. Sandoval, Tapia, and other proposed companions joined him in the task to collect rents, receive presents, and effect loans, and thus they made quite a tour of the country, directing themselves chiefly to the caciques, from whom large contributions were received, partly as gifts to the honored Malinche, partly in consideration for the offer to present their sons to the sovereign and advocate their respective claims.

[37] These facts are affirmed by Bishop Zumárraga in his letters and sworn statements. 'Cette province...contenait 25,000 Indiens soumis et pacifiques. Il en a vendu 10,000 comme esclaves, et les autres...ont abandonné leurs villages.' These shipments were continued from Mexico, the kidnapped being sent to Pánuco to embark. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, serie ii. tom. v. 91–2, 45. Further details in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 144–6, 171. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. vi. cap. ix. 'Se herraron tantos, que casi despoblaron aquella Provincia.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 228.

[38] Testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 311–12, shows that Cortés at first offered to take the field against him. Estrada hesitated, and when he finally offered the command Cortés replied that his preparations for going to Spain could no longer be deferred.

[39] 'Algun titulo, para q̄ no se le igualassen todos,' is the pointed remark of Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 282.

This round of interviews with native leaders, and the preparations for the voyage, were sufficient to revive among opponents and tattlers the oft-spread report of disloyalty on the part of one who so recently had threatened the governor, and was still smarting under humiliation. The reports were not altogether devoid of foundation, for a number of Spanish and native partisans who had witnessed the indignities heaped upon their leader, and presumed upon his resentment, offered him their aid to redress his wrongs, even so far as to seize the whole country for himself.[40] But Cortés was too wise to entertain the project; he even shrank from allusion to it, and also threatened to hang one or two of his advisers; others he severely reprimanded, and prudently so, since the proposals in more than one instance covered a trap to criminate him withal. Estrada is said to have been so alarmed that he sent Bishop Garcés to sound Cortés, and to exert his influence if needful.[41]

The desire of Cortés to be saved from friends so apt to embroil him, formed another motive for leaving, and this was hastened by the receipt of a letter from the president of the India Council,[42] urging him to come to Spain so that the king might consult him on needful measures, and reward his services. This letter was the first move in a rather elaborate scheme on the part of a misinformed sovereign to withdraw a dangerous subject from a tempting field. As will be

[40] The persistent Ocaña dwells on this movement with a desire to criminate Cortés. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 530–1. Testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 309–11, 407–8, declares that Cortés did ask the opinion of several persons whether it would be advisable to seize Estrada and hold the government for the king, or to go to Spain. Dominican friars warned Estrada of this. If he ever alluded to an arrest, it must have been when his resentment was hot. Letters were sent from Mexico on the subject, to entrap him, observes Bernal Diaz. *Hist. Verdad.*, 223.

[41] Bernal Diaz assumes that the two leaders were not reconciled, and that the efforts of Garcés were to unbend Cortés. Guzman intimated that Cortés left orders for the natives to rise after his departure. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. vii. This accusation was also intended to reflect on Estrada's inefficiency to control the natives.

[42] The successor of the intriguing Fonseca was Fray García de Loaisa, confessor of the king and bishop of Osma, afterward made cardinal in recognition of his services, influence, and admirable traits.

shown hereafter, the appeal was supported by letters from the duke of Béjar and other friends. At the same time came the news of the death of Martin Cortés. This proved a severe blow to the son, who after so long a separation had vividly pictured to himself the joy of once more embracing his father and able friend who had so zealously protected his interests against assailants. He caused an impressive funeral ceremony to be held, and put on the customary mourning attire.

Two new vessels, reported to be fast sailers, had just arrived at Vera Cruz, and Cortés despatched his majordomo, Ruiz de Esquivel, to secure them. Accompanied by a negro to carry two bars of gold for the purchase, he took a boat with six native rowers to carry him across the lake to Ayotzinco, but he never appeared. Search was instituted, and a month later attention was attracted to a human arm protruding from the ground, the flesh eaten by birds. The half-buried body proved to be that of the majordomo, almost nude and with a knife wound in the head. The gold and the boatmen had disappeared. Though the gold appears to have been the motive, some prefer to connect the murder with Ruiz' indiscreet vauntings of successful intrigues with dames of the capital.[43]

Another agent went to secure the vessels, which were at once prepared for the voyage, and provided with a respectable armament to protect their valuable cargo against corsairs. The intention of Cortés was to carry with him a varied assortment of effects, not so much for presents as to exhibit the resources of the country he had conquered. The most valuable part consisted of fifteen hundred marcos[44] of wrought silver, thirty thousand pesos de oro in gold, a portion alloyed, and several thousand pesos in jewels, including precious

[43] Indeed, little effort was made to trace the murderers, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 224. Ruiz appears to have been an attractive fellow, and an hidalgo from Seville. *Oviedo*, iii. 527.

[44] Marco, equivalent to eight ounces.

stones and pearls.[45] Then there was a mass of fabrics, and robes, plumes, and feather-work, liquid amber, vanilla, balsam, flint implements, and mirrors, weapons, paintings, and curiosities of every description, notably strange plants and animals, tigers, parrots, quetzals, and the like. Also a variety of natives, albinos, dwarfs, and monstrosities, together with acrobats, such as pole-turners, foot-balance performers, equilibrists, and ball-players.[46] Of staple resources and provisions large quantities were contributed by the natives, sufficient to have supplied a fleet. Much came also from the estates of Cortés, the extent of which may be understood from their value of two hundred thousand pesos de oro, estimated at a time when the price of real estate was very low. The care of these possessions devolved during his absence on Licenciate Juan Altamirano, his relative, Diego de Ocampo, and Santa Cruz.[47]

Large retinues were among the most marked attributes of greatness at this period, and eager to impress the haughty courtiers of Castile, Cortés offered, chiefly with this view, free passage and maintenance to whosoever chose to accompany him to Spain. Quite a number availed themselves of the liberal proposal, though a few, like Fray Loaisa, accompanied

[45] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 283. *Oviedo*, iii. 528, writes 1,000 marcos of silver, partly wrought, and estimates the jewels at merely 2,000 to 3,000 pesos. Galvano, *Discov.*, 176, increases the gold and silver to the more effective amount of 250,000 marcos, whereupon Cavo plucks up courage to value the pure gold alone at 200,000 pesos, *Tres Siglos*, i. 74; an amount which Prescott rashly trebles by calling it pesos de oro. *Mex.*, iii. 312. He has evidently confounded the total value of all the treasures, including the rare precious stones carried secretly on his own person by Cortés. A part of the gold and silver was registered at the port as belonging to other persons. This was declared to be a false declaration, 'to defraud creditors,' and half the silver and some gold were accordingly seized in Spain. Cortés appealed, but the judge nevertheless sentenced him to pay a fine of 100,000 maravedís, though the treasure was ordered to be restored. *Real Executoria*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 406. The restitution appears to have been neglected on the plea that Cortés owed the treasury certain sums. His process for its recovery is given in *Id.*, xiv. 395–410.

[46] For description of feats and games, see *Native Races*, ii. 295 et seq.

[47] The latter from Búrgos. Bernal Diaz adds the secretary Alonso Valiente. From Altamirano descends the house of Marqués de Salinas, later incorporated with that of the Condes de Santiago. *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 252.

him no farther than the Islands. Sandoval, Andrés de Tapia, and several other captains joined the expedition, to present claims for services before the sovereign; also some two score of native princes and chieftains, conspicuous among whom was a son of Montezuma, and a son of Maxixcatzin.[48]

[48] Chimalpain names two sons of Montezuma, Pedro, from whom descended the Condes de Montezuma and Tula—see *Hist. Mex.*, i. 460, this series—and Martin Cortés Nezahualtecolotl, also a nephew of the late emperor, Francisco de Alvarado Matlaccohuatzin, Gabriel, a son of the king of Tlacopan, Baltasar, Felipe, Juan, sons respectively of the lords of Culhuacan, Cuitlahuac, and Cempoala. He also gives the baptismal and native names of three Tlascaltec chiefs and of others. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 163–4. Among the Tlascaltecs, Bernal Diaz mentions a son of Xicotencatl. They numbered 39 in all, those at least who reached Spain, as shown by a decree of the emperor ordering dresses and entertainment to be provided for them. *Ternaux-Compans., Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 87–8. From this it appears that the son of Montezuma now taken was Martin, not Pedro. Among the other six names mentioned is Lorenzo of Tlascala. I may mention the following as authorities supplemental to those quoted in preceding chapters: *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 102–26, 213–14; *Oviedo*, iii. 494–5, 519–27; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, v. 68–96; vi.; xii. 287–91, 406–17, 480–90; xiii. 73–85, 115–17, 144–6, 348–56, 400–11; xiv. 65–9, 395–410; xv. 446–7; xxiii. 368–84; xxvi. 160–3, 195–280; *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 121, passim; *Torquemada*, i. 597–9; iii. 190; *Archivo Mex., Doc.*, i. 141–4, 161–85, 239 et seq.; ii. 18, passim; *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 285–9; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 14–30, 101–2; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 229–30; iv. 99–100; *Puga, Cedulario*, 15–25, 43–4, 79; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 69; *Ramirez, Proceso*, 73, 157, 188–91; *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, ix. 447; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 19–27, 44–8; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 158–60; *Mex., Extr. de Cedulas*, MS., 5; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 6; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 11–14; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 245–50; ii. 305–8; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 722–34; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 56–95; *Prescott's Mex.*, 306–11, 452–4; also notes in Mex. eds.; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 7; *Helps' Span. Conq.*, iii. 60–4, 144–67; *Salazar y Olarte, Conq. Mex.*, 194–9, 323–67; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 87–8; *Galvano's Discov.*, 36–7; *Arxoniz, Hist. Orizaba*, 310–14; *Cortés, Brieven*, ii. 287–90; *Pap. Var.*, cliii. pt. ix. 13–16; *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, xi. 22–32, 56–68; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 83–6; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, iv. 283–8; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 138–9, 339; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 477; *Solis, Hist. Mex.* (ed. 1843), 479–81; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, 256; *Zamacois, Hist. Mex.*, iv. 364–463; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 45–9; *Id., Gob. Mex.*, i. 22–3; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, pt. iv. 245–7; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 117–24.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST AUDIENCIA AND ITS MISRULE.

1528-1529.

OIDORES APPOINTED—STRINGENT MEASURES PROPOSED AGAINST CORTÉS—GUZMAN MADE PRESIDENT—POWER AND JURISDICTION OF THE AUDIENCIA—ITS INSTRUCTIONS—LAWS OF ALFONSO THE WISE—RECEPTION OF THE NEW RULERS—THEIR AVARICE EXCITED—INTRIGUE AGAINST CORTÉS—ROBBERY AND EXTORTION—ABUSE OF FRIARS AND CLERGY—RESIDENCIA OF CORTÉS—THE BISHOP'S ANATHEMA—SHAMELESS CONDUCT OF OIDORES—GUZMAN'S PALLIATIVE SCHEMES OF CONQUEST—SMUGGLING DESPATCHES.

THE friends of Velazquez and of Narvaez, together with those gratuitous enemies whom the deeds of the conqueror brought into being among the needy and envious, continued to vex the ears of the emperor and his advisers with complaints of Cortés. An important accession to their ranks was Albornoz, who just at this time arrived at Seville with treasure for the crown,[1] and whose ill-will toward Cortés readily induced him to lend aid to their projects. Since Salazar and Peralmindez were his creatures, favorable reports concerning them imposed upon the good-nature of Cobos and lent a tinge of color, unconsciously to the secretary, to the representations made by him to the emperor, who, while little apt to take unquestioned the statements of any man, well knew the tried worth of this faithful servant. Doubts of the fealty of a powerful vassal beyond the seas were certainly not out of place, as precedents to justify them were not wanting; while the disturbed condition of New

[1] He brought 20,000 pesos.

Spain formed a base sufficient for the suggestions which now came to Charles, from the colony itself as well as from the wiser among his advisers, that no man unassisted was able to bring order out of the chaos. Aided by the deliberations of the India Council, the emperor determined to send to Mexico an audiencia such as had been established at Santo Domingo,[2] which should hear and determine the affairs of the settlers in New Spain; which should put an end to quarrels among Spaniards and protect the long-suffering natives; which should submit Cortés to the residencia he demanded, and the royal officials to an examination of their accounts and conduct. At the time the crown was unable to fix upon a capable man for the presidency, but the oidores were appointed. These were four licentiates: Francisco Maldonado, a native of Salamanca; Alonso de Parada who had lived in Cuba for several years; Diego Delgadillo of Granada; and Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, a Biscayan.[3] They were ordered to embark at once, and in order that they might be treated with greater respect on the voyage they were given command of the vessels which conveyed them. Since in the city of Mexico there was no public building suitable for their reception, the emperor wrote to Cortés requesting him to give them accommodation in his palace.

Soon after the arrival of Albornoz, tidings came to court that Fray Diego Altamirano and Pedro de Salazar, sent by Cortés with gold for his father, intended to land in Portugal that they might smuggle the treasure, and any letters they might bring, into Medellin.[4] Orders were issued at once to watch for and seize the vessel, and the Portuguese authorities were requested to receive the treasure for account of the

[2] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 269–70, this series.

[3] Herrera and other early authors, as well as modern writers who have followed them implicitly, are wrong in giving Matienzo's Christian name as Martin; he signed himself Juan, and it is so written in the records. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., Jan. 1, 1529.

[4] A comparatively easy matter since the town lies within a day's journey of the Portuguese frontier.

Spanish crown.[5] This added rumor served to fan the smouldering embers of suspicion against Cortés and to whet the eager envy of his foes. Narvaez and his friends presented a lengthy memorial to the emperor, insisting that he should be punished;[6] the sudden taking-off of so many persons who having thwarted his interests gave color to the charge, now renewed by Albornoz, that he had poisoned them; his agents defrauded the crown in Spain, while across the Atlantic he himself plotted treason. Even the puissant nobles who ever stood steadfast for the absent one were powerless now. Such an effect did this combined attack have upon the emperor and council that, shortly after orders had been despatched for Aguilar to rule alone, the matter of providing a president for the new audiencia was held in abeyance, while preparations were making to send Pedro de la Cueva to Mexico with power to deal summarily with Cortés and his confederates, if guilty, bestowing his pueblos upon deserving conquerors.[7]

But these measures were of no effect, for while they were still unperfected there came a letter from Cortés,[8] together with the certificates of the physicians who attended Ponce, and the project was abandoned. Orders were given, however, that any relations sent by Cortés should not be published, and that all ships about to sail for the Indies should be detained,

[5] Landing in Portugal, for the purpose of evading compliance with the registry laws, was growing common. About this time two vessels from New Spain arrived at Lisbon. Mafra, the master of one, brought all his treasure to Seville. In the other vessel came Hernan Lopez Dávila, late administrator of decedents' estates; he and other passengers were allowed by the captain to land, and some of them took their gold home unregistered. Orders were issued to procced against them. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. ii.

[6] That envy was at the bottom of Narvaez' action is apparent from one of the many charges contained in the document; it was said that Cortés 'tenia tantas varras de oro y plata como Vizcaia de fierro.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 285.

[7] 'Si le hallasse culpado, le cortasse la cabeça.' Cueva, a very severe man, was brother to the count of Siruela, and himself comendador mayor of Alcántara. At the time he was the emperor's majordomo, and later he became a general of artillery. He was to take with him 300 soldiers, and the whole cost of the commission was to be met by Cortés, whether guilty or not. These two afterward met at court and made merry over the matter, agreeing that '*a lenguas vivas, lenguas mentiras.*' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 222; *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. i.

[8] That of September 3, 1527.

that he might not learn what was going on till some definite action had been taken. But when Altamirano and Salazar without delay came on from Lisbon, the emperor was still further mollified, although the letters and treasure brought by them were seized. Just then, too, Pedro de Alvarado arrived at Seville, and was ordered to court post-haste, and Charles, well pleased at the coming of a person so competent to give an account of affairs in New Spain, as well as desirous of knowing what had taken place in Guatemala, further postponed definite action.[9] The narrations of Altamirano and Salazar, supplemented by the account of Alvarado, who declared that Cortés would come to Spain at the least intimation of the emperor's wish, caused the tide to turn in his favor. It was shown that he had conducted himself obediently and modestly during the government of Ponce, as well as since that time, and that he had suffered many indignities at the hand of Estrada. This was additional cause for action, and the appointment of a president for the new audiencia now engrossed the emperor's attention.

The case was urgent, and the man to be appointed was to hold office only until such time as it should be determined what was to be done with Cortés. Owing to these considerations the choice was not made with very great care, the post being given to Nuño de Guzman, governor of Pánuco. Since his arrival in America Guzman had been busy trying to enlarge his

[9] Accepting the testimony of Gonzalo Mejía, the treasurer accused Alvarado of fraudulently retaining treasure belonging to the crown to the amount of 100,000 pesos, besides which several charges of malfeasance in office were brought against him. He was ordered, therefore, to give bonds to submit to a residencia and to pay any damages in which he might be mulcted, or to have his estate sequestered to the amount of 15,000 ducats. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. i. But, favored by Cobos, partly because of the marriage arranged between him and Francisca de la Cueva, he was given the government of Guatemala—which, in accordance with the policy that sought to limit the size of colonial dependencies, was made independent of New Spain. His sequestered property was released, his repartimiento confirmed, his residencia put aside, and, accompanied by his bride and a brilliant staff of officers, he sailed for America. *Id.*, dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. ii. See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii., this series, for full account.

jurisdiction, for to his insatiate mind his petty government seemed far too small. Thwarted in New Spain, he formed the bold resolve of appealing to the emperor to decide a quarrel in which he was clearly in the wrong; and ignorant of the good fortune that had befallen him, he despatched Caniego as procurador to Spain. The emissary came to court at the very time when the hounds were in full cry after their quarry, and he forthwith joined the pack. He not only supported the accusations made by the others, but alleged that Cortés was smelting gold secretly in his palace, and that he had ships in readiness at a port in the South Sea for the purpose of making his escape with the treasure. Salazar and Peralmindez, he averred, were upright officials, but Estrada was as great a tyrant as Cortés, and there was sore need of a governor and a juez de residencia in New Spain where the emperor and his orders were ignored. Caniego's assertions had a certain weight in hastening the resolution of the monarch. The powerful friends of the appointee had not failed to present in the best light his qualifications for the post of president, notably his standing as an able and even brilliant lawyer, a man above all needed to guide the deliberations of an audiencia; and his energy and firmness, which were indispensable qualities for one destined to cope with a person of the wily and aggressive nature of Cortés. Indeed, the disordered condition of affairs in New Spain, bandied as they were by irresponsible factions which found security in the remoteness of the only feared authority, demanded the supervision of a sagacious mind with a firm hand. On their part the friends of Cortés made light of his story, and as Guzman's evil deeds were not yet known in Spain, no great efforts were made to prevent his appointment to the presidency, for it was generally considered that as he was to have no vote, the oidores could control him easily were he viciously inclined. That it should fall to the lot of such a wretch to become the first purely

civil magistrate sent by the crown to New Spain, was an unfortunate circumstance. He was possessed of bravery as are all great villains; cowards were rare in those days. His avarice was of that quality which knew no pity, exceeding that of Pedrarias Dávila himself, who was at the time holding sway in the south. Luckless land! with two such rulers as representatives of European civilization and the church of Christ. Guzman was ordered to appoint a deputy to govern Pánuco during his absence, and to await the coming of his associates before going to Mexico.

And now the oidores were hurried off to New Spain, for it was the middle of the year, and necessary that without further delay the reins should be taken from the nerveless grasp of Estrada.[10] The cédula appointing them was dated at Búrgos December 13, 1527, and gave jurisdiction over the country lying between the capes of Honduras and Higueras, and the cape of Florida, including the provinces round these capes, and those extending to the South Sea, all of which were embraced under the general term of New Spain.[11]

[10] The oidores sailed from Seville in July 1528, *Cartas de Indias*, 748, with instructions to join their president at Pánuco. If from stress of weather, or from any other cause, they were obliged to land at Vera Cruz, or elsewhere, they were to advise him and to await his coming, that together they might enter Mexico. In view of the urgency of the case, however, and the perils of the sea, it was afterward determined that the president, or any of the oidores who might arrive first at the common destination, might proceed, in certain minor matters, as though all of the associates were present, seniority being determined by date of commission. For several years the audiencia of Mexico consisted of a president and four oidores. A year after the establishment of the audiencia the emperor appointed the grand chancellor of Castile, Dr Mercutino Gatinara, chancellor of the audiencia of Mexico, notwithstanding that he held already a similar position in that of Santo Domingo. He was allowed to exercise his functions by deputy, and to enjoy the *derechos de sello* during his life. The second audiencia began to petition for an increase of oidores and officials, and the number was increased to eight oidores, four alcaldes del crímen, two fiscales, for civil and criminal cases respectively, one alguacil mayor, one deputy of the grand chancellor, and other needful officers. *Recop. de Indias*, i. 325; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. i.; *Zamora*, etc.

[11] See *Puga, Cedulario*, 12, 22, etc.; *Recop. de Indias*, i. 324–6. These official authorities for the application of the name suffice to settle a much disputed question for which writers have hitherto been content to accept the unsupported statement of Herrera, 'Con parecer de don Hernando Cortes, para mayor declaracion se mandò, que para adelante fuess visto llamarse Nueua España, todas las prouincias que al presente (1528) eran de la gouerna-

They were invested with greater authority than was permitted to the kindred tribunal at Santo Domingo,[12] the instructions being in amplification of those given to Ponce de Leon. They were to retain the staffs of justice to be taken from present holders, and determine all causes, civil and criminal, with appellate as well as original jurisdiction.[13] The residencia of the existing officials must be proclaimed, and the pertinent features thereof embodied in an exhaustive report to the India Council, accompanied by the opinion of the audiencia.

The treasurer, factor, and veedor were to be sent to Spain, but only after a satisfactory examination of their accounts. The audiencia, conjointly with Albornoz, whose accounts were also to be investigated, were to appoint deputies to serve during the absence of their principals, and neither the contador, treasurer, nor veedor was to engage in business or to hold Indians in encomienda. A full statement of all accounts must be sent immediately to Spain; no one was to be in arrears, and all fines imposed up to this time were to be collected. The best method of administering justice must be considered, and offences punished without fail, judges guilty of malfeasance having to pay the cost of remedies. No oidor or judge could sit in judgment of a matter in which a relative within the second degree of kinship was interested.[14] Law-

cion de Mexico, Panuco, Yucatan, Cozumel, y la de Guatemala, y del rio de las Palmas, que estaua dada a Panfilo de Naruaez, con todo lo incluso en sus limites.' dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. ii. Yet New Spain 'proper' came some 20 years later to be understood as embracing only the district confined by the audiencias of Guatemala and New Galicia, created in 1543 and 1548, from a line drawn between the gulfs of Tehuantepec and Honduras, and from the southern border of New Galicia to Florida. *Recop. de Indias*, i. 324, *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 44. In this sense it really meant the audiencia district, and New Spain as a political division extended properly from Guatemala into the undeveloped north, Guatemala and Honduras being nearly always spoken of as independent, so that the application of New Spain to their provinces had a merely nominal significance.

[12] 'Traian los mayores poderes q nunca á la Nueua España despues truxeron Virreyes, ni Presidentes.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 227.

[13] They must engage in no other business, nor hold a second office; a rule infringed by their predecessors.

[14] They were not to appear as counsel nor to serve as referees; suits to which an oidor was a party must be heard and determined by the alcaldes

yers were to be allowed in the colony, that the wheels of justice might not be entirely blocked by ignorance of forms on the part of suitors, provided they undertook no unjust causes nor sought to interpose delays in the determination of suits.[15]

A full report was to be sent to Spain on the condition and resources of the country; the number, character, and treatment of the natives; the names, standing, and services of the conquerors and settlers, with the extent and nature of the encomiendas held. A score of inland towns and the seaports were designated as political centres, and a memorial should be sent in concerning the number of regidores, and the like, needed in these and in other cities and villas, together with a list of meritorious persons fit to hold these offices, conquerors being preferred. After reserving for the crown such lands and natives as might seem proper, and a further sufficient reservation being made for future settlers, the land and Indians remaining were to be apportioned equitably in encomiendas to deserving persons, subject to royal confirmation. The first preference must be given to conquerors, especially to married men, for they would be more likely to remain in the colony, and accord better treatment to the natives. As extravagance was a leading cause for oppressing the natives, the sumptuary laws must be enforced[16] and gambling restricted.[17]

The just amount of tribute to be paid by crown tenants and by natives belonging to the crown was to be fixed, and provinces where the precious metals and stones existed must be especially noted, the silver

ordinarios, with direct appeal to the India Council. Every Saturday the president was to appoint two of the oidores, who should serve by turns, to inspect the common jail and that reserved for prisoners of state.

[15] The manner of taking testimony was prescribed, as well as the duties of all officials, and the audiencia was empowered to establish a fee bill which should be posted in the audience chambers. The secretary might appoint his own deputies, and the porter of the audiencia was to act as court-crier. *Puga, Cedulario*, 9, 10, 18, 19, 22–33.

[16] Silken clothing was forbidden.

[17] Dice could on no account be used, and at cards none must exceed stakes to the amount of 10 pesos in one day.

hill said to exist in Michoacan being reserved for the crown. The advisability of establishing a mint at Mexico must be considered.

Many of these and other matters connected with administration, notably the conversion and protection of the natives, were to be discussed and determined in a council assisted by religious and secular prelates, and prepared for its important task by a solemn invocation of divine guidance during the deliberations. As for the audiencia and its officers, special ordinances were issued for their government. This body was to sit daily, except on a *dies non*, beginning at an hour varying with the seasons, any oidor tardy or absent without good cause being fined. In all matters of more than trival import there must be at least three votes in accord. Only the members of the tribunal were to be present at the time of voting, and in all matters their votes, which were to be kept inviolably secret, were to be recorded by the secretary, in a book kept for the purpose, before the decision was made public.[18]

[18] In these ordinances there is some repetition of orders to be found in the several cédulas containing instructions given to the audiencia. In addition, the following rules were established for its guidance: A faithful record of all its proceedings was to be kept, as well as a calendar of causes, which should be considered in the order of their reception, and the mode of receiving and determining appeals was specified. The president and oidores were to occupy the same residence, if possible, but in no case were any of them to live with a lawyer or an official of their tribunal, nor could they receive gifts from any such persons or from suitors.

In all cases not provided for in the instructions given to Ponce or those now given to the audiencia, the laws of Spain were to be binding. The instructions may be found in the opening pages of *Puga*, *Cedulario*, and in *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. x. cap. vii., and adjoining chapters. They are partly incorporated in the general laws of *Recop. de Indias*, *Zamora*, and *Montemayor*.

The broad and firm foundation of the laws of Spain is the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X., called 'The Wise,' who ascended the throne of Leon and Castile in 1252. The designation was well bestowed. Although the costly tables bearing his name are based upon the erroneous hypothesis of epicycles, his knowledge of astronomy, of which his observatory in the palace at Segovia is still a witness, was such as to gain for him among his subjects the reputation of a warlock (by some of them he was also deemed a heretic because of the remark, not the least pregnant of his wise sayings, that had he been present at the creation he could have given some useful hints touching the better ordering of the universe); by his order the first chronicles of Spanish history were compiled; he increased the efficiency of the university of Salamanca by endowing it with new chairs, especially in the department of law; he aided in the development of the language by ordering that all legal documents should

Armed with these extraordinary powers, the oidores arrived at Vera Cruz the 6th of December 1528. It would seem that from the beginning they resolved to stretch to its utmost limit the authority given them. Determining not to await the arrival of their president they sent him word of their intention,[19] and went on at once to the capital, accompanied by the three regidores of that city sent by the ayuntamiento to do them honor. At Mexico that body had been busied for several days preparing for their reception, and they made their entry with great pomp, under triumphal arches bearing inscriptions hailing their coming as blessed since it was in God's service that they came.[20] Although Matienzo was the oldest and most infirm of the four, Maldonado and Posada had fallen victims to the hardships of the voyage and the treachery of the climate shortly after their arrival in the country,[21] leaving their two associates in undisputed possession of power. The president did not arrive until the end of the month, entering upon his duties for the first time on the 1st of January 1529, at a joint meeting

be couched in Latin; and some of his poems are still preserved in the Escurial. His enduring monument, however, is the great national code; and his name has come down to us for transmission to future generations as the peer of Theodosius and Justinian. This work was begun four years after he came to the throne and finished seven years years later, was the result of a dual inspiration drawn from the canon and the Roman laws, and was the most complete system of laws yet given to western Europe. Nevertheless it was not adopted even by Castile until the reign of Alfonso XI., who, at the celebrated córtes of Alcalá, held in 1348, recognized the *Siete Partidas* as the complementary code of the kingdom, and ordered that they should supply what was lacking in the Gothic *fueros* and the *ordenamiento* of the córtes referred to. The code takes its name from its division into seven parts, which treat, respectively, of the Catholic faith; the rights and duties of earthly sovereigns; justice and judges; matrimony; contracts; wills and inheritances; and crimes. The earliest edition is that of Venice, printed in 1483, and very rare; the best, and latest, that of 1847, published at Paris, which follows the correct text of a former edition issued under the auspices of the Spanish academy, in which the forcible diction of the royal author is preserved verbatim, and adds thereto the Latin foot-notes of the learned Gregorio Lopez.

[19] Vetancurt, *Tratado de Mex.*, 6, says that they did not advise the president of their coming until after their arrival at the capital.

[20] At a meeting of the cabildo, held on the 4th of December, the majordomo of the city was authorized to pay all expenses incurred in the public reception of the oidores. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS.

[21] 'Antes que viniese á esta ciudad.' *Zumárraga, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 119.

of the audiencia and the cabildo held for the election of municipal officers, as was customary at the beginning of the year.

The valley of Mexico, with its numerous towns, teeming with a busy population, and rich in products of the soil and workshop; its stately capital, wherein concentrated the wealth of the whole country—it must have seemed a paradise to the not opulent oidores, and to Guzman, fresh from the wilderness of Pánuco. From the beginning of their rule they were seized by an insatiable avarice to which all things were made subservient. Knowing that his hold on office was provisional at the best, the president above all determined to take advantage of opportunities which at any time might cease, and no persuasion was needed on his part to gain the active coöperation of his colleagues. They had already been persuaded by the wily factor Salazar, who found more than one powerful reason to prompt him in dancing attendance on those in power. Having won their appreciation with liberal gifts, he continued to point the way to extortion and oppression, wherein he shared to a great extent, and he figured indeed as the leading adviser in nearly every evil transaction. Under his experience and advice the audiencia cast aside all duty to the emperor, to justice, and to humanity.[22] They strengthened their hands for evil by usurping the functions of the ordinary ministers of justice, while the suppression of all letters directed to persons in Spain which contained complaints of their conduct shielded, if but temporarily, their iniquities.[23]

They kept themselves fully apprised of all occur-

[22] 'Mirando mas a sus particulares afetos, que al cūplimiento de las ordenanças, é instruciones Reales, ni a la justicia.' *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. xi. 'Despues, que se entroniçaron en el Govierno, no solo procedian como Ministros de el Rei; sino como el mismo Rei.' *Torquemada*, i. 600.

[23] Despatches to the home government were forcibly taken from friars and couriers, as Zumárraga relates. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 153. This unjustifiable meddling with private correspondence could not continue long with impunity. The queen, then governing, by a letter dated July 31, 1529, forbade the practice, by them or by any one else, under penalty of perpetual exile from Spain and the Indies. *Puga, Cedulario*, 21–2.

rences, and when tidings came to Mexico of the reception of Cortés at court and the high favor he enjoyed there, they feared lest he might come back clothed with an authority greater than he had enjoyed previously, and decided upon a measure which seemed to them best calculated to prevent this. They summoned the procuradores of the cities and towns to Mexico, ostensibly to treat of matters of general public importance, but in reality to sign a petition to the emperor that Cortés should not be allowed to return to New Spain. The delegates brought with them the lists of natives called for by the instructions to the audiencia, and demanded that the repartimientos should be allotted as had been ordered. This, however, did not suit the purpose of the triumvirate, and the demand was refused. In this Guzman was guided by Salazar, who suggested that by giving and taking away Indians at its will the audiencia would be more powerful and more feared.[24] In taking away repartimientos—and they now took them from Jorge de Alvarado, Gonzalo Mejía, and others—it was asserted that they were to be reserved for the crown, but they were given to men more pliable than their late holders.

At length, thinking that in this way and by the use of other questionable means the convention had been sufficiently well packed, Guzman broached his design against Cortés. But many of the procuradores were conquerors, and with few exceptions refused to sanction any action prejudicial to their old commander. The wily president saw that he had gone too far, and now proposed, with apparent good faith, that a commission should be sent to Spain to represent the real wants of the colony. The proposition was accepted, but when it came to a choice of

[24] The scheming factor had so ingratiated himself with the president, that soon afterward he was despatched to court in order to solicit for Guzman the government of New Spain. Salazar actually embarked, but stress of weather forced the ship ashore near the mouth of the Goazacoalco, and he returned to Mexico. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 227.

commissioners and the partisans of the audiencia put in nomination Antonio de Carvajal and Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia,[25] declared enemies of Cortés, the veterans, whose trust in him had come to be part of their being, refused to take further part in the proceedings. For this refusal the sturdy delegates, to the number of one hundred, were banished from the city, and the candidates were elected. They were well furnished with gold wherewith to buy favor at court, and instructed to say that, had not Estrada thwarted it, Cortés would have succeeded in his treasonable design, that he went to Spain only because of this discovery, and that the well-being of the colony demanded that he should not return. The privilege of a vote was to be asked for on the part of Guzman, and in order to ward off the blow which the audiencia knew would come, the bishops were to be accused of meddling in secular matters under pretence of protecting the Indians, while against the friars it was to be alleged that a blind deference to Cortés, if unreproved, would bring ruin on New Spain. At this time Pedro de Alvarado arrived from Spain, and busied himself in drawing up a representation in favor of Cortés, which was signed by all who had refused Guzman's request, besides others whom he had cajoled or forced into the support of his plan. Alvarado was on this occasion a stanch supporter of his old commander. Foiled in their endeavor to warp the popular will, the partisans of the audiencia redoubled their efforts to defame Cortés. Later, Salazar at a social gathering made a remark derogatory to the emperor as well as calumniatory of the captain general.[26] The circumstance came to the knowledge of Alvarado, who appeared before the audiencia ask-

[25] Tapia had been factor for the army, and regidor of Mexico, which office was conferred upon him in perpetuity. He afterwards became procurador mayor, and alférez real, dying as a rich and prominent colonist some time after 1552. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., passim; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 229; *Mex. Arch.*, i. 35.

[26] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 227–8.

ing leave to challenge Salazar, but the permission was refused and Guzman issued a decree declaring that Alvarado "lied like the foul traitor that he was," for Salazar had never uttered such a word.

Meanwhile the plundering schemes of Guzman and his confederates widened like a dread disease, till Spaniards and natives groaned under the infliction. Their first step had been to extort gold from those prominent chiefs whom as yet they dared not seize. In this they were well served by a certain native interpreter, at whose suggestion all caciques were ordered to present themselves in Mexico for the consideration of matters of importance. In accordance with custom the chiefs brought with them rich gifts, which served but to whet the unappeasable appetite of the recipients, and the most generous of the givers were summoned again and again. Among these was Francisco Caltzontzin, king of Michoacan, who succumbed to his generosity, for at length Guzman caused him to be lodged in his own house, where he was constantly subjected to exactions of treasure, which the president retained for himself. Repartimientos were seized in every direction, and the natives forced to labor without reward. The complaint of an individual thrall was punished with stripes and torture; at the least sign of discontent whole towns were declared in rebellion, subdued by force of arms, and sold into captivity in provinces remote from those of their birth. By their victims this tyranny was contrasted with the treatment they were wont to receive from Cortés, whereat they all the more revered his name. These wrongs they dared commit in the very neighborhood of the capital, though more especially in the outlying provinces.[27]

[27] Among the outrages are instanced the crucifixion of a cacique to extort gold, besides the hanging of minor individuals, and the appropriation of Guzman, for his mills, of the Tacubaya aqueduct, to the prejudice of 2,000 natives who were dependent on its water. *Zumárraga, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 126–7, 161; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 115–16.

One of the principal causes of complaint against the audiencia was a too free permission to brand natives, and it was alleged that the privilege was paid for by associations formed for the purpose. So many were branded and exported that some districts were well nigh depopulated, partly also owing to the retirement toward the interior of large numbers. The clergy, headed by Bishop Zumárraga, who had been invested with the title and duties of protector of Indians, were powerless to stay these outrages, for to men who held in contempt the commands of their earthly sovereign, and in whose natures there was no instinct of piety, the thunder of the church was indeed an empty sound. On one occasion Guzman and his colleagues were present at mass when an over-zealous friar took occasion to upbraid them from the pulpit. He was forcibly removed by order of the president, and ordered into exile; the bishop himself being threatened with violence for daring to remonstrate.[28]

The persecution of Spaniards was directed against nearly every conqueror and wealthy man not of the clique favored by Salazar, particularly the friends of Cortés. With the power given the audiencia to reform the distribution of repartimientos, there was little difficulty in finding the needful pretence to dispossess holders from their estates, and bestow them on favorites, after appropriating to themselves the richest.[29] Those against whom this process of summary eviction did not avail were attacked with judicial arraignment for having infringed the laws concerning gambling, payment of tithes, and the like, and as false witnesses could always be found where true evidence failed, fines were levied to an enormous extent, and collected by hasty sale of property at ruin-

[28] 'Dijo el Presidente...me echara del púlpito abajo.' *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 132. The practice, nevertheless, continued, if not so openly, and finally led to the issuing of a royal letter prohibitory of excess in language used in the pulpit concerning lay authority. *Puga, Cedulario*, 21.

[29] In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 127–9, is a long list of the most prominent encomenderos thus dispossessed.

ous prices, when the money was not forthcoming. A large part of these fines found their way to the pockets of the audiencia, by virtue of a decree which assigned certain classes of tribunal revenue to the settlements for constructing roads and other public works.[30] Against other victims of their greed or hatred private suits were promoted, by which means both passions were appeased. For instance, the wife of Pánfilo de Narvaez, apprehensive on his account, sent from Cuba an agent, Zavalos, with authority to collect what belonged to her husband. The reason of his coming was not known in Mexico, and the oidores easily persuaded him to complain before them for the ill-treatment of Narvaez, and loss of his property, against all those soldiers of Cortés who had accompanied him in the expedition to Zempoala, and who were at this time in Mexico. In consequence two hundred and fifty of them were arrested, mulcted in different amounts, and banished to the distance of five leagues from the capital.[31]

The members of the audiencia were always prepared to remit the sentence of fine, imprisonment, or exile, on receiving a substantial bribe. Indeed, a large proportion of the suits were brought to intimidate the defendant into such a course, so that the plaintiff was often the creature of the judge; or, if not, he might be mulcted for defamation or other offence, if the opposite party bribed the judges. Appeals only evoked bitter persecution.[32]

Cortés was after all the chief object of attack, for his wealth, and for his hostile attitude against Guz-

[30] It was revoked in 1528. *Puga, Cedulario*, 51.

[31] The latter part of the sentence was soon revoked, and in many cases the fine was remitted, but the offence rankled. The audiencia also caused proclamation to be made that all of Moorish lineage, any one of whose parents or grandparents had been burned or sentenced to wear the *sanbenito* by the Inquisition, should depart from New Spain. Condemnation to wear the *sanbenito* was the mildest form of punishment known to the holy tribunal. What the garment was, and what its uses, I shall treat in detail when I come to write of the Inquisition in Mexico.

[32] In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 136–44, are given long lists of bribes accepted by the audiencia, to stay persecution or grant favors.

man as the aggressive governor of Pánuco. Fines innumerable were levied upon his estates where seizures could not be made, and his agents suffered not a little in seeking to protect the interests intrusted to them.[33] This vindictiveness was carried out chiefly under cover of the residencia to which the audiencia had been ordered to submit Cortés and other royal officers.[34] Immediately on arriving, they took steps to call witnesses and frame questions for indictments. These embraced the usual points concerning malefeasance by the executive; maladministration of justice; disobedience of royal orders; neglect or perversion in connection with revenue; favoritism and other abuses in bestowal of offices, and in supervision of municipal affairs; oppression or neglect of the natives, and social misdemeanor, relating to immorality, gambling, and blasphemy. Besides these there were the special charges sent in since the first year of the conquest by the royal officers and other enemies, embracing the disloyal intent to revolt from the allegiance to Spain, with the aid of Spanish and native confederates, supported by artillery and forts; the use of regal ceremonies; the embezzlement of several millions in treasures and rental; the acceptance of a special fifth, like that of the sovereign, and the withholding of revenue due to the crown; the appropriation of provinces assigned to the crown, and of a million and a half of vassals, with some two hundred rent-rolls; abuse and outrages against private and official persons, including the murder of his wife and of the two royal commissioners, Ponce de Leon and his successor.

The preparations made, the residencia was proclaimed February 11, 1529. All persons were en-

[33] To judge from Cortés' complaints on this score, one is led to suppose that hardly anything was left of his vast estates. 'Demás de haberme tomado toda cuanta hacienda, mueble y raíz yo dejé en esta Nueva España, me quitaron los dichos pueblos (all, he adds), é me han dejado sin tener de dónde haya una hanega de pan...se han muerto mas de cient personas de las que en mi compañía traje, por falta de refriserios y necesidad de provisiones.' *Carta*, October 10, 1530, in *Escritos Sueltos*, 181-2, and other letters.

[34] For 90 days. *Puga, Cedulario*, 6, 7; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 2, 6.

couraged to come forward and enter complaints, no matter how trivial or ill-founded, or even if devoid of any foundation. Envy and discontent during a series of years had gathered in some quarters and concentrated against Cortés as head of the faction which had caused their real or fancied injuries. The charges sometimes assumed the form of pure calumnies instigated by blind hatred. Few witnesses dared testify in favor of the accused, save in a negative manner, and this feature tended to stamp the entire testimony as of little or no value. Nevertheless the audiencia declared as proven that Cortés had in 1519 usurped the supreme authority by wrongful means, and was consequently guilty of illegal and disloyal conduct in punishing those who had opposed his authority, such as Narvaez, Villafañe, and Tapia, and in the enactment of many measures which might have been justifiable in a legally appointed officer. These charges were followed by various indictments for injury committed against the person and property of opponents. Treasonable utterances and acts were enumerated, also embezzlements and seizures. The torture of Quauhtemotzin, the execution of caciques and vassals by the thousands, and the desolation of provinces for gold and slaves, were prominently noted among his crimes by Guzman, from whom they came with appropriate grace. The operations against Garay and Olid were not omitted, and his conduct in relation to Ponce de Leon and Aguilar gave rise to several disloyal charges, although their death was not openly laid upon him.[35]

The agents of Cortés, Diego de Ocampo and Licentiate Altamirano, filed their refutation of the charges through García de Llerena, accompanied by countercharges for malicious attacks on their principal, and

[35] The indictment covers over 50 pages in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvii. 5–59. In pages 190–301 is given the reply of Cortés' agents, denying or refuting the charges. The charge of murdering his wife formed a special subject of inquiry.

for spoliation of his estates, and this in so fearless a manner as to bring upon them the wrath of this most just audiencia. Altamirano was exiled, after losing his property, and Llerena was forced to seek refuge in a sanctuary. Their successful defiance of the church so far had made the audiencia wholly regardless of its protests, and Delgadillo proceeded to forcibly take forth Llerena for exemplary dealing, driving back at lance-point the body of friars led by the bishop elect in defence of the victim and of the sacred rights of the temple. After this extreme outrage nothing remained but to launch the ban of excommunication against the desecrators. As this ban affected only the two oidores, no popular demonstration occurred, as with Salazar in 1525 to compel submission, and the hardened oidores took no notice of it, but proceeded severely against their prisoner, whereupon the ban was reissued.[36] When Cortés returned from Spain, fresh replies were made to the indictment against him, and it remained pending for several years before the Council of the Indies, receiving little more attention than it deserved. A few fines were about all the penalty inflicted.[37]

The proceedings in the residencias of the royal officials went on according to the feelings of the members of the audiencia in each particular case. Estrada wisely reminded the emperor of the old quarrel with Guzman, and requested that the president should not sit in judgment upon him. The

[36] It was proclaimed in March 1530, and remained in force even in the following year. Guzman had already left for Jalisco, so that he escaped. The document relating to the ban is given in the appendix to *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 215–17. Angulo, the companion of Llerena, was executed, the latter managing to escape with a lighter sentence. The new audiencia caused the ban to be removed. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 140.

[37] By cédula of February 8, 1537, Cortés was ordered to appear in Spain, in person or by proxy, to hear sentence. The death of Ponce de Leon and other points were revived in later years. All the documents relating to the residencia and its results have not been preserved or published. A portion, relating to the inimical testimony and a few other points, was published at Mexico in 1852, in two volumes, under the supervision of Ignacio L. Rayon, with careful adherence to the original. This, together with a mass of documents bearing on the residencia of the other officials, and on the later suits of Cortés, has been reproduced in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxvi.–xxix.

request was granted and the rectitude of his rule was established, but the turn affairs had taken so weighed upon him that vexation of spirit soon brought about his death.[38] Salazar and Peralmindez were also held blameless, and Guzman praised them highly to the emperor. Shortly after arriving, the audiencia sought to interfere also in Guatemala, and sent Francisco de Orduña to take the residencia of Jorge de Alvarado, as is related elsewhere.[39]

Among the three members of the audiencia Matienzo was the least culpable, for Delgadillo vied with Guzman in arbitrary acts. All three, moreover, in everything save the paramount matter of money-getting were greatly influenced by favorites, and these of both sexes, for all were given to gallantry, Delgadillo excessively so.[40] In this connection they were not ungenerous, but then their liberality cost nothing save bitter denunciation and lament on the part of those from whom the gifts, in treasure and estates, had been wrung.[41]

Even their few aids to progress and beneficent acts were but the means of further extortions. Delgadillo, for instance, fostered sericulture, but his operations were conducted in such a manner as finally to bring upon him a fine. Antequera, the capital of

[38] Had Estrada manifested a reasonable amount of spirit in asserting himself, it is not impossible that his appointment as governor might have been confirmed. His old comrades would have stood by him, for they approved of all that he had done. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 227.

[39] See vol. ii. *Hist. Cent. Am.* The charges against the officials are to be found in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxviii.–xxix., passim. Alcalde Mayor Ortega's case was pending as late as 1541.

[40] In open day he forcibly took from the asylum founded by Cortés two beautiful native girls and carried them to his house. He sent another Indian woman, together with 3,000 pesos, to Spain; but the woman was set at liberty and the money seized by the crown. *Zumárraga, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 134; *Cartas de Ind.*, 748. In the most shameless manner this man admitted from the cabildo, in return for his favor, the gift of some land next to that belonging to his brother, Juan Perez Berrío, whom he protected in the tyranny and extortion of which he was guilty as the alcalde mayor of Oajaca.

[41] When Albornoz returned from Spain with his bride he received from Guzman the town of Guazpaltepec, belonging to Sandoval. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 228–9. Even the menials of the oidores received valuable grants thus seized.

Oajaca, was founded by this audiencia, but upon land wrested from Cortés, and with a view to injure him.

Where oppression had not produced the hatred of all save their own creatures, and those whose interest lay in courting their favor, the estrangement increased rapidly. In less than a twelvemonth the general discontent had reached a point which bordered on disloyalty.[42]

Guzman was too sagacious long to be blind to the signs of storm fast coming from across the sea. And now letters from Spain plainly warned him of his approaching downfall. The brilliant scheme of further conquest planned by Cortés had been made apparent to the crafty lawyer who had just presided at his trial. It was no mere after-math for the gleaner's hand which awaited him first afield, but an abundant harvest, and to Guzman's ignoble nature, that Cortés was absent was no reason why another might not forestall him.[43] Hoping, therefore, to regain by an offer of subjugated provinces the favor he had forfeited, and moved by a desire to take advantage of the errors into which his colleagues were sure to fall, he now proposed an expedition to Jalisco. On their part the oidores for the furtherance of their own ends desired his absence, and consented readily that the president should become its leader.

By generous gifts to captains in his confidence, chief among whom were Cristóbal de Oñate, Rodrigo de Albornoz, and Peralmindez Chirinos, of pueblos which of right belonged to Cortés and others, by

[42] 'El afeto de los Oydores daua materia, para que sucediessen atreuimientos e libertades: i ansi andauan las cosas con mucha confusion, i desuerguença.' *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. xi.

[43] The mineral wealth of Michoacan had roused general interest, and Guzman is said to have secured possession of mines there before this time. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. vii. Some authorities even state that he had received special information concerning rich and populous towns in the northwestern region, from a native in his employ and whose father had visited them. *Castañeda*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 1–5. Repeated in *Davis' El Gringo*, 58–9; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, iv. 22; *Domenech's Deserts*, i. 167–8, and elsewhere. This seems to have been the beginning of the reports which gradually extended to the seven cities of Cibola, so famous. as we shall see, a little later.

means of liberal bounties and seductive promises to some, while the unwilling were forced to enlist or to send substitutes, Guzman succeeded in recruiting a sufficient number of men in Guatemala, Oajaca, and elsewhere. He filled his military chest by seizure of funds belonging to the crown, an act involving a constructive arrest of the treasury officials who opposed him,[44] and the extortion of forced loans from the wealthy of the city, though this was forbidden by law. Preparations for the campaign though hasty were thorough, and greatly facilitated because of the almost omnipotent power enjoyed by the president, and just before Christmas[45] he hastened to his usual pleasant pastime in fresh fields at the head of the largest and best equipped army that as yet had marched under the royal banner in the New World, consisting as it did of two hundred horse, three hundred foot-soldiers, and some artillerymen with twelve guns, together with at least ten thousand Tlascaltecs and Mexicans.[46] Two chaplains, joined afterward by two others, accompanied the force, and Guzman took with him the unfortunate Caltzontzin, who, after having been forced to minister to the avarice of his jailer, was so soon to become his victim.[47]

[44] This amount was 6,000 pesos de oro. The second audiencia was instructed (see *Puga, Cedulario*, 45) to collect this amount from Guzman, or failing this, from the property of the royal officials who had given it without authority.

[45] Pilar, 248, writes 22d, while Mota Padilla makes the date early in November.

[46] These figures are but approximate, hardly two authorities being in accord. Guzman's own estimate, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 294, 356–93, and in *Ramusio*, iii. 331, is the lowest, and gives 150 horsemen, as many footmen, and from 7,000 to 8,000 auxiliaries. According to *Torquemada*, i. 338, and *Villa Señor, Theatro*, ii. 203–4, there were 250 of the former and twice that number of the latter. Viceroy Mendoza, in a letter to Charles V., speaks of 400 Spaniards and 14,000 natives. Herrera, dec. iv. lib. viii. cap. i., estimates the natives at 8,000, excluding carriers and those obtained later in Michoacan. Frejes, *Hist. Breve*, 69, says there were 800 Spanish soldiers. Fuenleal complains of the loss to the settlements of this withdrawal of men, and urges more stringent laws against such operations. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 215–16.

[47] García del Pilar, the conquistador and interpreter, who had suggested to Guzman the ingenious plan of inviting the caciques to Mexico that they might be robbed, says, *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 248, that Caltzontzin welcomed the president to his capital, that he complied with a requisition for

Nevertheless, though rogues fell out honest men did not receive their dues; the oidores, freed of Guzman's rivalry, kept the shameless tenor of their course reckless of the reckoning-day. The Spanish government had received the petition instigated by the audiencia and praying that Cortés should not be allowed to return to New Spain, but with it was the representation forwarded by Pedro de Alvarado, as well as letters from many of those who had signed the first of these documents, making it evident that they had done so under compulsion. Then came the letter of Zumárraga and the clergy, which the bishop managed to smuggle into Spain concealed within a hollow wooden image sent by a faithful retainer with the pretence that he wished to show them at home the advancement made by the natives in sculpture.[48] This letter Zumárraga had read to other prominent clergymen who signed it jointly with him. In it were given details of the audiencia's misrule, and the statement was made that, to secure the prosperity of the people and the propagation of the faith, there was needed an upright man both able and willing to comprehend the condition of the country and shape aright its destinies. It was shown that New Spain was given over to disorder; that the hatred of the president and oidores, displayed on all occasions toward Cortés and those who sustained him, resulted from envy and avarice alone; that the clergy were not only unable to aid Spaniard or Indian, but were powerless to save even themselves from persecution. In conclusion the writers disclaimed all motive for their complaint other than the greater glory of God and the desire of loyal subjects to serve the crown.[49]

8,000 Indians, and that three days afterward he was seized by his treacherous guest. But the interpreter was a *particeps criminis* in the iniquities of his chief, and is unworthy of belief.

[48] It was conveyed by a sailor, says *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 631. In a buoy, adds Vetancurt, *Aparic. Guad.*, 7; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 59.

[49] *Zumárraga, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 104 et seq.

CHAPTER XV.

ERECTION OF BISHOPRICS—CORTÉS IN SPAIN.

1527–1529.

VICISSITUDES OF THE FIRST SEE—BISHOP JULIAN GARCÉS—THE ICONOCLAST ZUMÁRRAGA—LAMENTABLE VANDALISM—CHARACTER OF THE CLERGY—ARRIVAL OF DOMINICANS—RIVALRY OF THE ORDERS—INTRODUCTION OF NUNS—MEETING OF CORTÉS AND PIZARRO—DEATH OF AN IDEAL SOLDIER—EXCITEMENT OVER CORTÉS' ARRIVAL IN SPAIN—PLAYING THE GALLANT—HIS RECEPTION BY THE EMPEROR—MARKS OF FAVOR—HE IS MADE A MARQUIS WITH LARGE GRANTS—POLITIC SOOTHINGS OF DISCONTENT—WHY HE LOST THE GOVERNORSHIP—HIS CONTRACT FOR SOUTH SEA DISCOVERIES—HIS BRIDE AND JEWELS—PAPAL CONCESSIONS—RETURN TO NEW SPAIN—OVATION TO THE HERO—HOSTILITY OF THE OIDORES.

NEW SPAIN had assumed the position of Castile's leading colony in the Indies, and the cross had extended its sway from ocean to ocean before the church proper stepped forward to assume control. Nevertheless a see and a bishop had been granted prior to a single conversion. On the strength of the glowing reports brought by the expeditions of Córdoba and Grijalva, Bishop Fonseca had hastened to confer upon his confessor, Julian Garcés, a Dominican, the title of bishop of Cozumel, and this proving an insignificant island, his jurisdiction was extended over Yucatan.[1] The peninsula remained unsettled, however, and the see was in 1526 extended over the Tabasco and Vera Cruz districts to Chiapas, including

[1] 'Obispado llamado Carolense, y Santa María de los Remedios, en la Peninsula de Yucatan.' By bull of January 24, 1518, corresponding to the civil year 1519. *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 241–2, 227–40, with copies of bull, etc. He was bishop on September 6, 1519, says *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 80, while the date in *Nueva España, Breve Res.*, MS., 225, is January 9, 1518; and in *Iglesias y Conventos de Mex.*, 324, October 13, 1519. See also *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 16, 17.

Tlascala, the latter being designated as the centre and episcopal seat, chiefly as a mark of favor to this loyal little state, and partly because of its location.[2]

Thus commissioned, Father Julian presented himself in October 1527[3] to assume charge, and was hailed with all the demonstrations properly attending the reception of the first prelate. A septuagenarian of a noble Aragonese family and of brilliant attainments, which had procured for him the position of royal chaplain,[4] he could not fail to command great respect, even if his influence was not widely felt among the tumultuous factions which kept the country in a ferment. He arrived in the midst of the disputes between Cortés and Estrada, and exerted himself to conciliate these unquiet spirits; after which he retired to Tlascala, there to pursue his duties with the zeal and energy of a younger man, holding aloof as much as possible from political affairs.[5]

The limits assigned to his see indicated that another was already under consideration, to embrace the more important districts of the lake valley and the promising regions west and south. The bishopric was indeed decided upon about the same time that Garcés obtained the Tlascala see,[6] and was offered to the deserving and highly esteemed Pedro de Gante, who since 1523 had labored as Franciscan lay-brother in

[2] For limits see *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, loc. cit. The papal bull was dated October 13, 1525, corresponding to 1526, and the royal decree, September 19, 1526.

[3] *Mex., Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 7.

[4] Born at Munebrega in 1452, he had studied at the university of Paris, and attained a high record for learning, which assisted to advance him in his order. 'Llamábanle por su eloqüente Latinidad el segundo Nebrija, y redivio Ciceron.' *Granados, Tardes*, 334. Fonseca first designated him for the see of Cuba, ere he proposed the delusive advancement to Cozumel. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xi., and previous authorities; also *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 465–6; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 112–13; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 104; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 192.

[5] The cathedral erected by him was 'dedicada a la Concepcion Immaculada de Maria.' *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 243.

[6] It was created October 13, 1525. *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 104; *Villa Señor, Theatro*, i. 28. This date is confirmed by the very limitation of the Tlascala see, and despite the assertions of Lorenzana and other authorities, who confound the bull of 1530 for the bishop and cathedral with that for the see.

Mexico Valley, foremost as teacher and apostle. Deserving and well fitted as he was for the post, the offer is said to have been due chiefly to his relationship to Charles V.[7] He had more than once been urged by his superiors and others to accept preferment in his order and in the church, but had always declined to leave his humble position, and to this decision he still adhered. The see was thereupon bestowed, the 12th of December 1527,[8] on Juan de Zumárraga,[9] guardian of the Franciscan convent of Abrojo.

The emperor was in the habit of retiring to this place occasionally for meditation, and had become impressed by the zeal and austerity of the friar, and by his efficient conduct in suppressing witchcraft in Biscay. Such qualities appeared to be needed in a country so racked by abominable superstitions and reckless factions, and as the first audiencia was about to leave for New Spain when the appointment was made, Zumárraga received orders to accompany them without waiting for consecration. He was invested with the additional power of protector of the Indians, and ordered to watch over the observance of the many laws issued in favor of his oppressed protégés.[10]

On arriving at Mexico he found it extremely difficult to carry out these instructions, for a check upon the ill-treatment of the natives touched the nearest interests of the settlers. The audiencia instead of aid-

[7] See *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 251.

[8] *Cédula*, in *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 5, granting him control of tithes.

[9] He was born at Durango—'at Zumárraga,' says Vetancurt, *Menolog.*, 61, if so, a village subject to Durango—in 1468, and after assuming the Franciscan habit he rose rapidly to the positions of guardian, definidor, and provincial. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 19 et seq.; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 69; *Torquemada*, iii. 448.

[10] The bull confirming his appointment was issued only on September 2, 1530. *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 213. Beaumont adds, 'Clemente VII., en consistorio secreto de 12 de Agosto de 1530...erigió la catedral de México,' *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 251–3; and, confounding this act with the erection, he wrongly challenges Calle, *Mem. y Not.* Gonzalez Dávila, loc. cit., assumes that he was consecrated at Tlascala by Garcés, but he is wrong in both date and fact. The different letters of the two audiencias call him simply 'bishop elect.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 119 etc. We shall follow him back to Spain for consecration in a few years.

ing him opposed every measure, as we have seen, and even came to open conflict with him, leading to the excommunication of the two oidores. While correct enough in his course, he was thought to use the pulpit too freely for commenting on the acts of the officials, and the second audiencia received power not only to restrain his language, but to limit his interference as protector. Yet this was but the spirit of the arch-enemy of witchcraft which had so captivated Charles; and checked in one direction, it broke out in another. His zeal was vehement. Eager to extend the faith, and observing how difficult it was for the people to receive it, he thought the cause must be the heathen relics which kept alive in their hearts their ancient history and religion, hallowed by time, and consecrated by persecution and suffering. Avaricious conquerors and zealous friars had left few public monuments to be cherished, but in the homes of the natives was many a treasured image, and many a picture record of aboriginal tradition, art, industry, and society.

This chain of bondage to old memories must be broken; and in imitation of the example set not long before by Jimenez in regard to the Moors, Zumárraga started out his friars and loyal neophytes on a fresh and searching raid, notably for the abominable scrolls and manuscripts, wherein every sign or picture seemed to the prelate the embodiment of satanic art and witchery. From local and family archives, from public places and from private houses they were brought and cast into one vast pile in the market-place and there burned. It was the crowning act of misguided zeal! And what a pyre was there! Records of the strange unfoldings of an aboriginal civilization, of half-developed myths, of curious customs, of evolving sciences, perhaps of arts already lost. This pious vandalism was not confined to Mexico city, but in all the larger cities and towns great heaps of human experiences were gathered and committed to the flames. And like these pillars of smoke, which on every side were seen

ascending to heaven, shall this act of the first bishop of Mexico forever rise before our minds as dark and unwise. And those fires smouldered, now and then lighted afresh, ay for centuries before church and laity began to realize what they were doing. How fared the results of Boturini's researches; how fared later the archives of Mexico and of the states to the south?[11]

Notwithstanding the grievous mistake he had committed, Zumárraga's fiery zeal could not fail to achieve also much real good. Quick to observe and of fluent speech, he succeeded in teaching, during the first years at least, a wholesome lesson to the mercenary and indolent of the clergy who formed his staff.[12] Among the settlers this address proved less effective, owing to the shock given to his influence by the audiencias. For the natives he ever appeared a champion, as must be expected from his position as missionary, bishop, and protector. His jurisdiction was rapidly extending with the formation of settlements in different quarters, and the spread of conversion under the daily increasing band of friars,[13] who were penetrating southward into Oajaca and Guatemala, and north-westward into Michoacan and New Galicia.

[11] Even among sixteenth-century men, however, there were those who objected, though passively, to the destruction at least of the temple-buildings, and Torquemada, iii. 47–50, finds it necessary to come forth in defence of the deed. Vetancurt, *Chron.*, 4, etc., speaks in a similar strain. The emperor wrote approval, as Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 26, fails not to point out. Among modern writers there is but one opinion, of condemnation, although Zamacois, *Hist. Mej.*, iv. 388–9, seeks to magnify the efforts of later missionaries to repair the injury by preserving what knowledge they could gather. Others chose to regard the loss as trifling, one writer in *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, 1844, 142, taking this view on the ground that Aztec hieroglyphics were undecipherable!

[12] There was evident need for reform, as accusations were already made against friars and clergy during this first decade, and an imputation against their morality stands forth glaringly in royal cédulas for this period, wherein public mistresses of the representatives of the church and of married men are made subject to certain fines, and to banishment and lashes in extreme cases. *Puga, Cedulario*, 54–5. The term 'public mistresses' indicates that secret concubinage was not greatly condemned.

[13] In 1527 and the following years regular reënforcements of friars came, according to Vetancurt, *Chron.*, 4, and other writers; yet Herrera states that before 1531 there were not over 100 in New Spain, of all orders combined. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 407. Friar Jacobo de Testera obtained permission to bring 120 Franciscans, who arrived after this date. *Torquemada*, iii. 261, 305, 310.

The Franciscans did not long labor alone, for other orders hastened to share in the promising harvest. Early among these were the Dominicans, twelve of whom were sent from Spain, in company with the twelve Franciscans. Their head, Vicar-general Tomás Ortiz, was detained at court for a time, and his associates waited for him at Santo Domingo. He joined them finally with an additional number, and from the whole selected the symbolic twelve[14] with whom he reached Vera Cruz in June 1526, in company with Ponce de Leon.

The malady which brought to his death this prominent personage, wrought havoc with the friars, as well as others, and soon their number was reduced to seven.[15] Friar Tomás, who on a former occasion had evinced little regard for the glories of martyrdom, hereupon took alarm and hastened to depart with three of his companions, leaving Padre Betanzos alone with Deacon Lucero and the novice Casas.

Among those who accompanied Ortiz, chiefly on account of ill-health, was Vicente de Santa María, a favorite of the Dominican general. Finding himself safe again on his native shore, his missionary zeal blazed up anew, and with assistance from the sovereign he returned to New Spain in 1528, at the head

[14] His second company from Spain consisted of seven besides himself, and from the nine survivors at Santo Domingo he selected the remainder. Mendieta gives the names of the seven as Vicente de Santa María, Tomás de Berlanga, Domingo de Sotomayor, Pedro de Santa María, Justo de Santo Domingo, Gonzalo Lucero, and Bartolomé de Calzadilla, the last two deacon and lay-brother, respectively; and those who joined at Santo Domingo as Domingo de Betanzos, Diego Ruiz, Pedro Zambrano, and Vicente de las Casas, novice. *Hist. Eccles.*, 363–4. Torquemada writes in one place Ramirez instead of Ruiz. Several old authorities, including the Dominican chronicler Remesal, appear ignorant of this formation of the band, the latter giving a list made some time after their arrival, which embraces two novices received at Mexico. *Hist. Chyapa*, 11, 12. See also *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, 3; *Vetancvrt*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 34. Ortiz had gained his position chiefly through his service as vicar at Chiribichi, *Torquemada*, iii. 40, 598, whence he escaped from the massacre perpetrated by the natives. His intriguing character has already been pointed out.

[15] Remesal mentions four of the dead. Dávila Padilla, *Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, 4, has five names. Ortiz left with Betanzos, as prelate, and held 'tambien el oficio de Comissario de la Inquisicion,' *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 41, hitherto exercised by the Franciscan custodian, yet we find Aguilar named by Cortés as inquisitor.

of a larger company than the first, though sickness and other causes reduced the number to six before he reached Mexico.[16] Installed as vicar-general and inquisitor, he gave an impulse to mission work, reenforced as he was shortly after by a dozen or more friars.[17]

At first they agreed very well with the Franciscans, who surrendered to them several districts already occupied,[18] and joined in opposing many of the iniquitous measures of the audiencia; but soon the old rivalry broke out, creating not only a division on public questions, but internal dissensions, which found vent chiefly on the subject of Indian treatment, and the forcible spread of conversion, the Franciscans favoring the alliance of sword and cross. The larger number of the latter, and their earlier occupation of the field, gave them precedence among both settlers and natives, and the Dominicans were obliged to exert themselves for a share of influence. Some features of their order gave them an advantage, and they attracted attention by the imposing beauty of their convent.[19]

Among the early missions founded by the order were those of Pánuco, Oajaca, and Guatemala.[20] That of Oajaca was intrusted to Lucero, now a

[16] Names in *Granados, Tardes*, 330–1. Remesal seeks vainly to account for the falling away of the priests. At first it was proposed to take 40, but a number of these were directed to Venezuela, and Santa María left with 24. They were given free passage, 1,500 pesos for a convent, 100 pesos for robes and other necessaries. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. vi. cap. ii.

[17] 'Entre todos fueron veinte y dos,' before Betanzos went to bring more. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 364. Several of these attained the dignity of bishops.

[18] Notably Tlahuac, Coyuhuacan, Amequemecan, east of the capital, and other sections. *Vetancvrt, Chron.*, 26.

[19] 'Che è vno de i grandi & forti edificij & buoni che sia in Spagna.' *Rel. Gentilihvmo*, in *Ramusio*, iii. 309. It was founded in September 1526 on the street named in consequence Santo Domingo, *Libro de Cabildo*, September 17, 1526; but according to a writer in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 329, it was occupied only in 1530. It was afterward surrendered to the inquisition office, which again has given place to a medical school. The convent was removed to the site now occupied, and dedicated in 1575. *Torquemada*, iii. 40; *Iglesias y Conventos de Mex.*, 62–4.

[20] Convents were also erected at Puebla, Vera Cruz, Goazacoalco, in the towns transferred by the Franciscans, and notably among the Miztecs and Zapotecs. *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 75; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 210.

priest,[21] and to Deacon Minaya, who in the middle of 1529 founded the first convent at Antequera,[22] about the time that Betanzos had undertaken his apostolic tour to Guatemala, there to lay the foundation of Dominican labors.[23]

When Cortés returned from Spain in 1530 he brought twelve friars of the order of Mercy, endeared to him by the sage and gentle influence of Father Olmedo. Their leader, Juan de Leguízamo, acted as confessor to his family.[24] Under the special care of the marchioness came besides a number of Concepcion nuns, who founded the first nunnery under the name of Concepcion Purísima. It was endowed by four young ladies who had already sought shelter from the world in the house of Andrés de Tapia, and who now assisted in spreading the order throughout New Spain, and in training its noble maidens.[25]

Cortés had meanwhile embarked with friends, and after touching at the Islands to display his retinue and riches, he entered the famous little seaport of

[21] Born at San Juan del Cuerno, Andalusia, of poor parents. He perfected his education after admittance to the order. After 1535 he was removed from Oajaca to Miztecapan, where he died. *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, i. 8–20.

[22] Twelve building sites were granted on July 24, 1529. The establishment became a priory in 1549. *Id.*, *Palestra*, 1–15; *Carriedo, Estudios Hist.*, 98, 121.

[23] As early as 1527, says Remesal, though it must have been a little later. He returned to Mexico in 1531, thence to undertake an important mission to Rome. *Hist. Chyapa*, 51–8; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, 380–5, 396–7. Betanzos was of a noble family from Leon, educated for the law, but turned pilgrim, and, being disowned by his father, he took the habit in 1514. Although occupying no very prominent office, he ranked high in the order for his austere virtue, his apostolic zeal, and his efforts to promote its interests. *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, 5–32; *Torquemada*, iii. 41–2, 94, 106, 454–5.

[24] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 231.

[25] By order of July 12, 1530, the audiencia had been enjoined to found an establishment of *beatas* for teaching Indian maidens. *Puga, Cedulario*, 42. Vetancurt gives to Friar Antonio de la Cruz the credit of bringing the first three nuns, namely: Paula de Santa Ana, Luisa de San Francisco, and Francisca Evangelista. *Trat. Mex.*, 41. Gonzalez Dávila names Elena de Medrano as leader. *Teatro Ecles.*, i. 7; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 237. Beaumont assumes that Augustinian nuns also came with Cortés. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 264. Brotherhoods were fostered to encourage a religious feeling, and the Archicofradía de Caballeros de la Santa Vera Cruz is claimed to have been founded as early as 1523, by Cortés. See names and other information in *Pap. Var.*, xlvii., pt. iii. 4.

Palos toward the end of 1528.[26] With characteristic devotion he knelt, immediately on landing, to express thanks for being permitted to regain his native shore after so many vicissitudes. While awaiting the landing of his party and effects, which involved considerable delay under the cautious restrictions then ruling, he proceeded to the convent of La Rábida near by, there to perform his devotions and despatch advices. It was in this sacred spot that Columbus had sought shelter when on his way to advocate those grand projects which were to reveal a new world; to point out the field whereon the conqueror might achieve fame while giving new domains and fresh souls to the king and church. Here also Pizarro, the conqueror of the other great empire in America, is said to have met the victor of Montezuma; the latter with his great achievements ended, the former at the opening of a brilliant career.[27] Another strange coincidence: with Cortés was Juan de Rada, a valiant soldier during the conquest, who afterward joined Almagro, and avenged his death by cutting down Pizarro in the midst of his successes.

During the voyage Sandoval had been ill, and on landing he was taken to the house of a rope-maker to receive the necessary care. The hardships he had undergone in the Indies, particularly during the Honduras campaign, had undermined his health, for he sank rapidly. During a fit of depression he sent for Cortés. While the servant was absent, the host, a

[26] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 283; *Sandoval, Carlos V.*, i. 895. Bernal Diaz writes December 1527, meaning 1528 no doubt, while Herrera, followed by Prescott and others, gives the end of May 1528. There are several reasons supporting the better authority of Gomara and Sandoval. 'En quarenta y vn dias llegó a Castilla, sin parar en la Habana.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 224. Both of which statements appear to be unfounded.

[27] The meeting probably took place in another part of Spain, though historians and poets have preferred to associate it with a spot hallowed by the presence of Columbus. The intercourse between the two men was natural enough, for they had known one another in the Antilles, and were allured by the similarity of their enterprise and renown. 'Fue cosa notable ver juntos a estos dos hombres, que eran mirados, como Capitanes de los mas notables del mundo, en aquel tiempo.' *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. i.; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvst.*, 121.

burly, brutal fellow, entered the room and stealthily examined it. Sandoval pretended to be asleep. The man thereupon broke open the treasure-box containing a number of gold bars and carried them away, the sick man, unable even to stand, being afraid to make an outcry lest the robber should murder him. Cortés soon entered, but no trace could be found of the man, who appears to have gained Portugal with his booty. Sandoval did not long survive. In his will he named the general as executor. To his sisters he gave the greater part of his fortune,[28] the remainder being left to convents and poor people to form a crown of blessings to his memory. He was buried with great pomp in La Rábida, Cortés and all his suite assuming deep mourning, which was not alone upon the surface. Poor Sandoval! so young, so gentle, the purest and noblest of them all, and to die so soon on his return with all the joys and glories of home unrealized. An enemy even could not meet this cavalier without admiration of his character, and none could long be his associate without learning to love him. Though but thirty-one he had by his bravery and skill achieved a reputation equal to any, as one of the foremost captains in all the Indies. He had not been given the same opportunities for independent achievement as Alvarado, but neither had he nor would he have stained his name with the cruelties of Tonatiuh. He was also more prudent than the latter, and more frank and loyal, and probably abler than Olid, the third of the great captains of Cortés. In the total of his admirable qualities as man and officer he surpassed any of his associates, and gradually assumed the chief place in the affection of his leader, who usually addressed him by the endearing name of "Son Sandoval." His men also loved him as they did no other commander for his kind demeanor, his rare disinterestedness and his constant regard for their welfare,

[28] 'Vna hermana...se casó con vn hijo bastardo del Conde de Medellin.' *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit.

even to the neglect of his own comfort and advantage; a marked contrast to the absorbing selfishness, insatiate greed, and relentless cruelty of nearly all the adventurers who overran the new region, and controlled the destiny of its peoples. And now after his multitudinous dangers and strange adventures, he reached the shores of Spain only to die of disease and find a grave in the soil which gave him birth.

The news of the arrival of Cortés created quite a revulsion of feeling at court, where his presence was entirely unexpected. The prestige of success with high honors and reputed wealth drove calumniators for the moment to the wall. Doubts and suspicions were dispelled, and one vied with another to honor the so lately assailed soldier. The court was then at Toledo, and the king ordered the towns along the way to receive the hero with suitable demonstrations. Crowds thronged the line of march to behold the famous captain, and to gaze at the strange retinue. The Indians in flowing plumage and gaudy ornaments had been seen frequently enough since Columbus first brought them to Spain, but the tumblers and athletes, the albinos and monstrosities, were new, and most of the animals, while curious interest was attracted by the plants and merchandise, while the heavy coffers that betokened rare treasures raised eager expectation. All this, however, served but as a frame to the picture of the leader, who was conspicuous by his dignified bearing and simple elegance of dress.

On approaching Seville he was met by the powerful duke de Medina Sidonia and conducted with great pomp to his castle, receiving in return for his own presents several fine Andalusian horses.[29] From here he proceeded to Guadalupe to hold a novena at this

[29] Herrera states that he avoided Seville, where Alvarado then happened to be, preparing to return to Guatemala with his newly secured commission as governor. Remesal gives as reason that he was offended with the late lieutenant for neglecting to marry his cousin, as agreed. *Hist. Chyapa*, 39. It is probable that the avoidance was mutual, and based in part at least on the interference of Alvarado in Cortés' projects to his own advancement. For full particulars see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii., this series.

celebrated shrine, and to obtain masses for his dead friend. It so happened that María de Mendoza, wife of the powerful secretary, Cobos, was there at the time, attended by a large suite. Aware of his influence with the fair sex, Cortés resolved not to miss so good an opportunity to win the approval of the imperial favorite. Never did his fluent tongue serve him to better purpose than when he made his bow before Doña María. He even ventured upon a mild flirtation with her beautiful sister, sighing a subtle allusion to the chains that bound him to another.[30] All the ladies were enchanted with the gallant and talented hero, who could so well supplement his fascination with rich presents, and Doña María wrote the most glowing commendation of her protégé to her lord, sufficient at least to dissipate many of his prejudices against the adventurer.[31]

In promise of coming honors, the sovereign was pleased to assign Cortés quarters during his stay at court. On approaching Toledo he was met by the duke of Béjar with a brilliant retinue, who conducted him into the city. The following day, in company with the admiral of the Indies, Cobos, and others, he was received by the emperor, and kneeling to kiss his hand was graciously commanded to rise. He thereupon gave an outline of his achievements, and illustrated the resources of the country with specimens of produce, natives, and treasures. In conclusion he made excuses for the length of his speech and the boldness of his utterances, and presented a memorial wherein his services were more fully recorded. The emperor appeared greatly impressed by the story of the conquest, related with all

[30] It has even been hinted that Doña María made an effort to unite the two, and that Cortés' unwillingness made her his enemy, greatly to his prejudice. But this is unlikely, for the alliance with the ducal family was already a settled affair. Bernal Diaz hints that the match would have procured him the greatest favors at court. *Hist. Verdad.*, 225. The sister married not long afterward the adelantado of the Canaries.

[31] Bernal Diaz states that Cobos was so pleased that he showed his wife's letters to the king.

the skill and grace of which the Estremaduran was master, and by his self-possessed dignity and evident loyalty. Charles frequently called the hero to his presence to be entertained by his conversation, or to consult him upon affairs of state, particularly concerning Mexico, and many of his suggestions for its government were carried out. Taking their cue from the emperor, the courtiers danced attendance upon the adventurer, and stayed awhile their supercilious slander. Cortés became the fashion; and he seemed to play his part as well at the court of Charles as at that of Montezuma. His audacity was charming; at times, indeed, startling to old courtiers. One Sunday, it is related, he had been commanded to attend mass at the court chapel. He surprised the assembly by coming late, and further by passing in front of royalty and taking a seat beside the duke of Nassau, a sovereign prince of Germany. The disturbance was hardly calmed by the information that Cortés had been instructed so to proceed. A still more conspicuous mark of favor was a visit of the emperor to his chamber during an illness arising from change of climate and other causes. This act of condescension created general remark, and was regarded by many as sufficient compensation for the greatest services.[32]

More substantial honors were accorded by cédulas of July 6, 1529, whereby Cortés, in consideration of his many achievements in acquiring for the crown and church so many provinces, at great personal risk, and in order to set an example for good and loyal service, was granted twenty-two towns in New Spain, chiefly in Oajaca, to contain not exceeding twenty-three thousand vassals, including their lands and subordinate hamlets, civil and criminal jurisdiction, offices and rentals, and with full power to dispose thereof

[32] It was the greatest of all favors bestowed upon Cortés, 'desafuciado de los Medicos.' *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvst.*, 120. This occurred a few days after his arrival at Toledo, says Bernal Diaz, at the instance of Béjar. *Hist. Verdad.*, 225.

according to his pleasure and that of his heirs.[33] He had been offered his choice throughout New Spain, although the kingdom of Michoacan was pointed out for selection; but he preferred the fertile valley of Oajaca, together with a few places particularly admired in and round the lake valley, including the two favorite towns of Coyuhuacan and Cuernavaca, which he had fancied from the first, Huàstepec, with its famed gardens, Jalapa, the beautiful health-resort lying half way between Vera Cruz and the plateau summit, the seaport of Tehuantepec, and several places in the fertile province of Matlalzinco. The text of the grant contained the usual ambiguities which enabled opponents to dispute the claim on many points, and reduce it, as will be related in a later chapter. He also received certain lands and lots in and near Mexico city, notably the two palaces, old and new, of Montezuma, and two isles in the lake, Xico and Tepepulco, each about half a league in circumference, and intended for hunting-parks.[34]

[33] 'Como de cosa vuestra, propia.' Appeals from him or his alcalde mayor could however be made to the king, council, or audiencias; no fortress must be erected without permission; mines and salt-fields were retained for the crown; but the jurisdiction, revenues, and tribute otherwise due to the crown were conceded to him and his heirs. In case of transfer, church and convents could not be included without royal permission; nor could a sale be made without first giving the refusal to the sovereign. The estate was subject to the regulations for government issued December 4, 1528. Possession could be taken from date. This document, wherein Cortés is addressed as 'Don, and governor and captain-general of New Spain,' is dated at Barcelona, July 6, 1529, and countersigned by Secretary Francisco de los Cobos, the bishop of Osma, who was the president of the Council, and Doctor Beltran, licentiate for the court. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xii. 291–7. The towns named in the cédula are: Caljmacan (Coyuhuacan), Atlacabuye (Atlacubaya, later Tacubaya), Matalcingo (Matlalzinco), Taluca (Toluca), Calimaya, Quanixaca (Quauhnahuac, later Cuernavaca), Guastepeque (Huastepec), Acapiptla (Acapichtla), Antepeque (Antepec), Tepuzlan (Tepotzotlan), Guaxaca (Oajaca), Cayulapeque (Cuitlopan probably), Tlantequila (Tenquilaba), Bacoa (Tepeaca probably), Teguamtepeque (Tehuantepec, a seaport), Yalapa (Jalapa), Utlatepeque (Huitlatepec), Atroyatan (perhaps Atloixtlan), Quetasta (Cuetlachtlan), Tuztlatapeca (Tuxtepec, evidently), Yzcalpan. Gomara, who differs considerably in spelling, adds Etlan, as the twenty-second town. *Hist. Mex.*, 284. The list of the towns, hamlets, and farms, according to the modified list of 1532, is given in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xii. 500–2. See also *Puga*, *Cedulario*, 66–7; *Montemayor*, *Svmarios*, 150–2.

[34] The latter, known also as El Peñol del Marqués, was the scene of exploit when the first fleet sailed against Tenochtitlan. See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 625, this series. The boundaries of the lots and the land along Tlacopan road are minutely

There was one thing above all, however, that Cortés longed for—a title. Wealth he possessed, and lands he could acquire, but the credential of nobility, to raise him above the rank of adventurer, give him a place in the select circle of the court, and even to admit him into the fellowship of grandees, this the sovereign alone could confer, and charily enough it was dispensed to the man of inferior connection, however great his merits. The emperor understood the longing, and perceiving the necessity for some such recognition of great services, since the grant of estates was really a mere confirmation of what Cortés already possessed, he gave him the title of Marqués del Valle de Oajaca.[35] Henceforth the name of Cortés gave way gradually to the designation Marqués del Valle, Oajaca being rarely used, though the mere term 'the marquis' was his common appellation in New Spain, just as 'the admiral' was set apart for Columbus.[36] The title and authority of captain general of New Spain and provinces, and coasts of the South Sea, were also conferred on him, with power to appoint and remove lieutenants.[37]

Cortés had evidently expected a dukedom, with a proportionately larger domain, for when the several documents for title and estates were presented, he declined to receive them, declaring the reward unequal

given in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 376–81; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 48–9. See also *Carriedo, Estudios Hist.*, ii. 7. The grant of the isles is dated 6th of July, that of the lots, July 27, 1529, though Icazbalceta, *Col. Doc.*, ii. 28–9, prints July 23. Among the lands was the Tlaspana, afterward known as Rancho de los Tepetates.

[35] This grant is dated July 6, the 'July 20,' in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 105–8, being an error. Yet in a cédula of April 1st he is already called Marqués. *Pacheco* and *Cardenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 379–80.

[36] The grant of marquisates became more common after this, chiefly in connection with services in the Indies. Pizarro received it, and Cobos was made Marqués de Cameraza, shortly after Cortés. There was an evident disinclination to increase the number of dukes, and so this half-way concession was tendered where the merits really deserved a dukedom.

[37] This commission is also dated July 6th, but is merely a formal repetition of one issued April 1, 1529, in answer to an appeal for his reinstatement, both as governor and captain general. He was told that the governorship could not be granted till the residencia reports arrived. *Real Cédula* and *Título*, in *Pacheco* and *Cardenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 379–80, 384–6; *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 71; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 103–5.

to his services. When summoned before the emperor, he observed that the sovereign could not have been properly informed of the extent and resources of the country he had gained for the crown, or of the immense efforts for its conquest. "Cortés, what I have given is not in final payment of your services," was the politic reply. "I shall deal with you as the archer at practice, whose aim gradually improves till he hits the mark. Receive therefore what I have given, as an earnest, until, with a better understanding of how matters are yonder, I shall be able to conform more entirely to your merits."[38] Cortés could not but kiss the royal hand and accept, though he was by no means satisfied. Indeed, when the partial concession of a habit of Santiago was tendered, he declined it on the ground that no adequate rental or encomienda accompanied the title to support it.[39]

Among his most cherished desires was the reinstallation as governor, both as a solace for his injured pride, and for the power it conferred to grant offices, encomiendas, and other favors to adherents. The latter was sufficient inducement both for patrons and friends to support the application with powerful arguments and repeated instances. But the counter-argument of opponents proved stronger, upheld as they were by reports from New Spain, where his enemies now held sway. Neither did the emperor desire a repetition of the troubles which promised to arise from such an appointment, nor, perhaps, to hold out the temptation it offered to an ambitious subject not wholly satisfied with the reward granted for his services. The suspicions concerning Cortés'

[38] *Cortés, Memorial*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 224–5. A substantial increase in favors never came, and for years afterward we find him clamoring about the neglect, and the reduction in his grants owing to ambiguous documents.

[39] Yet his name remained on the register of the order. *Torres, Hist. Órdenes Mil.*, 103. The honor was hardly worth his while, as a marquis. His two natural sons Martin and Luis received it. Most writers, including Prescott, consider the reward as a whole gratifying, but his biographer Pizarro y Orellana hesitates not to write, 'Todas parecieron pequeñas, considerando los servicios, lealtad, y hazañas deste gran Caudillo,' an expression which appears to echo a wide-spread sentiment. *Varones Ilvst.*, 120.

loyalty had evidently revived to some extent, and it had furthermore been concluded for the present to try the efficacy of an audiencia in that country. In any case the result of the residencia must be awaited. The crown had long been impressed with the policy of not confiding the government of a new region to its conqueror, and this even before Columbus demonstrated the wisdom of the measure by his failures. The Great Captain had aspired to rule in Naples, but was recalled for a different reward. These and other answers were given to the applicants, but, aware probably that a delay would lessen their chances, they persisted till the emperor returned a sharp refusal. "Speak no more of it," he said to the duke of Nassau, who was among the supporters of the petitions, "he has now a marquisate with greater rental than all your duchy yields." Cortés' influence was evidently waning, and while the reason may readily be found in the severe reports of the residencia judges, additional ones have been alleged in the offence he is supposed to have given the empress by bestowing on another the choicest of the gems brought from Mexico, after receiving her intimation to inspect them, and by neglecting to court the favor of the president of the council and Secretary Cobos, on obtaining his marquisate.[40]

One more concession was made, however, both as an honor and to promote the interest and extension of the crown, by permitting him to make discovery expeditions in the South Sea of New Spain, and to conquer and settle any island or coast thereof, westward, not included in the grants to others, such as those to Narvaez and Guzman. Of all such discoveries and conquests he was made governor, magistrate, and

[40] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 225–6, points wholly to these additional reasons, particularly to the latter. Cortés relied too much on the support of Béjar, and of the sovereign prince of Nassau, by whose friendship he was deeply impressed, while Cobos and President Loaisa objected to this foreign interloper. 'Porq̄ no piense ningun conquistador que se le deue,' is Gomara's chief reason for the refusal of the government. *Hist. Mex.*, 284.

alguacil mayor for life, with power to appoint officials and deputies. Further, one twelfth of all such land was granted to him till a full report concerning its nature and resources should enable the sovereign better to decide. This grant was in consideration of the expense he would incur as discoverer and conqueror. He must be governed by the regulations lately issued for discovery expeditions, wherein it is forbidden to take anything from the natives without payment or permission, including their labor, or to carry them away from their country, or to enslave them, save for refusing the faith or to submit to the sovereign. Two friars or clergymen must accompany the expedition to convert and instruct the natives, to prepare a report upon them and the country, and to give permission for enslavement when this was deemed indispensable. Enrolment of men for the expedition must not be made from among actual settlers.[41] This commission was issued in October 1529 by the queen, the emperor having gone to Italy to be crowned.

In the distribution of favors the friends and companions of Cortés also received a share in the form of coats of arms, offices, and lands, together with a confirmation of the encomiendas already granted them. All who took part in the actual conquest were permitted to carry weapons even in Spain.[42] The young native nobles who came with Cortés were given in charge of Friar Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo to receive dresses and religious images, and to be taken

[41] These essential features for the government of discoverers, part of a cédula issued November 7, 1527, are incorporated in the commission to Cortés dated October 27, 1529. On the 5th of November following, a confirmatory cédula was issued, detailing certain powers to be exercised by the governor, such as exiling and punishing objectionable persons. The text of both is given in *Puga, Cedulario*, 36–7; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 108–22, ii. 401–5; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 490–6, xxii. 285–95; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. app. ii. 21–5; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, v. 325–6. By decrees of May 9 and June 9, 1530, Juan Galbarro and Juan de Sámano of Tenochtitlan were appointed treasurer and comptroller, respectively, of the lands Cortés might discover and occupy in the South Sea. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 77–83.

[42] 'En estos Reynos, como en la Nueva España, pudiessen traer armas ofensiuas, y defensiuas.' *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. vi. cap. iv.

home.[43] To the daughters of Montezuma, whom Cortés had taken under his care at Mexico, were confirmed the estates given them by him on their marriage,[44] to the great delight of the natives, who regarded this act as a favor to the whole people. The services of the Tlascaltecs were further remembered by exempting them from being given in encomienda even to the crown.[45]

Shortly after receiving the title of marquis, Cortés was formally united to the woman already bound to him by his father,[46] the beautiful and spirited Juana Ramirez de Arellano y Zúñiga, daughter of the second conde de Aguilar, and niece of the duque de Béjar,[47] a connection which admitted him to the intimate circles of the highest society in Spain. Brilliant as the marriage must be regarded for Cortés, it does not appear to have been looked upon as a condescension on the part of the bride, for the groom ranked as one of the most famous generals of the age, the rumored possessor of untold wealth and unlimited resources, and withal a gentleman by birth, whose credit for services rendered and opportunities to render more, promised for him even greater honors and grants than he had received. All this was tempting even to the foremost of Spain's grandees, among whom wealth was not over-abundant, and the uncle the duke is said to have been quite eager for the match. Many of the grandees dated their boasted titles but

[43] The dress is described in a special decree to that effect, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 88.

[44] So far one or two out of four had married it appears. Cortés' successor took away the grants, and these were now restored, chiefly as a matter of policy.

[45] *Herrera*, loc. cit.

[46] Béjar 'trato con mucho calor de casar le. Y assi le caso con doña Iuana ...por los poderes que tuuo Martin Cortes.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 284.

[47] The father was Cárlos Ramirez de Arellano, the mother, Juana de Zúñiga, daughter of Conde de Bañares, first-born of Álvaro de Zúñiga, first duke of Béjar. Both families came of royal blood. The title of Conde Aguilar de Inestrillas was created in 1476, in favor of Arellano, first gentleman of the bedchamber. The title of the duke de Béjar was created in 1485. *Siculo, Cosas Mem.*, 24–5; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 236; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 123. 'Hermana del Conde de Aguilar,' says Herrera, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. i., from which it would appear that the father had already died.

one or two generations back, and beyond this they ranked with the ordinary nobility, to which Cortés' ancestors belonged.

Juana was indeed an envied bride, and the more so when she appeared at court decked in the magnificent jewels bestowed by her husband. The choicest were five stones of great size and brilliancy supposed to be emeralds, and so pronounced by experts, for one of which forty thousand ducats was offered.[48] They had been cut by Aztec lapidaries with admirable skill and taste, three in the form of a rose, a bugle, and a fish, the fourth as a bell, with a pearl for clapper, and bearing on the rim the inscription, "Blessed the one who reared thee." The fifth and finest was in the shape of a cup, with golden foot, and four chains secured by a pearl which served for the handle. The golden rim bore the scripture text, "Inter natos mulierum non surrexit major."[49]

Quite a number of people were gratified with a share of the precious stones, pearls, and gold trinkets brought by Cortés, all distributed with politic calculation. A portion was set apart to procure spiritual favors, through the instrumentality of Juan de Rada, who was sent to Italy to kiss the feet of Clement VII. in the name of his master, to relate his efforts for the advancement of the faith, and represent the spiritual wants of the newly conquered region, among which were more friars, and a reduction of tithes. The pope held solemn services to render thanks for the acquisition of so many souls, and issued a number of bulls

[48] But refused, says Gomara, though Herrera, ubi sup., writes: 'le dauan por ella mercaderes de Seuilla; quarenta mil ducados,' to resell to the Great Turk. The stones have since been classed as jade or serpentine, since no emeralds exist in Mexico. *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 31.

[49] These five stones, 'que las apodaron en cien mil ducados,' were lost when Cortés landed at Algiers in 1541, during the storm which wrecked a part of the Spanish fleet. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 284, 347; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 75. These the 'finest jewels possessed by woman in Spain' had been described to the empress, and roused her curiosity. Cortés was informed that she wished to see and probably to buy them, and, unwilling to part with them, they were sent to his wife before appearing at court, according to Gomara. This was probably represented to the empress with a little exaggeration, and she remembered it to his prejudice. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 226.

granting absolution to conquerors for excesses, indulgences for churches and hospitals, and special favors for Cortés and Rada, for the former notably the perpetual patronage of hospitals founded in his name, and the legitimation of his natural children.[50] The favors for Rada consisted chiefly of recommendations for his advancement, and these not being carried out, the disappointed soldier went to Peru, where in the capacity of an Almagrist captain he led the onslaught wherein fell the mighty Pizarro.[51]

After the departure of the emperor from Spain, Cortés found no reason to prolong his stay. He felt on the contrary that he must hasten back to Mexico to protect his interests before it was too late. The decision of the crown to appoint a new government for New Spain gave cause for delay, however, as it would be preferable that he should not enter into Mexico before the change had taken place. The representations from there sought, indeed, to prevent his return at any time. The India Council appear to have advised him to wait yet awhile; but, finding that the delay would prove long, he disregarded the hint, and early in the spring of 1530[52] he left Seville, attended by a brilliant retinue of companions and servants, nearly four hundred, well armed and equipped, and befitting his position as a leading noble of the kingdom, and the central figure in the empire he had won. He was accompanied by his wife and

[50] These are named as Martin Cortés, Luis de Altamirano, and Catarina Pizarro. The only hospital so far founded by Cortés was de la Purísima Concepcion, now Jesus Nazareno. The bulls are given in *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. app. ii. 26–48. By request of the sovereign to whom belonged the patronage of churches, Cortés surrendered the bull granting to him such privileges. *Puga, Cedulario*, 75; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 237–41.

[51] He was an hidalgo from the mountains of Castile. Almagro the elder at first placed him in charge of his son Diego, who later made him maestro de campo. 'Su Santidad le hizo merced...de le hazer Conde Palatino,' is Bernal Diaz' addition to favors granted him by the pope. *Hist. Verdad.*, 227.

[52] A royal decree forbidding his entrance into Mexico is dated March 22, 1530, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 403–5, hence he must have left before that date. In a letter to the emperor, Cortés explains that he waited for some time at Seville, and subsequently at San Lúcar, hoping to join the new oidores. *Escritos Sueltos*, 177–8. Alaman assumes without good reason that he was bidden to wait for the oidores. *Disert.*, ii. 32.

mother, and proud indeed must have been the parent to share in the ovation which fell from every side upon the renowned conqueror, and to witness the scenes of his achievements.[53]

After waiting at Santo Domingo for over two months, in vain expectation of the new oidores, Cortés found the cost of maintaining four hundred men too severe; he therefore proceeded, and arrived safely at Vera Cruz the 15th of July.

His reception was not unlike that tendered him four years before, when he was hailed by oppressed natives and persecuted Spaniards as a savior. It was not fully understood on the present occasion what power he possessed, but the mere presence of the hero, fresh from the hallowed circle of the court, and radiant with the honors and retinue of a grandee, was enough to obtain for him an ovation worthy of his pretensions. The natives, in whose eyes none could compare with Malinche, the conqueror, were the most demonstrative, as with flowers they strewed the path before him, and crowded round to place at his feet their presents, from the humble offering of provisions on the part of the poor common people, to the embroidered robes and glittering jewels of the caciques and nobles.[54] The demonstrations by the Spaniards, who flocked from every part of the country to meet him,[55] were fraught chiefly with abusive accounts of the audiencia, and loud complaints over the outrages committed against them.

Cortés exhibited his commission to the municipality of Vera Cruz, and caused himself to be proclaimed captain-general, whereupon he took formal possession

[53] Under their care came a number of Franciscan nuns and a dozen friars of the order of Mercy. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 231; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 412.

[54] A later investigation made it appear that the costly presents were withdrawn from the eyes of officials, and that Cortés sent secretly to Spain some 10,000 pesos worth of trinkets. *Informacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 531–40.

[55] 'Casi todos los Españoles de Mexico, con achaque de salir a recibir le. En pocos dias se le jütaron mas de mil.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 286–7.

of Izcalpan, five leagues from the port, as one of the towns granted him by the crown.[56]

Both alarmed and angered at these independent proceedings, the oidores sent orders for all Spaniards to return to their towns under severe penalties,[57] so as to enable them to keep back Cortés, and perhaps to drive him from the country. The natives were forbidden to hold intercourse with him, or to supply him food. As for the authorities at Vera Cruz who had countenanced the captain general, they were punished, and Alcalde Mejía received orders to dispossess him, and cast down the gibbet erected on his grant in sign of authority. The oidores had heard of the coming of new members from Spain, but seem to have at first regarded them as intended to replace their defunct associates, and they felt therefore as confident as ever. Others understood the case rightly, however, and many had suffered too much already from the audiencia to fear additional persecution, so that they preferred to remain with their old leader.

While at Vera Cruz, Cortés received a decree from the queen forbidding him to approach within ten leagues of Mexico, until the new audiencia arrived, lest his presence should give rise to troubles.[58] He resolved nevertheless to leave the unhealthy coast and establish his head-quarters at Tezcuco, although this lay within the prescribed limit, for here alone could he have ready access to supplies for his numerous retinue. In their alarm the oidores sent an appeal to Guzman for aid, and took steps to defend the capital. Cortés being both unwilling and afraid to create disturbance, commissioned Bishop Garcés and some of

[56] Also called La Rinconada. According to his opponents these proceedings were arrogantly conducted, 'con alguna manera de bollicio,' and this is not unlikely with so large a band of turbulent followers. It is even said that he claimed all manner of authority not mentioned in his commission, and threatened to hang the oidores. Letters of Salmeron and Guzman, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 190, 412.

[57] 'So pena de muerte.' *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. viii. cap. ii.

[58] This bore the date March 22d, and was read to him also at Tlascala by an officer of the audiencia, on August 9th.

the friars to represent his peaceful intents. If their military preparations had for an object the pacification of some district, he as captain general would take charge of any such undertaking, otherwise he implored and even commanded them to pursue a peaceful course. This representation had a certain effect, but the resentment of the oidores was not relaxed. They laid hands on the remaining property of their opponent, cutting off all supplies from that source, and then sought by strict orders and severe punishment to lessen his intercourse with the natives, and by diminishing the contributions on which he subsisted to drive him away.[59]

Galled by the deference shown to him, they sought to rouse a hostile feeling among the Spaniards by declaring that the laws restricting encomiendas and other privileges were due to his efforts. Under these restrictions Cortés' party was brought to such a stress, according to his own statement, that more than a hundred died from want of food, including his aged mother. This, however, was exaggeration, and the deaths must be attributed chiefly to the usual fever which so frequently attacked new-comers. Though resolved not to be driven to overt acts, he felt it necessary to intimate that unless the persecution relaxed he would be obliged to seize the towns granted him by the emperor, so as to save the rest of his party from starvation. Greater harmony was also necessary to check the growing insubordination among the natives, who felt encouraged by the dissension to attack isolated Spaniards.[60] Reasoning and meditation had their effect, and Cortés remained at his camp to await the new rulers.

[59] Alguaciles were constantly busy arresting chiefs and purveyors, and leading them to punishment with halters round the neck. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 228.

[60] The lord of Tezcuco killed several chiefs and took refuge in sanctuary to escape arrest. *Zumárraga, Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 181. 'Y no en muchos dias faltuan mas de dozientos,' writes Gomara somewhat hastily. *Hist. Mex.*, 287.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SECOND AUDIENCIA AND ITS REFORMS.

1530–1532.

THE NEW PRESIDENT AND OIDORES—THEIR INSTRUCTIONS—MEASURES FOR SETTLERS AND NATIVES—SUMPTUARY LAWS—IMPRESSIVE ENTRY OF THE OIDORES—THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE—SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO THE SOVEREIGN—RESIDENCIA AND FATE OF MATIENZO AND DELGADILLO—CORREGIMIENTO SYSTEM INTRODUCED—A CHECK TO SLAVERY—ADVANCEMENT OF NATIVES—SOCIAL REFORMS—FOUNDING OF PUEBLA OF THE ANGELS—SECRET ORDER TO RESTRICT ENCOMIENDAS—GENERAL CLAMOR AGAINST IT—THE CONQUERORS AND THEIR REWARD.

AFTER the reception in Spain of Bishop Zumárraga's raking denunciation of the audiencia, every ship that left Mexico carried scores of letters detailing the ceaseless abuses of which Spaniards as well as Indians were victims. The conduct of Guzman during his brief sway at Pánuco was known already at court, and now that to these charges were added others still more damnatory, as well as complaints against Matienzo and Delgadillo, it became evident to Charles that his ministers had erred in the selection of men to whom the destinies of the colony had been confided. He resolved on their removal, and as his presence abroad was necessary, he charged the empress to see justice dealt to these malefactors, and worthy persons sent to take their places. Isabel of Portugal was a princess of noble sentiments and of sterling sense. Having submitted the matter to the council, she resolved to make a viceroyalty of New Spain, and to send thither as ruler from among the nobles surrounding the throne a man whose birth and

position were guaranties not only of his loyalty but of his freedom from the excessive avarice and vile ambition native to men like Guzman. But time was required both for selecting such a person, and to enable him to make preparations; and as the ills of New Spain demanded an immediate remedy, it was decided to send a new audiencia composed of members well known for prudence and rectitude.[1] Some trouble was encountered in the selection, several persons excusing themselves; but finally the presidency was conferred upon Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, sometime inquisitor of Seville and oidor of Granada, and then bishop of Santo Domingo and president of the audiencia of that island.[2] He was informed immediately of the appointment, and ordered to be ready to join his colleagues on their arrival at Santo Domingo.[3] The selection of the oidores was intrusted to the venerable bishop of Badajoz, president of the audiencia of Valladolid, with instructions to choose only those worthy of association with the illustrious prelate. The bishop, after due deliberation, named Juan de Salmeron, Alonso Maldonado, Francisco Ceynos,[4] and Vasco de Quiroga for these positions; and the nominations were accepted without question by the empress.

Salmeron had acquired both skill and reputation as alcalde mayor of Castilla del Oro, and Ceynos as late

[1] The appointment had been determined upon early in March 1530—see the queen's decree in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 404—but the oidores were not officially named until the 12th of July following. *Puga, Cedulario*, 37.

[2] Of the family of the count of Villaescusa de Haro, born in the province of Cuenca, and well educated at the college of Santa Cruz at Valladolid. He had been made third bishop of Santo Domingo in 1524, and three years later, president of the audiencia established there. *Herrera*, dec. v. lib. ix. cap. i.; *Datos Biog.*, in *Cartas de Ind.*, 829; *Mex., Not. Ciudad.*, 266. Oviedo, i. 82, says that he was also bishop of Concepcion de la Vega in the island of Santo Domingo.

[3] The order was dated April 12, 1530. *Gonzalez Dávila*, i. 262.

[4] I have preferred the spelling of *Puga, Cedulario*, 56, and of Cortés, *Real Cédula*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 241. Torquemada, *Monq. Ind.*, i. 603, twists the name into 'Cavnos.' Lacunza, *Discurso Hist.*, 459, says 'Cainos.' They came respectively from Madrid, Salamanca, Toro, or Zamora, and Madrigal. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 230.

fiscal to the Council of the Indies, was admirably fitted to act as oidor, but Quiroga's leanings were of too clerical a character.[5] According to the instructions, dated July 12, 1530, on arrival in New Spain they were to forward to their predecessors the letter of the empress, notifying them of the change. Their residence at Mexico should be the palace of Cortés, who would be asked to sell it at a fair appraisement. In the absence of the president, the oldest oidor must preside. As protection of the natives was particularly enjoined, they must strictly adhere to the order disregarded by the former audiencia, to hold no natives, not even the ten servants allowed to the former, their pay being for that reason increased by one fourth.[6] All unfinished business pending before the first audiencia was to be promptly despatched.[7] The residencia of the late oidores and officials should be proclaimed without delay,[8] and if guilty they must be sent to Spain, together with the papers in the case.[9] Guz-

[5] So observes Mendoza, *Carta*, in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, i. 121–2. See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i., this series. Herrera, dec. iv. lib. vii. cap. viii. says that 'el Consejo supremo daua priessa en la partida de los nueuos Oydores, i procuraua de embiarlos con mucha conformidad de el Marqués del Valle.' Taken alone the latter part of the sentence might be construed to mean that Cortés' feelings or wishes were consulted in the appointment of the oidores, but it refers most likely to the orders given that Cortés and the oidors should sail together; for Cortés himself admits that the matter was not referred to his judgment. *Escritos Sueltos*, 176–8.

[6] The salary amounted to 500,000 maravedís. *Puga, Cedulario*, 110. Moreno, *Frag. Quiroga*, 13, says 600,000, which may include extras. The late oidores should be made to pay the natives employed by them, and if any of the laborers had died the amount should be applied to the hospital fund. Land and other property extorted should be returned, even in case of *bona fide* sale, if rightful owners so demanded. The fees of audiencia officers should be the same as those of Valladolid and Granada.

[7] Including the residencia of Cortés. But this had already been concluded. The accounts of the late administrator of decedents' estates, Lopez de Ávila, were to be examined, and, as the office had been abolished owing to fraudulent management, the unsettled estates and fees must be taken in charge. In 1550 a juzgado de bienes de difuntos was established, from which the crown derived a goodly revenue. *Recop. de Indias*, i. 489. For previous regulations see *Puga, Cedulario*, 13, 14, 20, 73–4; *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, v. 458.

[8] The process was specified, yet Fuenleal in a letter of the 30th of April 1532 asked for further instructions. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 208–9.

[9] The royal officials had already been ordered to Spain, but the factor had alone presented himself. They must now be sent, after having submitted their accounts and left deputies. One charge against them was the engaging in business contrary to instructions. The residencia of alcalde mayores might

man, if not guilty, should return to Pánuco.[10] The estates of Cortés should be restored, and friendly relations maintained. This applied also to adherents who had suffered in his cause,[11] and to all whose property had been unjustly seized.

In distributing encomiendas they should give conquerors the preference, without favoritism, the limit for such grants in the towns being two hundred pesos income.[12] The towns might for the present elect their own alcaldes. Sumptuary laws should be enforced with more strictness, since extravagance in dress and living was a cause for oppressing the natives. Gambling must be punished, yet the fines imposed for offences committed in this respect during the period of conquest were to be remitted, except in extreme cases.[13] Concubinage must be suppressed, yet in such a manner as to cause no social disturbance. While the maintenance of harmonious relations with the clergy was a duty, as otherwise the salvation of souls would be unattainable, they were instructed to report, after their acquaintance with the country, whether the actual bishops of Mexico and Tlascala were fitted to occupy those positions, and if it were not well to increase the number of bishoprics. The crown had been informed that, contrary to the agreement made with all bishops of the Indies, the two referred to were in the habit of collecting personal tithes; this must be strictly prohibited in any form. Friars could

be taken by deputies. Alguacil Mayor Proaño should, if reinstated, as not guilty, be restricted to the power enjoyed by similar officers in Valladolid and Granada.

[10] Or a lieutenant should be appointed. *Puga, Cedulario,* 45. It was pointed out afterward that this province was too poor to support a governor, and Fuenleal recommended the appointment of a settler as alcalde mayor, for sole ruler, with some deputies to collect taxes. *Carta,* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.,* xiii. 222.

[11] Such as Paz' brothers, Altamirano, who returned to testify against Guzman, Ordaz, and others.

[12] All petitions to the emperor in this and other cases should first be examined by the audiencia, to guard against unfounded pretensions and statements.

[13] By decree of 1530 Cortés was ordered to have restored to him 12,000 pesos in fines for eight years of gambling. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas,* in *Col. Doc.,* xii. 510. Regulations were also issued to restrict gambling. *Puga, Cedulario,* 70; *Ordenes de la Corona,* MS., i. 60–4.

hold no encomiendas, and exactions by them should be redressed and punished.[14]

The nuns sent to teach native girls should be protected and favored both by the audiencia and the bishops. The care of the natives was particularly enjoined, and Bishop Zumárraga received praise for his energetic defence of them. There must be no more branding, and traffic in slaves must be reformed or abolished. Wrongfully enslaved natives were to be liberated. Conversion being a main object, churches should be erected, religious education promoted, and exemplary life set forth. In order to promote the spread of Spanish customs and culture the audiencia should appoint, from among Indians dwelling in the towns of the Spaniards, two regidores and an alguacil, to sit in cabildo with the Spanish officers, who under penalty of the royal displeasure must treat them with the greatest consideration.[15] On the other hand, they must not be initiated into branches of knowledge which might endanger the colonists. They should not be allowed to ride, and neither horses nor mules must be sold or given to them under penalty of death and confiscation. The sale or gift of arms to them was also forbidden. A full report of the condition and resources of all the provinces subjugated must be sent in, also information concerning adjoining districts, officials, and other subjects. Encouragement should be given to the cultivation of flax and other products, and all women, natives and Spanish, should know how to spin and weave.

The belief in the existence of a hill of silver in Michoacan still lingered in the royal imagination, and it was ordered that careful assays should be made, not only here but in all provinces where the precious metals existed. The crown had abandoned its claim to all tithes on gold taken from mines, which were

[14] It was instanced that the Franciscans had exacted gold from the Cempoalans.

[15] Fraud on the part of interpreters should be prevented by employing two to give separate renderings.

now free to all, but no gold having been obtained, except from natives, the royal intent was defeated; it was ordered, therefore, that the privilege should be annulled. Frauds against the treasury, in non-payment of tribute, secretion of moneys, and unauthorized loans, must be investigated, and in order to protect the custom-house revenue the three crown-officers were to reside at Vera Cruz, each in turn, and, conjointly with a regidor and the justice of that city, appraise all cargoes in the presence of a notary.[16]

Meanwhile fresh complaints of Guzman and the oidores continued to arrive, until it seemed that their sole aim had been to disobey every instruction given to them. The newly appoined oidores had been for some time at Seville,[17] and were now hurried away. They sailed on the 16th of September 1530, with orders to touch at Santo Domingo so that their president might join them, but on account of stormy weather they were unable to obey these instructions, and landed at Vera Cruz at the end of the year.[18] With them went several persons appointed to office, and others on whom the emperor had conferred honors for distinguished services.[19] The report of the coming of the new audiencia, so long expected in Mexico, had been

[16] Many of the instructions are mere repetitions of those issued to the first audiencia, and others are trivial. They are all to be found in *Puga, Cedulario*, 38 et seq.; *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. vii. cap. viii. Many are incorporated in the general laws of *Recop. de Indias*, *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, and *Montemayor, Svmarios.* The ordinances for the government of the audiencia were similar to those given to the previous body. See also *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, i. ii. v.; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 24. Puga's work, properly entitled *Philipus Secundus, etc., Provisiones, Cedulas, Instrumentos, etc.*, Mexico, 1563, is remarkable as the first law-book printed in America, and perhaps the first American book of any practical value, the earlier specimens of typography, of which I have several, being chiefly ecclesiastic treatises.

[17] During their stay in that city one of them belied his reputation for discretion by meriting a reproof on the part of the India Council for communicating to an officer of the India house a certain royal order. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. vii. cap. viii.

[18] 'Nous arrivâmes ici le 23 décembre,' at Mexico, evidently. Letter of audiencia, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 138.

[19] Among those to whom the privilege of using coats of arms had been granted were Gerónimo Lopez, Juan de Búrgos, Hernando Gomez, Ruy Gonzalez, and García del Pilar. *Id.* All of these persons could not have accompanied the audiencia; the last named, as we shall see, was serving at the time as interpreter to Guzman in Jalisco.

hailed with joy by all but Matienzo and Delgadillo, who pretended that the new magistrates were simply to fill the places of the president and the two oidores, made vacant by death and absence. Whether it had been entertained or not, the illusion was rudely dispelled when the four oidores came on immediately from Vera Cruz. Convinced at length, with becoming impudence they covered their criminal hearts with the garb of humility, and when their judges approached the city they were foremost to render homage during the pompous reception. The oidores entered Mexico in accordance with the instructions they had received. Just before they reached the city a box containing the royal seal was placed on a richly caparisoned mule, on each side of which walked two oidores, the seniors in advance, marching under a rich canopy of silk, borne by the noblest in the land, whereon were emblazoned in all the pride of heraldry the arms of Castile and Aragon. They took their seats on the 12th of January 1531, their instructions and the ordinances for their government being read in full audience, after which each of the four, placing the documents upon his head, promised obedience. The president did not arrive until September from Santo Domingo, where he had been waiting the arrival of his associates.[20] They took possession of the finished palace of Cortés, according to orders, although not readily agreeing with him upon the price.[21]

[20] Hearing at last of their arrival in New Spain, he set out and reached Vera Cruz September 23d. There seems to have existed an impression that he would not come. No one desired his presence more than Quiroga, who, on the 14th of August, wrote to the India Council urging that the bishop of Santo Domingo be not allowed to decline the position of president, for the state of affairs in New Spain demanded his presence. He added that no soldier should be placed at the head of affairs, but a man of letters, whose conscientiousness, experience, and freedom from avarice fitted him for the position; such a man was Fuenleal, as he, while in Hispaniola, had had ample opportunity of judging.

[21] This was the western building, with the shops, and 20,000 pesos de oro was demanded for the whole, but the audiencia paid him barely half that amount for the main building, returning the shops which yielded a rental of 3,000 pesos or more. Cortés demanded more, and was still complaining of delayed payment in 1533. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 550–1. It was proposed in 1537 to buy also the shops, but during the interval of commu-

One of their first acts was a renewal of the oath of allegiance to the king, the queen-mother, and the young prince Felipe, in accordance with special instructions. This was administered after solemn mass by the bishop, on a raised and decorated platform, first to the audiencia, then to the officers of the municipality and leading citizens, in the presence of the assembled subjects. A similar procedure was exacted in all the settlements of the country.[22] After a preliminary investigation the residencia of the late audiencia was proclaimed, and an embargo placed upon their property, including Guzman's Pánuco estates.[23] Now for the first time dared the oppressed give vent to the feelings pent up during a long series of indignities and outrages, and haste was made from all parts to testify against the tyrants, and to claim damages. The claims of Cortés' attorneys alone aggregated some two hundred thousand pesos de oro. Matienzo and Delgadillo naturally threw the chief blame on the absent Guzman, but there was enough immediate evidence to cause their arrest, the former, as the least guilty, being confined merely to the city limits, while the insolence of the latter was softened by a term of prison seclusion.[24] The suit against them proved strong, Cortés alone gaining a hundred verdicts,[25] and they

nication with Spain on this point property doubled in value, and Mendoza objected to pay the 50,000 ducats demanded. Cortés' other house was then valued at 60,000 castellanos. *Mendoza, Carta*, in *Id.*, ii. 200–1. See letter of oidores in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 161, on payments, and *Puga, Cedulario*, 37–8, on royal order to buy. The occupation of this house involved the audiencia in certain meddling with municipal affairs, which was resented by the city council. Appeals were addressed to the home government and resulted in a cédula granting one oidor the right to assist in the cabildo sessions. *Id.*, 109–10.

[22] Torquemada, i. 605, describes the ceremony, and adds: 'y esta fue la primera Jura, que huvo en estas Indias.'

[23] Which consisted of slaves and live-stock, the whole insufficient to cover the 'dix mille pesos qu'il a pris dans le trésor royal.' *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 139. Delgadillo had hastened to convert his property into money. *Id.*, 174.

[24] Matienzo was even trusted so far as to be sent to Pánuco to report on the slave-trade there. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 228.

[25] Yet not all he sought, for his suits against them and Guzman continued until after his death. See *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxix. 298 et seq., xxvii. 462. They were mulcted 40,000 pesos de oro in 1532, for 25 of those suits. *Cartas de Indias*, 748.

were sentenced to heavy payments, for which their property was wholly insufficient. They were sent to Spain in the autumn of 1532, together with the evidence, there to linger in disgrace and poverty.[26]

The encomiendas wrongfully granted to their friends were either restored to the rightful owner, or taken for the crown, yet several holders made appeal and managed to retain their grants.

With the residencia, the administration of justice, and the inauguration of reforms, involving long sittings and rounds of visits, the audiencia had a hard task before them, working daily twelve hours out of the twenty-four, not excepting feast-days. Fuenleal, indeed, felt it necessary to recommend the appointment of two more oidores for a term of two years, the others serving four years.[27] In a special council, assisted by the bishop, a number of friars, Cortés, and several officials and residents, the holding and treatment of the natives were carefully considered, as well as the tribute system and cognate branches, and many valuable conclusions were reached to aid the audiencia in executing the orders for the withdrawal of encomiendas. Under the direction of the empress the several councils in Spain had joined at the end of 1529 to consider Indian affairs, notably the holding of Indians, and had resolved that encomiendas should not be sustained. Their recommendation was to effect this change within one year, granting present holders but half the revenue during that time. In view of the reasons presented by Cortés as well as by the friars in favor of the system, and the danger of so sudden a reform, the second audiencia was empowered

[26] *Fuenleal, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 251; *Villa Señor, Theatro*, i. 14. Two brothers of Delgadillo died in prison for their outrages. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 230.

[27] Two should remain in the capital with the president, the rest should travel, each in his district, to watch over the execution of laws, the collection of revenue, and the welfare generally of the people. A relator was also recommended, and a fiscal, since the order for a lawyer to fill this office at call did not promote impartial pleadings. *Cartas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 207, 225. The advice was partly followed, according to *Puga, Cedulario*. 84.

to use their judgment before they took a step that might create a revolt among the Spaniards, retard settlement, or even affect the natives in a manner prejudicial to the crown. They had secret orders nevertheless to withdraw all grants unjustly held, to incorporate for the crown all that fell vacant, and as many more as they could with safety.[28]

The system intended to replace the encomendero rule was that of *corregimientos,* in charge of petty governors or magistrates known as *corregidores,*[29] who as royal representatives were to govern the Indians as tributary vassals, granting them almost equal freedom with the Spaniards. They must report on the land and industrial resources of the natives in their district, so that the higher authorities might determine

[28] Salmeron alludes to the clamor created by the execution of this secret decree; but 'come what may your majesty's orders shall be carried out,' for they are just. Letter, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 126. See also *Puga, Cedulario,* 52, and *Leon, Trat. Encom.*, 18, on the new order.

[29] Who held civil and criminal jurisdiction in the first instance, and political and economic supervision of his district. They were of three classes: *letrados,* or versed in law, *políticos ó de capa y espada,* and *políticos y militares.* All had the same power, except that the last two, as not versed in law, had in suits to consult the alcaldes mayores, who acted as their counsel. Those now to be appointed in New Spain were not all of this formal dignity, though enjoying the title and duties. In the instructions for their guidance, dated July 12, 1530, they were ordered to obtain an account of the lands cultivated, and the amount and kind of tribute paid; to keep a record of the encomiendas adjoining their corregimiento, by whom held, how managed, what tribute was obtained, how the natives were treated, what religious instruction was given, and whether there were any vagrants. They could accept no gift or fee, directly or indirectly, under penalty of loss of office and a fine seven times the value of the gift. Supplies might be obtained from the natives, but only on account of salary, to be deducted when tribute levy was made. They could form no business connection, and could neither build a house nor engage in trade. Besides responding to the usual demands on their political and judicial duties, they must make an annual tour of their district to watch over the interests of the natives. The established tariff of official fees must be strictly observed. This clause was much needed owing to the excessive demands of judges and advocates. The audiencia were willing to allow at first eight and subsequently five times the amount charged in Spain, while 20 times more was expected, and that in nearly all trades and professions. See *Lettre,* in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 123–4. *Setena* fines were to be applied wholly to the royal household. The supervision of municipal duties, of religious and social conduct, of roads and fences, of inns, and so forth, was enjoined. All official acts were to be testified to by notary. The care of the Indians was particularly urged, to liberate them from oppression, idolatry, and vices, and to promote Christian civilization. The instructions are quite minute. See *Puga, Cedulario,* 52–6; *Herrera,* dec. iv, lib. ix. cap. xiv.

upon the kind and amount of tribute to be collected by the corregidores. They must watch that the natives tilled their land and kept to their other work so that the tribute might not fall off; they must promote their conversion and the spread of civilization, and protect them from every abuse and maltreatment, keeping also an eye upon adjoining encomenderos and settlers within the district, and watching as magistrates over the observance of social, religious, and political laws.

An alguacil and a priest aided them in the discharge of these duties. Their only recompense was a salary which for smaller districts amounted to a trifle over three hundred pesos.[30] As the new system would materially affect the conquerors who had certain claims to the land acquired by them, it was proposed to give them the preference in appointing corregidores. The first task of the audiencia was to inspect the towns and apportion districts of sufficient size to support the many claimants entitled to office. Many of the divisions were too small to support the triple offices of corregidor, alguacil, and priest, and acting corregidores or agents were appointed, partly for enconomic reasons, partly to allow the appointment of humbler candidates, as but too many of the conquerors were declared to be unfit for the office of corregidores. By March 1531 about ninety of the dispossessed landholders had been compensated with appointments as corregidores, alguaciles, and as supervisors of small districts.[31]

Another reform introduced was the treatment of natives by encomederos, as only a portion had been dispossessed. The audiencia perceived with horror how the poor creatures had been torn from their homes under the most shallow pretences, to be en-

[30] 'Le salaire des corrégidors varie de 320 à 380 pesos d'or, celui des alguazils de 120 à 140, et celui des curés de 150 à 170.' Ils sont trés-modérés, et cependant nous ne savons avec quoi les payer.' *Lettre des auditeurs*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 132.

[31] 'De ceux...38 seront corrégidors ou alguazils.' *Id.*

slaved and branded; some carried to distant regions and made to work in the mines, there to die from hardships and maltreatment. Wars had been forced upon provinces in order to give excuse for enslaving; petty offences had been falsely charged against free men to secure their condemnation, and, failing in this, they had been declared slaves of chiefs and transferred as such to the Spaniards. For this a remedy existed in a cédula of August 2, 1530, forbidding enslavement either in war, or by any process whatsoever, and as a check to further abuses in this direction all holders of slaves were directed to register them before the royal officials, and if necessary prove their title. Bishop Zumárraga was by the same decree confirmed as protector of the Indians, to watch over its observance, and shield the oppressed, yet with authority subordinate to that of the audiencia.[32] Strict as the law appeared, it was not difficult to evade it with the aid of corrupt officials, by whom the audiencia could easily be deceived. Even the saintly oidor, Quiroga, joins Salmeron in suggesting, a few months after the issue of the cédula, that natives guilty of rebellion, idolatry, and social crimes, be condemned to the mines, which must be abandoned unless workers could be obtained.[33] Despite the abuses that crept in, a salutary check had nevertheless been given to Indian slavery. Soon followed the liberation of children born of such slaves, and gradually slavery in its real sense became confined to the negro race.[34]

Another evil was the carrier system, by which chiefs

[32] His jurisdiction was limited in cases of maltreatment to 50 pesos de oro, or ten days imprisonment, and he had no authority over officials. *Puga, Cedulario*, 64–6. His interference became nevertheless distasteful, it seems, to Fuenleal, who recommended that no more protectors be appointed.

[33] *Cartas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 199–200, 424–5. Salmeron even uses the word enslavement in this connection. A joint letter of the audiencia, of March 1531, states that the order against slavery had already injured mining and raised the price of goods. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 147–8.

[34] Cortés urges in 1537 that no undue haste be used in liberating slaves, merely that children be declared free. *Escritos Sueltos*, 277–8. The price of slaves in 1532 was 40 pesos. See Fuenleal's letter, ubi sup., 258–9.

or towns were called upon to furnish men to encomenderos and officials, or for pretended royal service, to transport provision and material to the settlements, or for armies. The burdens and pressure to which such impressed natives were submitted were quite appalling, hundreds perishing on the road, there to be left as carrion.[35] To stop the impressment was impossible, as available beasts of burden were too few, and as there was no other way to utilize certain natives who were accustomed to carrying. Nevertheless restrictions were introduced, with limits on the burden, the distance, and the proportion of the inhabitants to be thus employed. Married men were allowed to employ four carriers, bachelors, two, who must volunteer for the work and receive in payment one hundred cacao beans daily.[36] All natives, indeed, must be paid for work, the rate and number of hours being determined by the audiencia.[37]

In these and other tasks of reform this body was aided by native alguaciles, instructed by Spanish officers and intrusted with the staff of office, as a step to teaching them the administration of municipal affairs.[38] A further step was the establishment of the town named Santa Fé, near Mexico, for converted natives, especially those who had left the monasteries, and here under the care of friars in their convent hospital they were to be confirmed in the knowledge

[35] The Huexotzincas, who bordered on the mountain passes leading to Mexico Valley, were constantly impressed for scaling the ranges with burdens, a strain under which hundreds perished, as Zumárraga writes in his oft-quoted letter.

[36] *Fuenleal, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 212. He suggests on a later page, that enough beasts exist to dispense with much of the carrying, and urges the continued introduction of live-stock. Guzman favored the same idea for Mexico, but not for New Galicia, where few beasts could be found. *Id.*, xiv. 86–7, 92–3. Beaumont adds his comments. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 447–8. Herrera, dec. v. lib. i. cap. vi., alludes to the limit of 30 leagues for certain transportations, with proper care and maintenance of the carriers.

[37] *Puga, Cedulario*, 77, 85. The audiencia speaks in 1531 of 'un demicelemin de maïs par jour' to workers on a convent. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 178. At a later date the pay was a silver cuartillo daily, and Mendoza recommended the increase to ten maravedís, owing to the rise in prices generally. *Relacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 506–7.

[38] The audiencia did not find the Indians civilized enough to form town councils. *Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 168.

and practice of European arts and institutions. Others were placed in apprenticeship to Spanish artisans.[39] Efforts were also made to gather and provide for half-breed children deserted by their fathers,[40] and to administer relief for the suffering created by the measles, which burst suddenly upon the natives as an epidemic, and committed ravages only inferior to those of the small-pox.[41] Moors and Jews, and descendants of those who had been stamped by the inquisition, were expelled, so that their presence might not profane the increasing number of converts.[42] Measures against vagrants were made more stringent, as they set a bad example to the community, and created no little mischief in the native towns. This applied also to many idle and dissolute persons, who, without being actual vagrants, proved equally pernicious to the community. A number of these were settled in different towns, and given land together with ten or twenty natives to aid them in cultivating it.

Among the results of the colonization measures was the founding in 1530 of the city of Puebla de los Angeles, by Hernando de Saavedra, corregidor of Tlascala, with the approval of the audiencia. Bishop Garcés had

[39] It was founded by Quiroga, who projected two more. *Id.*, 135, 166; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 310–11.

[40] They might be intrusted to encomenderos till of an age to care for themselves. *Puga, Cedulario*, 88. Quiroga had been actuated to this step partly by the number of children drowned in the ditches round Mexico. *Moreno, Fragmentos*, 20–1. The illegitimate offspring of Indians and Spaniards received the name of Montañeses. *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 174. Bishop Zumárraga had fined Indian adulterers, but this act was annulled. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 6.

[41] It stands recorded in the native annals as *tepiton zahuatl*, small pest, the small-pox being called great pest. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 514–15. Motolinia places it 'eleven years after the conquest,' *Hist. Ind.*, i. 15, while Bernal Diaz assumes that it came in 1527, preceded by a 'sabre-like light' in the heavens, from which the priest predicted what followed, namely an epidemic of measles and a sort of leprosy. In the year after, a rain of toads terrified the settlers of Goazacoalco. *Hist. Conq.* (Paris, 1837), iv. 461–2. In *Oajaca, Rel., Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 212, a famine is recorded, which extended over Miguatlan region. Sahagun describes a pest about that period, 'y salía como agua de las bocas...gran copia de sangre [a] por lo cual moria y murió infinita gente.' *Hist. Gen.*, ii. 273.

[42] Several petitions appeared to this effect. See *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 124, 136. The decree against Jews appears in *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 194, and that against the others was already issued by the previous audiencia, both to be evaded by bribes.

already represented to the crown that unless a Spanish town was established in his diocese little progress could be made in the way of either spiritual or temporal improvement, and he applied for permission to found one. The necessity was, however, so evident that, confident of the approval of the king, the audiencia authorized the beginning of the work before the receipt of instructions from the crown.[43] According to Motolinia, the work was begun on the 16th of April,[44] and from Bishop Zumárraga's statements we learn that the site first selected was situated on low ground, and that it had been decided before he left New Spain, in 1532, to remove the town to a higher position.[45]

Although great assistance had been given to the settlers by supplying them with native labor from the neighboring towns of Tlascala, Tepeaca, and others, during the first three years the colony did not make that progress which the promoters of it had hoped.[46] The cause was the uncertainty as to the royal orders

[43] By cédula of January 18, 1531, the queen approved of the plan by instructing the audiencia to found a town on an eligible site. *Puga, Cedulario*, 68.

[44] There is some descrepancy about the date of the founding of Puebla, but that given by Motolinia is well supported. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 232; *Concilios Prov.*, 1555–65, 243. Salmeron, writing on the 30th of March 1531, uses these words: 'Se comienza á ensayar la Puebla de los Angeles,' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 196, yet on August 14, 1531, he describes the town as fairly built, containing a church, public structures, four hostelries, and 50 houses, and the settlers already engaged in agriculture. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 163–5, 187–90. Vetancurt gives April 16, 1530, as the date when the first mass was said, which statement is corroborated by Motolinia. Vetancurt, however, errs in asserting that the work was begun by permission of Fuenleal, as the president had not yet arrived in New Spain. *Chron.*, 48. Zamacois states that the city was founded in 1533 as a measure resolved upon by Fuenleal and the audiencia. *Hist. Mex.*, iv. 562. Some minor authorities give the year 1531, and others 1532, as the date of the founding of this town.

[45] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvi. 560–2. The new town was built on the margin of the river Atoyac. The site was five leagues south of Tlascala, 20 leagues east of the city of Mexico, and 40 leagues west of Vera Cruz. Upon it were very ancient ruins, those, according to tradition, of the city of Quilaxcolapan, founded centuries before by Vemecat and Xicalantoalt. Another name given to this ancient city was Vasipalan, meaning 'country of snakes.' *Medina, Chron. de San Diego de Mex.*, 242–3. Quilaxcolapan signifies the 'place where entrails are washed,' the name being derived from the custom of throwing into the streams near by the entrails of human victims sacrificed by the Tlascaltecs. *Alcalá, Descrip. Puebla*, MS., 15.

[46] Salmeron, in a letter dated November 1, 1532, states that the colony was on the decrease. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 207.

with regard to privileges and immunities. Doubt also prevailed as to repartimientos.[47] Meanwhile the queen, by cédula of the 20th of March 1532, sanctioned the proceeding, and instructed the audiencia to advance the settlement as fully as lay in its power, granting exemption from taxation for thirty years. She also conferred upon the town the title of city, and granted it a coat of arms[48] appropriate to its name of Puebla de los Angeles.[49]

Yet for some time discontent prevailed among the colonists and their numbers decreased considerably.[50] But this unfavorable state of affairs did not last for many years, as in 1535 a subscription to the amount of

[47] 'Les mécontents répètent sans cesse aux colons qu'ils les perdent et se perdent eux-mêmes, puisque cet essai prouve qu'on peut gouverner le pays sans repartimientos.' *Id.*

[48] *Medina, Chron. de San Diego de Mex.*, 243; *Puga, Cedulario*, 76. The arms consisted of five towers, through the central one of which rushed a rapid river. The shield was surmounted by an imperial crown, and supported by two angels holding in their hand the letters K and V, which, as Medina conjectures, signified Charles V. In the orle is inscribed the motto: 'Angelis svis Devs Mandavit de se vt cvstodiant te.' I reproduce a wood-cut representation of these arms from *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i., between pp. 70 and 71, in which an error of *se* for *te* occurs in the motto. Calle asserts that the coat of arms was granted on the 20th of July 1538, and the title of 'muy Noble, y Leal' on February 24, 1561. *Mem. y Not.*, 61.

Arms of Puebla de Los Angeles.

[49] Salmeron, in March 1531, informed the crown, without giving any reasons, that this name had been adopted subject to his Majesty's approval. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 196. Tradition, however, assigns reasons for the name. One is that Bishop Garcés saw, in a dream, angels surveying the site, *Concilios Prov.*, 1555–65, 243; and another one informs us that while the Spaniards were employed in founding the city a great multitude of angels appeared in a dream to Queen Isabel and indicated to her the site. *García, Hist. Beth.*, lib. iii. 19.

[50] Luis de Castilla made declaration in Toledo 1534, that he had been at Puebla and that the vecinos were dissatisfied. Although he had heard that there were 60 colonists when it was first settled, when he was there, there were only 17. These complained that Tlascala and Cholula had not been assigned to them in repartimiento, though a promise to that effect had been made. *Puebla, Probanza*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, xvi. 557–9.

eleven hundred and twenty-six pesos was raised for the erection of a more suitable church, which was begun in August 1536 and completed in October 1539. From this time continued success followed, and Puebla became not only the cathedral town of the diocese[51] but a flourishing agricultural and manufacturing centre.[52]

Flattered by the good effect of many benevolent measures, and the ease with which reforms had been introduced into the Indian department, the audiencia began to write glowing reports of their progress, and of the improvement of affairs generally. Their secret orders were not divulged, and for a long time the withdrawal of encomiendas was understood to be a step toward a new distribution, partly of grants in perpetuity. This belief was fostered to some extent by the utterances of certain oidores, made in good faith in favor of encomiendas as needful to colonial advancement, and partly by the public letters of Fuenleal to the same effect. But the latter were intended only to deceive the settlers, or calm them, for in private letters he spoke against all but temporary grants, and made light of protests from the colonists.[53] Some of these, however, thought it prudent to secure all the benefit possible from the natives held, and this to a degree that left a stamp of desolation upon many a fair district. This done, they were ready to join those who had been dispossessed in an overwhelming clamor against the gradually disclosing policy of the audiencia. The country would surely be ruined.

[51] The episcopal seat was removed from Tlascala to Puebla in 1550. About this period it contained 500 vecinos. *Mex. Inform.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. 447–9. As early as 1531 Salmeron had suggested that Puebla should be made the seat of the bishopric—*Ternaux-Compans*, série ii. tom. v. 185—and Bishop Garcés also agitated the question of removal thither. He did not, however, live to see the change effected.

[52] Notably that of silk. By cédula of April 23, 1548, free license was given to its inhabitants to establish silk factories without being subject to control or interference. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 108.

[53] 'El aber quitado los indios y avellos tomado para Vuestra Magestad fué cosa guiada por Dios.' A little below he urges delay in considering perpetuity grants, 'aunque en el parecer que envío digo otra cosa.' *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 252–3.

Without natives to work for them the Castilian would be reduced to starvation and compelled to go in search of other fields. The natives would relapse into their old ways, grow arrogant, rise against the Spaniards, and none might predict the end.

The corregidores also joined in the cry, and complained bitterly of the small pay which barely sufficed for absolute necessaries.[54] The friars, who were interested, for that matter, by reason of a number of snug grants, came to their aid with strong arguments, dwelling in particular on the need of the encomienda system to promote conversion, and thereby maintain control over the natives. The oidores became divided on this point, Salmeron and Quiroga showing a preference for the system, and the able Ceynos appearing against crown holdings by which the revenue was reduced to nothing. It was also argued that encomenderos could be supervised in their treatment of vassals fully as well as corregidores, and would not only take greater interest in their charge, but insure a larger tribute.[55] The economic feature must after all outweigh philanthropy, at least with a monarch in need of funds, and as corregimientos involved a costly staff of petty governors and collectors, with payment of army and pensioners, nearly all of whom could be discarded under the encomienda system, which also afforded a surer return, it is no wonder that the high resolves were shaken. Viceroy Mendoza, indeed, received orders to stay his hand against encomenderos, and, as he strongly condemned corregidores, and advocated native service as necessary for the country,[56] we find

[54] This is graphically set forth in a petition from a number of conquerors, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 526–30.

[55] Ceynos recommended entailed grants, with enriqueña clause, of most land, and in large lots, say to about 400 deserving men in all, 200 of whom were to reside at Mexico, paying one tenth of revenue to the crown. Smaller grants lead to extortion. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 158 et seq., 237. The representations of the friars, headed by Valencia and Betanzos, are given in *Id.*, 156, 190, and others appear in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 566–71, xi. 197–8, xii. 123–6, 140, xvi. 560.

[56] See his letters in *Id.*, ii. 183–5, *Florida, Col. Doc.*, i. 122, and *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*. série i. tom. x. 364, wherein he also exposes the corregidores

the old system revived with ever increasing entailment, for a number of lives, side by side with corregimiento rule, till it withers in the general advancement, and disappears by decree of Cárlos III.[57]

The question was of vital importance to the conquerors, who, after performing achievements unequalled for daring and grandeur, as Bernal Diaz asserts, had for a dozen years assisted to establish a new country for the crown. If their motives were not governed wholly by patriotism, the result nevertheless appeared to the benefit of their God, their country, and their king, and they were entitled to a better reward than appears to have been given them—instance such meritorious men as Montaño, the volcano-climber. Much of the complaint, as recorded in different memorials, and in the soldier chronicle of Bernal Diaz, is no doubt the chronic grumbling of men disappointed in their inordinate pretensions, or torn by envy at the greater honors and opulence gained by favorites of fortune, or by persons more careful of their opportunities than the reckless, shiftless adventurers who seized an emperor and subdued a nation, and then abandoned the substance to disperse in profitless search of new worlds to conquer. There had been here a Montezuma, and there an Atahualpa; surely there was nothing so very improbable in the fancy that there might be half a score of such kingdoms scattered about the world. But the gold and pearls of new kingdoms once more melted into air, and when the restless soldiers returned to neglected grants, they found themselves too often stripped of these. And so they struggled on, a prey to their own folly, yet ever bringing accusations against a not altogether thankless

as negligent officers and cruel extortioners. The commissioners sent to do justice, *Puga, Cedulario*, 75, did little good.

[57] In *Leon, Trat. Encom.*, 4 et seq., we find the rules and progress of the system fully revealed, with entailment to the third, fourth, and fifth generation, in from 1559 to 1629. Mendoza speaks of a system of deductions and vacancies in the corregidor holdings, in order to obtain funds to support appointees for whom no place could be found. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 500.

government, and finding consolation in tirades and petitions, and above all in dwelling upon the pictures of the glorious past, dimmed here and there by recollections of those who had yielded life upon the terrible stone of sacrifice, yet anon illumined by heroic deaths on the battle-field. Many succumbed to broken health, and a half-century after the landing of Cortés but five of his famous band of five hundred and two-score remained, as Bernal Diaz querulously relates: "All of us aged and infirm, and very poor, burdened with sons, and daughters to marry, and with grandchildren; and so we live in trouble and misery"—a sentence which may possibly belie itself, however. But let the old soldier grumble; it gives us pleasure sometimes to exaggerate our merits.

As for the band of Narvaez, about a thousand strong, he knows of but twelve remaining; and the followers of Garay, all gone or dispersed. Yet the conquerors did not disappear so entirely after all; the number of prominent and wealthy men who in later generations claimed descent from them is quite numerous, and many, indeed, have by illustrious deeds revived the laurels gained by their forefathers.[58]

[58] Bernal Diaz' own family, despite his complaints, rose to prominence, or rather sustained itself, as told in *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 338; *Pinelo, Epitome*, ii. 604. His own book concludes with brief biographies of a large number of his comrades. *Hist. Verdad.*, 14, 129, 240–7, and passim; the records in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. ii., and *Ramirez, Proceso*, give additional facts, and long and nearly complete lists of the first-comers have been collected in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 431–6; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép., ii. 254–63; *Dicc. Univ.*, ii. 492–510; *Ilustracion Mex.*, i. 345–9. The *Monumentos Hist. y Polit.*, MS., opens with a list of descendants living in 1590, and gives some account of their condition. See also *Mex., Manif. al Rey*, 22–6; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles*, i. 177; *Torquemada*, i. 351 etc. Additional authorities for the three preceding chapters are: *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 45–6, 114, 200–3; iv. 146–7, 566–74; vi. 277, 500, 507; viii. 21; ix. 212; xi. 197–8; xii.–xiii. passim; xv. 443; xvi. 368, 560; xxvi. 352–564; xxvii.–ix.; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 162–9; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 295–57, 345–65; série ii. tom. i. 209 et seq.; tom. v. passim; *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 144, 194, 240–4; *Oviedo*, i. 114–15; iii. 520–35; *Leon, Trat. Encom.*, 18 et seq.; *Puga, Cedulario*, 6 passim; *Cartas de Indias*, 659, 837–41; *Torquemada*, i. 312–13, 502–3, 599–608; iii. 39–42, 101–2, 157 et seq.; *Las Casas, Regio. Ind. Devastat*, 40–5, 91–112; *Ramirez, Proceso*, 191–205, 236–53; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 121–2; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. pp. xlviii.–ix., lvi.–lxiv., 14 et seq.; ii. pp. xxiii.–v., 28–30, 156–89; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 20, 31–41, 103–22, 521–30; ii. 401–5; iv. 224–6; *Archivo Mex., Doc.*, i. passim; ii. 81, 166–7, 297–302; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 104; *Florida, Col. Doc.*,

121–33; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 1–6, 60–4; *Alfonso el Sabio, Las Siete, Partidas*, i.–iv.; *Recop. de Indias*, i. 570; ii. 157–8, 197; *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 75 passim; *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 269–362, 399–402; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., 517–25; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 224 passim; *Vireyes, Instruc.*, MS., série ii. pt. i.; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 20–4, 71, 80–6, 262; *Arroniz, Hist. Orizaba*, 314–15; *Medina, Chrón. de San Diego*, 9, 10, 19–20, 242–3, 256; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, 1–54, 126–49; *Prescott's Mex.*, ii. 477, 311–33; also notes in Mex. eds., i.–ii.; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 164, 182; *Fernandèz, Hist. Eccles.*, 47–96; 112–13, 156–9; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 136–7, 164–8, 276–9; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 210 passim; iv. 51, 85–96, 115–16, 571–90; v. 229, 287–9; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 30, 284–93, 312; *Bustamante, Necesidad*, 41–3; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 8, 62, 72–6; pt. v. 6, 7, 34, 41, 45–50; pt. vi. 322–9; *Escosura, Conjuracion*, ii. 48–62; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oajaca*, i. 3–64; ii. 380–97; *Villa Señor, Theatro*, i. 13–14; ii. 112; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, pt. iv. 248–52; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, pt. i., 87–105, 175–81, 209–36; pt. ii.–iii. passim; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 250–70, app. 29–30, 125, 215–22; ii. 20–33, 151–96, 307–16, app. 15–49: *Búrgoa, Palestra Hist.*, 1–15; *Concilios Prov. 1555 y 1565*, 29–34, 227–82; *Salazar, Mex. 1554*, 303–7; *Salazar y Olarte, Conq. Mex.*, 346–52, 398–441; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 12–13; *Prov. Sto Evangelio*, pt. i.; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 41–4; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 22–7; *Mex., Extractos de Cédulas*, MS., 5–12; *Mex., Not. Ciudad*, 235; *Lacunza, Discursos Hist.*, pt. xxxiii. 458–60; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 485; *Id., Chron.*, 26–48; *Id., Trat. Mex.*, 28–54; *Id., Puebla*, 54–6; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, ii. 374–418; v. 149–306; *Museo Mex.*, iii. 82; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 723–74; *La Ilustracion Mexicana*, i. 345–9; *Pelaez, Mem. Guat.*, i. 123–9; *Nueva Esp. Breve Res.*, MS., 225–45; *Mex., Manifiesto al Rey.*, 22–6; *Mex., Mem. Agric. 1843*, 9, 10; *Peter Martyr, de Insvlis*, 147–57; *Aa, Naaukeuriye Versameling*, xxviii.; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 356–8, 500–13; ii. 475–510; v. 578; vi. 475–8; viii. 62–3, 135, 213 et seq.; ix. 412–13; x. 746–69; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 148–9; *Granados, Tardes Am.*, 28–338; *Evans' Sister Rep.*, 42; *Fundacion, Prov. Santiago*, MS., 1, 2, 15; *Helps' Span. Conq.*, iii. 114 et seq.; iv. 354; *Id., Cortés*, ii. 176–82, 248–58; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 66–116; *Clemente, Tablas Chronológ.*, 173–220; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 10–13, 35–41, 104–11, 479; *Revilla, Resúmen Hist.*, 481–8; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, i. 228, 828–41; ii. 7, 137, 254–63, 434–44; iii. 347; v. 325–6; x. 108–13; xi. 501; *Zamacois, Hist. Mex.*, iv. 197 passim; v. 71, 165; x. 1208–9; *Santos, Chron. Hospitalaria*, 433, 473; *Pap. Francis*, MS., i. pt. i.; *Larenaudière, Mex. et Guat.*, 152–8; *Mazariegos, Chiapa*, 33–43; *Laharpe, Abrégé*, x. 62–122; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 46–60; *Campbell's Hist. Span. Am.*, 41; *Diorama*, 169–70; *Cortés, Brieven*, ii. 290–3; *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 895; *Nouv. Bib. des Voy.*, 124–7; *Pimentel, Mem. Lit. Actual*, 168–76; *Guerra, N. Esp.*, ii. 608–10; *Alegre, Hist. Comp.*, i. 213–16, 434–9; *Voyages, New Col.*, i. 348; *Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, xcix. 192; *Iglesias y Conventos de Mex.*, 62–4, 175–90; *Frost's Pic. Hist. Mex.*, 130–4; *García, Hist. Beth.*, liii. 19–29; *Young's Hist. Mex.*, 46; *Bussierre, L'Emp. Mex.*, 356–80; *Sanchez, Pueb. Sagrada.*, 1–162; *Salmon's Mod. Hist.*, iii. 196; *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vii. 198; *Jalisco, Mem. Hist.*, 205–12; *Mex., Col. Leyes 1861*, i. p. xl.; *Heller, Reisen in Mex.*, 128; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 87–90; *Touron, Hist. Gen. Am.*, v. 93–7; *Episcopado Mex.*, 7; *Portilla, Esp. in Mex.*, 199–202; *Gottfried, Reisen*, iv.; *Cortés, Aven. y Conq.*, 289–304; *Dunbar's Mex. Papers*, 192; *Lettres Édifiantes*, iv. 356–68; *Diario Mex.*, viii. 325; *El Liceo Mexicano*, i. 280–97; *Fossey, Mexique*, 501; *Grijalva, Crónica*, 2–9.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONQUEST OF NUEVA GALICIA.

1526–1534.

CORUÑA'S MISSION—ADVANCE OF THE CROSS—ENTRY OF GUZMAN INTO MICHOACAN—HIS ATROCITIES—TERRIBLE FATE OF KING TANGAXOAN—CAMPAIGN IN CUINAS, CUITZCO, AND ALONG CHAPALA LAKE—BATTLE OF TONALÁ—RAIDS FROM NOCHISTLAN—EL GRAN TEUL—OPERATIONS IN JALISCO—IN QUEST OF THE AMAZONS—THE GREATER SPAIN—CROSSING THE ESPÍRITU SANTO—ON TO AZTATLAN—DEVASTATING FLOODS—BRANDING SLAVES—THE AMAZON MYTH—CHANGE OF PLANS—FOUNDING OF TOWNS—GUZMAN DEFIES THE AUDIENCIA—CASTILLA'S DISCOMFITURE—NEMESIS—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

IT has been related how Cortés, lured by ever present rumors of gold and pearls, had sent forth expeditions which skirted the southern sea from rich Tututepec to distant Jalisco, and then retired to Colima and Tzintzuntzan to form nuclei for proposed colonies, and starting-points for more effective invasions. In Michoacan the exploitation of mines proved a means to attract and maintain settlers chiefly of a reckless class, whose conduct was not calculated to create admiration. The native king, indeed, had cause for bitter complaints, and after the overthrow of Salazar, in 1526,[1] he came to Mexico for redress, there to observe for himself the beneficial influence of friars, particularly in restraining the colonists in excesses against natives. Of a timid nature, Tangaxoan thought it politic not only to accept baptism, with the

[1] Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 215, places this visit during the troublous time of Salazar's rule; but had he come then, that rapacious tyrant would have held him a prisoner to extort treasures, for Albornoz writes in 1525 that the king should be sent for and seized, because he resisted the miners. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 502–3.

name of Francisco,[2] but to ask for friars to accompany him and spread their faith in his kingdom. This was accorded, and Martin de Jesus, also known as De la Coruña, one of the twelve Franciscans,[3] set forth with two or three companions.[4]

They were well received, and soon a convent and church arose, the latter dedicated to Santa Ana, wherein began their proselyting work. A not altogether politic iconoclasm created a hostile feeling among the people, abetted by the native priests, and but for the decided attitude of the king and his courtiers in favor of the friars, their task would have been difficult. As it was, idol after idol was cast down, and temples were purified of their abominations, or destroyed,[5] and since the wrath of the gods, manifested only in impotent oracles, seemed powerless against the attack of these solitary men, the people recovered from their first shock and began to look more kindly on a religion held by doughty conqueror and patronized by royalty. This change was greatly promoted by the exemplary life of the friars, unselfish, devoid of greed, patient, benevolent, and sympathizing, and these virtues touched the people in particular through the care of children and invalids. With the

[2] So Torquemada, iii. 332, assumes, followed by Beaumont, yet it is not unlikely that the baptism took place later, though not after 1529, as shown by *Pilar*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 248. Alegre names him Antonio. *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 92, and so does Chimalpain. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 78.

[3] He is highly spoken of for his charitable character and rigid observance of rules. After working zealously in Michoacan he went with Cortés to California, became guardian at Cuernavaca, returned to Patzcuaro, where he died, probably in 1558. Vetancurt says September 25, omitting the year. *Menolog.*, 105; *Datos Biog.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 780; *Torquemada*, iii. 435–7; Beristain says 1568.

[4] *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 376. In a memorial of Gonzaga five are mentioned: Angel de Saliceto, or Saucedo, later known as Angel de Valencia, Gerónimo de la Cruz, Juan Badiano, or Badillo, properly Vadier, Miguel de Bolonia, and Juan de Padilla, and Beaumont insists on accepting them, but Torquemada points out that some of these arrived only in 1527. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 731, 745–6, takes a ground opposite to the clear statements of Mendieta, and perverts his quoted authority, Torquemada.

[5] The chroniclers gravely relate that idols even of gold and silver were destroyed or cast away. 'Juntò vna gran suma de idolos, y à los de metal, y oro los arrojò en lo mas profundo de la laguna.' *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 105.

arrival of more friars,[6] conversion spread, and hermitages and convents were soon established in different towns, as Guayangareo, Patzcuaro, Acámbaro, Uruapan, and Tarécuaro, all of which were subordinated to the mother institution at Tzintzuntzan, a city confirmed as capital by decree of 1528.[7]

MICHOACAN AND COLIMA.

Thus spread a peaceful conquest, marred only by occasional excesses from ruthless colonists, and the Tarascans were becoming reconciled to the Spanish domination, tempered as it was by the influence of the cross. But the peace of Michoacan was not destined to be of long duration. The wealth of its hills was against it, as demonstrated not alone by the unruly conduct of the first colonists, but by the infamous proceedings of the first audiencia against Tangaxoan Caltzontzin, king of Michoacan, who had been summoned to Mexico and there held captive, with significant intimations that it would be as well for him to arrange for a plentiful supply of gold.

[6] The records of Acámbaro give the names of several additional friars, who are said to have arrived already before the close of 1526. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 27–53. 1527 is a more correct date.

[7] *Puga, Cedulario*, 27. Beaumont enumerates several more establishments, notably round Lake Patzcuaro. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 243–8.

It was in December 1529 that Nuño de Guzman left the capital as one flying from retribution. He appeared in Michoacan at the head of a well equipped army, accompanied by the king, who now served in the additional capacity of hostage.[8] The return of the monarch was sufficient in itself to give rise to demonstrations of joy, notably at Tzintzuntzan, although the festivities were soon marred by bitter grief. Immediately after his arrival the president required the king to furnish the Spaniards with from six to ten thousand servants for the march northward, and a few days later, under pretext that Tangaxoan did not supply the necessary provisions, Guzman placed him in irons and confined him in a room near his own. Gold and silver were also demanded, but the amount given was far from satisfying Guzman's greed, and Tangaxoan was repeatedly tortured[9] in the effort to ascertain from him the hiding-place of his store of precious metals, small amounts of which were still brought in from time to time in the vain hope of obtaining the royal captive's release.

As soon as the requisite number of natives had been furnished they were distributed among the Spaniards, and the march of the army continued, the lord of each town or village being carried along in chains as a guaranty of submission on the part of his subjects, after the manner of Tangaxoan, Don Pedro the governor, and Don Alonso the king's son-in-law. From Tzintzuntzan they went to Puruándiro, fording the river Tololotlan, or Lerma, February 2, 1530, at or near Conguripo. From the day, they named the river Nuestra Señora de la Purificacion del Buen Paso,

[8] The king was apparently at liberty, but a guard, specially appointed to watch him, would have made futile any attempt to escape. *Guzman, 4ª Rel. Anón.*, 463.

[9] García del Pilar and the alcalde Godoy were employed for the purpose, but the statement of the former leaves it uncertain whether the king was tortured while in Tzintzuntzan. An order was given, but before it was carried into effect two friars interceded and the king was restored to his prison, where he was kept, altogether about three weeks, until the march of the army was resumed. *Pilar, Relacion*, 248–9; *Guzman, 4ª Rel. Anón.*, 463.

taking formal possession by appropriate ceremonies, on February 7th, of the country on the northern bank now visited for the first time, and building a kind of walled church, or hermitage, also dedicated to Our Lady of the Purification.[10]

Encamping near the ford, Guzman proceeded to further try the king, charging him with the murder of several Spaniards, relapse into paganism, and the treacherous design of laying an ambush for the army. Observing that his prisoner was not willing to confess crimes which he never had committed, Guzman resolved to apply more forcible remedies.

Two Tarascan interpreters were the first victims. Information was demanded as to the number of Christians killed by their ruler, the time since the occurrence, and the whereabouts of Caltzontzin's wives and treasure. It was of no avail that they protested ignorance, the lash and dripping water were employed to revive their memory, and at last fire was applied to the feet, until the toes dropped off.[11]

During the following three days Don Pedro, Don Alonso, and even Tangaxoan were subjected to the same treatment, all except the application of fire, and

[10] Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 354–60, followed by Ramirez, *Proceso*, 203–6, and others, represents the army as having reached the river on December 8th at Conguripo, whence they went to Tzintzuntzan, thence to Puruándiro, and after advancing a few leagues crossed a great river. No one would suppose from this version that Conguripo and the crossing near Puruándiro were identical as is the fact; clearly the authors had no such idea themselves. Other writers, as Frejes, *Hist. Breve*, 73, and Romero, *Not. Mich.*, 122, make December 8th the date of the final crossing. But most of the original documents say the river was forded in February, while Guzman in *Ramusio*, iii. 331, and Oviedo, iii. 563–5, affirm it was on Purification day, or February 2d. The confusion in dates and consequent blunder in the route arises doubtless from the fact that certain writers, learning that the event took place on the day of Nuestra Señora, have supposed it was the Conception, December 8th, instead of the Purification, February 2d, of our lady. Throughout this campaign there is the greatest confusion in dates. I have spared no pains in ascertaining in each case the exact or approximate dates; but I have not deemed it best, except in a few cases for special reasons, to show in notes the methods of arriving at my conclusions. I have abundant material at hand for such notes, but they would be long and numerous, and serve no useful purpose save perhaps as a record of the author's industry.

[11] Only a few Spaniards who enjoyed the confidence of the general were present at this infamous proceeding, conducted in a small hut outside the camp. *Pilar, Testimonio*, in *Ramirez, Proceso*, 266.

with the same result. They were firm in denying the possession of treasure, and affirmed, as was doubtless true, that the gifts already made represented the accumulations of many years, and that as their country produced but little gold they had no more to give.[12] Irritated by failure, Guzman sentenced the ruler to death, declaring him guilty of all the charges; and after having been dragged over the plain tied to the tail of a horse, Tangaxoan was burned alive at the stake.[13]

To the last Tangaxoan protested his innocence and his good faith toward the Christians, called on his people to witness how the Spaniards rewarded his devotion, and asked that his ashes be taken home[14] for burial. This request was disregarded, however, and the ashes were thrown into the river by order of Guzman.[15] These facts were brought out at the trial of the infamous president in later years and are supported by statements of the best authorities. I believe there is no circumstance to be urged in behalf of Nuño de Guzman which can justly relieve him of

[12] Pilar and the author of the *4ª Rel. Anón.* state that the day after the torturing of Caltzontzin, several of Guzman's followers left the camp and returned some days later with a great quantity of gold and silver, found in a house indicated by the king when under torture. *Pilar, Relacion*, 250–1, and *Guzman, 4ª Rel. Anón.*, 464–5.

[13] 'El pregon decia por haber muerto muchos cristianos,' *Guzman, 3ª Rel. Anón.*, 439, 'decia el pregon á este hombre por traidor, por muchas muertes de cristianos que se le han probado.' *Sámano, Rel.*, 262. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 230, and Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 752, affirm that the king was strangled, but they are evidently mistaken. Pilar, *Testimonio*, in *Ramirez Proceso*, 269, says, 'luego pusieron fuego á la leña, y comenzó á arder, y asi quemó al dicho *Cazolzi*, hasta que naturalmente perdió la vida.' Don Pedro and Don Alonso were only saved from sharing the king's fate on account of the intercession of the former contador Albornoz and of Father Miguel de Bolonña. *Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép., i. 800.

[14] 'Mandaba que despues de quemado cojiese los polvos, y cenizas de el... y que alli hiciese juntar á todos los señores de la dicha Provincia, y que les contase...que viesen el galardon, que le aban los Christianos.' *Pilar, Testimonio*, in *Ramirez, Proceso*, 269. Navarrete, *Hist. Jal.*, 29, says, 'though the king's will was complied with, the Tarascos remained quiet; their own king had accustomed them to pusillanimity.'

[15] Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 752, following an old manuscript, claims that the greater part was saved by friends and servants of the late king and secretly buried at Pátzcuaro, with all the honors and solemnities due to his rank.

the black crime of having foully and without provocation murdered the kind-hearted Caltzontzin.[16]

These proceedings materially affected the progress of the expedition, for the news spreading throughout the neighboring districts caused the natives either to fly, or to rise in defence of their homes, only to encounter certain defeat. Any other leader would have been startled by the desolation which met his eye on every side, but Guzman seemed rather to accept it as a flattering tribute to his renown, and made light of the alarm manifested by some of his followers, declaring that he would assume the responsibility before the crown of all his acts.

During the stay of nearly two weeks at the camp by the ford of Purificacion, and while the proceedings against Caltzontzin were carried on, detachments were sent out in different directions to receive the submission of the towns, and they met with no resistance.[17] Then, after military ordinances were published, the army started down the river on or near the northern bank, and after a march of six days arrived on the borders of Cuinao, or Coynan, province, watered by the stream known afterward as the Zula. Chirinos, the late worthy associate of the tyrant Salazar, who accompanied the expedition as captain, was sent in advance to demand submission. He found the chief town abandoned, and the inhabitants in rapid flight,

[16] It is fair to present the excuses that have been offered for Guzman's act. Oviedo, iii. 564–5, says the king refused to give information about the northern country, and that he confessed the murder of 35 Spaniards, whose remains were used at pagan festivals. Salazar y Olarte, *Conq. Mex.*, 426, tells us he had relapsed into idolatry and sacrificed Spaniards, dressing himself in the skins of the victims. Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 23–4, says he was accused of disloyal plots, was formally tried and convicted, and that so learned a lawyer as Guzman would not have proceeded illegally! Guzman himself in *Carta a S. M.*, in *Ramusio*, iii. 331, says that Tangaxoan was tried on many charges, especially that of rebellious designs, impudently referring to the records of the trial. If from the standpoint of the times we admit relapse into idolatry as a justification for his death, it is very evident from the friendship of the friars for Caltzontzin that there was no such relapse in his case.

[17] Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 27, without naming any authority, states that one of these expeditions penetrated to Guanajuato. According to Tello, Guanajuato was then conquered. Both Mota Padilla and Navarrete, who follows him, *Hist. Jal.*, 29, mention Penjamo as one of the pueblos subjected at this time.

yet defiant, though a slight skirmish, involving the capture of a few of their number was all that resulted from the demonstration. For several weeks the army remained in the camp outside of Cuinao, the town itself having been burned, doubtless by Guzman's order, although it was claimed, as also in many later instances, that such deeds were due to the Aztec and Tlascaltec allies who could not be controlled. Meanwhile expeditions were made into the neighborhood by detachments under Guzman, Chirinos, and Cristóbal de Oñate, to reduce the country and to ravage. Their task was not difficult, for the villages and farms were all abandoned, while straggling fugitives hovered in the distance. A number gradually came in to tender submission, and among them the cacique, upon whom the devout Guzman himself exerted his oratorical power in behalf of the faith for which he was thus mowing a path. It is unnecessary to say that the chieftain was convinced by the arguments of his teacher.[18]

From here a message was sent to the adjoining province of Cuitzeo,[19] which lay on both sides of the main river on and near the shores of Lake Chapala,[20] the chief town of the same name being on the southern bank and within the territory discovered by Francisco Cortés in 1524. It was, however, no part of Guzman's policy to avoid that territory or to respect the rights of preceding explorers. Chimalhuacan

[18] It is amusing to read Guzman's account of this effort, and to note the flow of devout sentiments from his pen. Truly, the sovereign must have congratulated himself on possessing so earnest a champion of the cross. See *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 363–4. According to Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 29, Fray Martin de Jesus made here an attempt at conversion, but this is more than doubtful, for he is nowhere else mentioned as a member of the expedition. It is also said that, while in Cuinao, messengers returned from Michoacan, bringing more gold and silver than ever before. They had been sent by Don Pedro and Don Alonso, who by this means sought to obtain exemption from further torture. *Pilar*, *Rel.*, 251, and *Guzman*, *4ª Rel. Anón.*, 466.

[19] Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 384, followed by Zamacois, *Hist. Mej.*, iv. 500, tells us this was not Cuitzeo de la Laguna near Lake Chapala; but they are clearly in error.

[20] *Chapala*, lake in Jalisco; Laet, 1633, *L. Chapala*; Jefferys, 1776, *L. Chapala*; Kiepert, 1852, lake and city *Chapala*; *Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 496.

and the Ávalos provinces he regarded as legitimate fields of conquest, and he anticipated pleasure as well as profit in wresting these regions from Cortés.[21] The natives of Cuitzeo, however, were not at all inclined to receive the strangers with open arms, and their cacique sent answer "that he knew what sort of men the Spaniards were, and challenged them to enter his country." Guzman is said to have hesitated as to what course he should pursue, but Cristóbal de Oñate soon solved his doubts by tauntingly observing that Cortés would never have achieved his glorious triumphs had he allowed himself to be regulated by formalities and requerimientos. He made his demands with foot in stirrup, and entered the very camp of the foe to hear the answer.[22] The march was accordingly directed toward Cuitzeo, and before long they came in sight of the enemy. When at a gunshot's distance, a native champion came forth to test in a personal combat the valor and weapons of the Spaniards. He was easily vanquished by Juan Michel, a Portuguese soldier, who obtained permission to exhibit his prowess, and the defeat so terrified the Indians that they hastened to seek shelter at the river. Here they recovered their courage, and, on attempting to cross the stream on rafts and by fording, Guzman's forces were attacked in the water and a desperate struggle ensued in the current, on the banks, and on the river island, where the foe had intrenched themselves.[23]

This continued for several days with severe losses on both sides, Guzman's being mostly confined to his native allies. A few horses were killed, but great care was used in disposing of the bodies so that the

[21] Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 27, here as well as in the rest of his account of Guzman's campaign, seeks to defend the unscrupulous policy of the president.

[22] 'Cortés...con las armas en la mano y el pié en el estribo; remitia sus embajadas, mas las respuestas las oia en las mismas canales de las poblaciones.' *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 30.

[23] Captain Vasquez, armed with a sword and a buckler, was the first who leaped into the river, and, followed by some of his foot-soldiers, opened the attack upon the natives intrenched on the island. *Sámano, Relacion*, 268.

foe might not know that those dreaded monsters were vulnerable to their weapons. At last the river was passed, Cuitzeo was taken, and within a fortnight the neighboring places on or near the northern shore of Lake Chapala, and on both sides of the river from La Barca to Poncitlan, were reduced to allegiance by a series of minor expeditions, described with some detail in the records, but a fuller narrative of which is neither practicable nor desirable here.[24]

From Cuitzeo the Spaniards proceeded to Tonalá,[25] the aboriginal name of the region about the present Guadalajara, entering and taking possession of the chief town, also called Tonalá, on March 25th. The town and province were at the time under a female ruler, who received the Spaniards with kindness, mindful of the former visit of Francisco Cortés; but some of her people, notably those of Tetlan, well informed of Guzman's proceedings in Michoacan and the murder of Tangaxoan, were indignant that their mistress had welcomed the enemy of her race, and two

[24] I deem it useless to give long lists of town names, most of which can be found on the maps, but very few of which are applied to the same localities as in aboriginal times. The original towns were for the most part destroyed, and those which succeeded them under Spanish auspices have in many instances experienced several changes of locality, while retaining the same names. As a rule I shall name only such towns as are necessary to show the route followed, and such as acquired some importance in later times. Among the acts of cruelty perpetrated in this region was the setting a fierce dog on the fat cacique of Cuitzeo for alleged neglect in furnishing supplies, an act attributed by Salazar y Olarte, *Conq. Mex.*, 426–8, to a 'delirious impulse' on the part of Guzman. A Mexican chief also was so beaten for some fancied misconduct that he lost permanently the use of his hands. *Guzman, 4ª Rel. Anón.*, 467. Navarrete, *Hist. Jal.*, 35, speaks of the artificial formation of a ford by filling the river with sand. Guzman, *Ramusio*, iii. 332–4, tells us of finding cannibals and burning a sodomite; he regrets the idolatrous tendencies of the natives, and says—uncontradicted so far as I know—that he is himself the greatest sinner of all, but hopes that God in his great goodness will accept his efforts for the conversion of gentiles. Oviedo, iii. 565–6, speaks of ovens filled with human bodies frying in their fat and blood, to be used as food.

[25] Chirinos was detailed with one detachment to reach Tonalá by a different route and render Guzman assistance in case of need. Guzman, *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 370; Tello, in *Hist. N. Gal.*, ii. 343, and others imply that Chirinos was instructed to conquer the northern regions, joining the main army at Tepic; but probably the division of the army was not effected till later. On the march from Cuitzeo to Tonalá the 'friendly Indians' were kept in chains, or under strong guard, by order of Guzman; to prevent them from escaping or abandoning the baggage. *Guzman, 4ª Rel. Anón.*, 467.

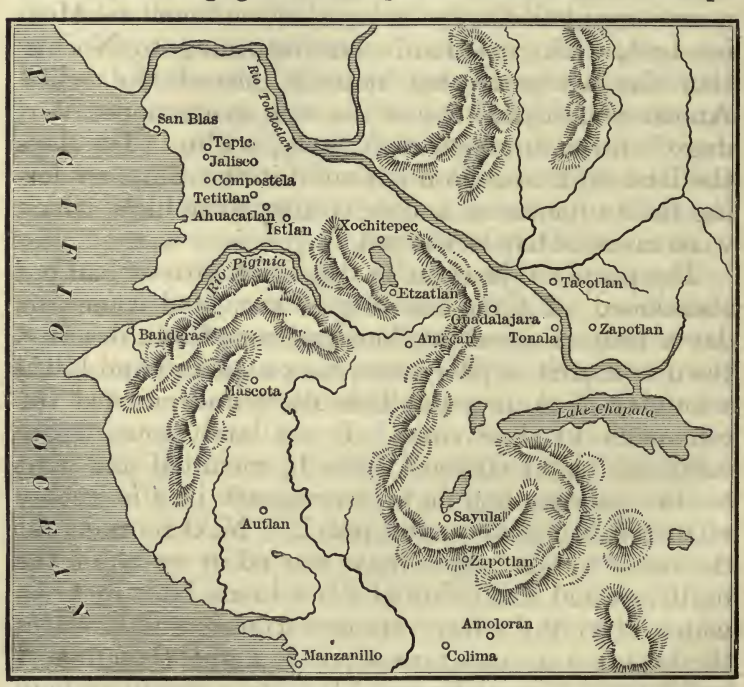
or three thousand of them gathered with hostile demonstrations on a height overlooking the capital, near the actual site of Guadalajara. A demand of submission was haughtily spurned, whereupon Guzman led the charge against them, assisted by Oñate and Verdugo. A lively battle ensued, for the natives fought with a desperation hitherto unparalleled; but they were comparatively few in number, and had at last to succumb, with great loss. During the struggle Guzman's lance was wrested from his grasp and directed against himself, but one of his companions turned the weapon from its course and saved his life. It is even said the fight was so hot that Santiago himself felt obliged to appear in succor of his faithful children.[26]

After this battle the whole province was quickly brought into subjection; in fact there was no further resistance. Yet the hostility of the Tetlan warriors gave Guzman a pretext for plundering[27] and burning, the latter part of the performance being always attributed to the unmanageable Indian allies. On the ground that the province had not been permanently subjected by Francisco Cortés, Guzman claimed it as a new conquest, and in commemoration of his great victory two chapels were built, one within the town, dedicated to the holy virgin; the other on the lofty battle-ground, dedicated to the victoria de la cruz, by which term the chapel became known, and in token of the same a cross was erected, some sixty feet in height, which could be seen for many a league, bearing witness to the irresistible valor of Christian soldiers.

[26] Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 39, says the attack was made while the Spaniards were seated at a banquet given by the queen, while most of the original authorities and eye-witnesses state that the battle was fought before Guzman entered Tonalá, but the president's own report shows clearly that it took place after he had left the town. *Sámano, Relacion*, 269–70; *Guzman, 3ª Rel. Anón.*, 441; *Id., 4ª Rel.*, 468; *López, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 419–20. The day after the battle Chirinos arrived, and was sent to the other side of the river to disperse the reassembling fugitives, but owing to the ruggedness of the country his expedition failed. *Guzman*, in *Id.*, xiii. 374.

[27] 'Yo no les muestro boluntad de querello (gold and silver) ni que vengo á ello... yo les he mandado decir que no tengo necesidad de oro, sino de que sean buenos,' says the president hypocritically in his letter to the emperor in *Pacheco* and *Cardenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 373–4.

After a fortnight's stay at Tonalá, about the beginning of April, the army resumed its march,[28] passing almost wholly through deserted farms and villages. Near Contla a body of natives ventured to attack the vanguard under the maestre de campo, in retaliation for which a hill village was surprised while the inhabitants were engaged in religious exercises.[29] On ap-



NUEVA GALICIA.

proaching Nochistlan, Guzman learned that numbers were prepared for resistance. Messengers were sent to demand peaceful submission, only to be driven

[28] According to *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 53, and Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 391–2, a garrison was left at Tonalá under Captain Vasquez de Buendía. Guzman appropriated Tonalá to himself, but later the crown took it from him and made it a corregimiento. *Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 177.

[29] 'A Tolilitla...hallélos en una borrachera, por donde creo que no nos salieron de guerra.' *Guzman, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 375. The places touched since Tonalá were Chapetala, Ximoamtla, Ixcatlan, Hacotla, Contla, Tolilitla.

back by missiles. When the army came in sight, however, the natives retreated toward the mountains, the cavalry pursuing and capturing a number. The torch was now applied to the deserted town, and detachments were sent to explore and conquer the neighboring districts. One band under Chirinos, sent to Teul, passed through an ancient city, with many large buildings, similar to those found in Mexico by the first Spaniards, but returning to Nochistlan the accompanying natives burned the relics. Another successful expedition was made under Verdugo[30] in the direction of Xalpan; within a few days the lords of that region appeared in the camp, tendering their submission, and delivering some idols, which were immediately destroyed.

The people in Nochistlan, though fugitives, had not abandoned all thoughts of resistance, and when one day a body of about five hundred came to the deserted town in search of provisions, they attacked and killed a number of Aztecs and Tlascaltecs and pursued the remainder to their camp. Immediately some Spaniards, and later Guzman himself, mounted and went to the rescue, but night having set in, the enemy retreated in safety to the peñol.[31] Next morning, at the head of a division, Oñate started in search of the fugitives, and was followed a few hours later by Guzman. During the day various encounters took place; the enemy were in all cases put to flight, though several horses were wounded. The army remained here about a month, celebrating holy week in a small church hastily erected. Soon after easter, having previously taken possession in the name of the crown, the march was resumed[32] and after three or four days they reached

[30] He was a brother-in-law of Diego Velazquez, the governor of Cuba, and companion of Narvaez. After the capture of the latter, he enlisted in Cortés' army, and at Villafañe's conspiracy, without knowing it, he was chosen as successor of Cortés. Later he settled in Mexico, holding alternately the offices of regidor and alcalde. See *Hist. Mex.*, i. passim, this series.

[31] This peñol is said to be the same on which Alvarado fell in later years.

[32] Tello, followed by Mota Padilla, Beaumont, Frejes, Ramirez, Navarrete, and Gil, speaks of expeditions under Chirinos and Oñate, from Cuitzeo and

the "grand Teul," the principal aboriginal town of all this region, spoken of as a kind of sacred stronghold built on a high mesa, and containing fine temples, fountains, and statues of stone.[33] But hallowed as it was to the entire native population of that region, it possessed little attraction for the Spaniards, whose forces under Chirinos had reduced it to ashes.

From here it was decided to cross the western range in search of the large and populous provinces on the South Sea, distant some twelve days' journey, and as provisions were scarce, with few prospects of replenishing along the route, the army was divided. One division under Chirinos marched westward across the Nayarit Mountains, by a difficult route which can not be exactly traced by the records, and arrived at Tepic early in May.[34] Guzman with the remainder followed a route to the south, recrossed the river, and approached Tepic by way of Iztlan and Ahuacatlan, likewise over bad roads, where part of the baggage was lost. They met with no resistance, though some of the villages had been abandoned. On reaching Jalisco, the last place explored by Francisco Cortés in 1524, they learned that Chirinos had been in Tepic

Tonalá, as distinct from the operations of the main army, exploring part of Aguascalientes and extending as far as Jerez in northern Zacatecas. According to these authorities the main army remained south of the river, waiting at Aztatlan until joined by Oñate's force, thence proceeding to Tepic, where was Chirinos' division. Gil even makes Guzman in his march from Aztatlan to Tepic pass as far south as Mascota. But all these statements are indefinite and contradictory to those of Guzman and others, who agree that the main army crossed the river and marched by way of Nochistlan to Teul. None of the latter speaks of any independent branch expedition, but Oñate or Chirinos are repeatedly mentioned as having been sent forward to reconnoitre. Oviedo, Herrera, and Salazar agree with this version, at least with that which refers to Guzman's march in person through Nochistlan. See *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 343–7, and others, ubi sup.

[33] There is much doubt about the locality of 'the grand Teul.' No extensive ruins so far as I know have been discovered in the region of the pueblo which now bears that name. For a description of the aboriginal remains in this region see *Native Races*, iv. 578–93, this series. Guzman calls Teul, Teblichan, and also Teul or Tonauipan.

[34] The country was so rugged that of the 17 days employed they could travel only three days on horseback. *Guzman, Carta*, 383. Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 343–5, compares this crossing the sierra to Hannibal's crossing the Alps. The Tepic natives thought the Spaniards must be birds, regarding the route as impassable to men. Ramirez, *Proceso*, 207–8, thinks Chirinos reached the coast north of the Rio Grande and returned southward to Tepic.

for three days, and was then only two leagues distant. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour they immediately joined him. Guzman remained at Tepic about three weeks to refresh the horses and to await reënforcements from Mexico. In the mean time parties were sent out in different directions to receive the submission of the native chieftains and to gather supplies for the army. There was no organized opposition here, though the general feeling in the province was hostile, as indeed it could not long fail to be under the treatment of Guzman's raiders, and as the commander really wished it to be, so that the conquest might not seem too easy, and that an excuse for plunder might not be wanting. The caciques of Jalisco declined the honor of becoming vassals of Spain, and all the efforts of three or four embassies to persuade them were in vain; they even went so far as to kill several of the allies and one Spaniard, who, too confiding, had strayed from the camp. Thereupon an expedition against Jalisco was undertaken in three divisions, commanded by Guzman, Chirinos, and Oñate, respectively; but besides securing a few prisoners and burning the towns and villages on the way, nothing was achieved. Having previously been informed of Guzman's plans the natives fled to the mountains, and though pursued for eight leagues, rough ground saved them.[35]

When Guzman halted he learned that the ocean lay but two leagues distant, whereupon he proceeded thither the following day and took possession. After extending his exploration a short distance in a northern direction, and having discovered a port, supposed to be the best on the whole coast,[36] he returned to Tepic, whither meanwhile the caciques of Jalisco and neighboring towns had repaired, volun-

[35] The author of the *4ª Rel. Anón.*, 469, asserts that Jalisco had peacefully submitted, but rebelled when an excessive tribute was imposed, in consequence of which Guzman burned the town.

[36] Just below the present San Blas, Guzman called it Martouchel, and as Matanchel, or Port of Jalisco, it was known for many years. Map-makers and writers evidently considered it distinct from San Blas.

tarily tendering submission. A garrison was established, the nucleus of the villa de Compostela founded the next year, and regular officers were appointed to collect tribute and otherwise attend to the emperor's interests in this region. In the last days of May the horses were rested, the province was pacified, and the army ready to advance.[37]

Although successful in the acquisition, or rather appropriation, of vast tracts of land properly belonging to the conquest of Francisco Cortés, so far the expedition was deemed a failure, having yielded but little gold and silver. It was expected, however, that the northern provinces and especially the country of the Amazons, the Hesperides of the sixteenth-century Spaniards, would yield ample compensation for all hardships. Progress hither was checked somewhat by the hostile attitude of the inhabitants of Centipac, or Temoaque, a rich and populous province on the northern bank of the Tololotlan, where Captain Barrios had been sent to explore and seek a ford. He crossed the river, but was repulsed with some loss by the native chieftains, who sent back a warning to Guzman not to invade their country on penalty of being cooked and eaten. The main army, however, marched at once from Tepic and reached the bank of the river on the 29th of May,[38] when the commander, clad in his best armor and mounted on a gayly caparisoned steed, entered the stream and halting in the midst of the current named it Espíritu Santo. Then mounting the opposite bank, closely followed by the army, Guzman took possession of the new territory

[37] Here were appointed Francisco Verdugo, treasurer; Cristóbal de Oñate, contador, or auditor; Juan de Sámano, factor; and Hernan Chirinos, veedor, or inspector; but most of these officers seem to have gone on with the army.

[38] This date—Espíritu Santo day—is given by Guzman, in several of the original documents, and by Oviedo, iii. 571. Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 347, makes the date May 1st, which is the day of San Felipe and Santiago. This author was perhaps misled by the name Santiago afterward applied to the river. Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 401, says the crossing took place early in 1531. A native captured near the river was delivered to the blood-hounds for refusing to give information.

for Christ and Charles, by waving his sword and with it cutting down some branches of trees; he ordered the trumpets to be sounded, and pompously proclaimed that this new conquest be thereafter known as "la conquista del Espíritu Santo de la Mayor España," or Greater Spain. The acts of possession and naming were properly certified before the notary, and the whole world was defied through loud-voiced heralds to appear and dispute the regularity of the proceeding. But no champion of aboriginal rights, nor envoy from any old-world nation appeared to utter a protest.[39]

The army of Centipac soon appeared drawn up not far from the shore to utter a more practical protest by disputing the farther advance of the invaders. That the Spaniards might not be terrified by superior numbers and escape annihilation by flight, a part of the native force was at first placed in concealment; but the leaders soon realized that their full strength was needed, as the Spaniards attacked and were attacked simultaneously at several points, one part of the native force falling furiously on the division in charge of the baggage. For several hours a desperate struggle was carried on, the natives exhibiting not only valor, but a skill in military tactics unprecedented in Spanish experience of aboriginal warfare. Superior weapons, discipline, horses, and at least equal numbers including auxiliaries, at last gave the victory to the invaders; the brave defenders of Centipac fled, but relatively few escaped.

Armed resistance in this and the adjoining provinces was at an end and the army of Nuño de Guz-

[39] *Tello*, 349, names it Castilla la Nueva de la Mayor España. The title Greater Spain was bestowed with a view to eclipse the glory of Cortés as the conqueror of New Spain. Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 23 etc., says that Guzman gave this name at the first crossing of the river on the Michoacan border. Ramirez, *Proceso*, 208–11, strangely confused in this part of Guzman's trip, identifies this Rio Espíritu Santo with the Rio de las Cañas instead of the Santiago de Tololotlan. The crossing was probably not far from Santiago Ixcuintla. For account of ancient remains on this river see *Native Races*, iv. 575, this series.

1530 man was drawn up next day to thank the holy spirit for the victory.[40]

For two or three days the army remained encamped near the river, in a town called Temoaque according to some documents;[41] then they marched northward, crossed a large river, and encamped at the town of Omitlan on the northern bank. The river, doubtless from the day of crossing, June 5th, was called Trinidad, and was probably that now known as the San Pedro.[42] Here the festival of Corpus Christi Sunday was celebrated on June 9th, and here they remained about forty days to refresh horses and men, await correspondence and reënforcements from Mexico, and receive the submission of the country. The province was fertile, supplies were plentiful, and the inhabitants well disposed at first; but very soon, despoiled of their property, most of them fled to the mountains. From Omitlan several officers returned to Mexico,[43] and by them Guzman sent his report to the emperor, dated July 8, 1530, a document which, except where it refers to the outrages committed, is one of the best authorities extant. Guzman requests the emperor to confirm his past acts and the names he had given. He announces his intention to march four or five days later to Aztatlan, three days farther on, a province reported to be rich and populous, which he desired to reach

[40] Seven or eight Spaniards, 10 or 12 horses, each worth about 400 pesos de minas, and hundreds of native allies, all of whom were probably valued less than a single horse, were killed, while a large part of all the forces and about 50 horses were wounded more or less seriously. Guzman tells us that several of the Indian allies were killed by the lance-thrusts of the Spaniards, the struggle being so close it was impossible to distinguish them from the foe. Oviedo represents the force of the enemy at 12,000, that of the killed as 5,000, and says all the Spaniards were wounded. Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 347 et seq., and Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 401, state that the entry into this province was without resistance, and minutely describe the ceremonies and attentions at the reception.

[41] The author of the *3ª Rel. Anón.*, 446, calls the place Atecomatlan.

[42] The small stream between the Tololotlan and San Pedro could hardly have been called a large river by Guzman and others, who imply that the Trinidad was the first large stream north of the Tololotlan.

[43] Captain Bocanegra, the maestre de campo Villaroel, and the comendador Barrios according to *Sámano*, 279–80, and *Lopez*, 432, 436. As to the latter, both authorities are confused. He is also mentioned as having returned from Aztatlan three months later.

before the threatened rising of the rivers should stop his progress. From Aztatlan he proposed to press on to the Amazon country, reported to be ten days distant.[44]

About the middle of July it was resolved to proceed, and Gonzalo Lopez, who after Villaroel's return to Mexico had been made maestre de campo, was sent in a northerly direction to find suitable winter-quarters. Passing over flooded roads, where sometimes the water reached to the stirrups, Lopez discovered Aztatlan, the chief town of a province of that name, and with this information he returned to the camp. A few days afterward the whole army resumed the march; but instead of three days, as expected, it required nearly a week to reach Aztatlan, on account of the rainy season and the marshy nature of the soil. Several days alone were spent by the maestre de campo with the vanguard in building two bridges over swollen rivers, which otherwise it would have been impossible for the foot-soldiers to pass.[45] Aztatlan reached at last, they established themselves in winter-quarters, and remained there about five months. This province, situated on the northern bank of probably the actual Rio de Acaponeta,[46] afforded food in abundance, and at first, as long as the rains did not prevent raids for plunder, all went well.

[44] *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 356–93, and in *Ramusio*, iii. 331–9. Guzman also asserts that a church was built at Omitlan.

[45] Sámano, *Rel.*, 279–80, speaks of a river called Santa Ana from the day of crossing, July 26th; and says they afterward crossed another river, on which lay Aztatlan on Santiago day, or July 25th!

[46] It was certainly on either the Acaponeta or the Rio de las Cañas, the present boundary between Jalisco and Sinaloa. The two streams are not over 10 miles apart at their mouths. The *3ª Rel. Anón.*, 446–7, makes the distance from Omitlan 10 leagues, and adds that when the army had forded the stream and were pursuing the foe they came to a larger river, which stopped the pursuit. It is clear that no such stream could have been found near the Cañas and north of it. The *1ª Rel. Anón.*, 288–9, makes the distance 10 or 12 leagues from Espíritu Santo River. The statements are not definite enough for exact location in a country like this, where there are several streams, each with branches, to say nothing of possible changes within three centuries. The name Aztatlan applied in later times to a town on the Acaponeta, is considered by Ramirez, *Proceso*, 208–11, as worthy of notice in

While here, Guzman learned that his presentiment of a change unfavorable to him in the government of New Spain had been verified. A letter from the oidores Matienzo and Delgadillo arrived in the first week of September, announcing the return of his enemy Cortés and the overthrow of the first audiencia. Certainly Guzman congratulated himself for having so timely and with such advantage escaped the company of his former associates. Although probably on the same occasion he was summoned to appear in Mexico, he was in a mood rather to increase the present distance from the capital, until he could return as the conqueror of a new kingdom.[47] But in any case it would be better not to leave the territory wholly to his enemies, particularly as the late oidores would doubtless attempt to prove their own innocence by heaping blame upon him. It was diffident, however, to find a person intelligent and at the same time trustworthy enough to plead successfully for the absent governor. Nevertheless he would do what he could. So he selected the former veedor, Peralmindez Chirinos, whose interest he considered as linked with his own, especially since the appointment at Tepic of his nephew, Hernando Chirinos, as veedor. With a letter of Guzman, and accompanied by ten or twelve other Spaniards, Chirinos set out from Aztatlan for Mexico.[48]

Scarcely had Chirinos departed when a fresh mis-

this connection. Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 349–50, says that Aztatlan was burned, vaguely implying that a battle was fought in which a great number of natives perished, and that subsequently the province submitted, the Spaniards being received amidst dances and festivities. He also gives an account of a public performance arranged in honor of the strangers, a fight between a tiger and a caiman in the yard of a house. According to the *3ª Rel. Anón.*, 447, the relics of a Christian trader who had died seven years before were found at Aztatlan. Have we here a trace of the missing Villadiego?

[47] The author of *4ª Rel. Anón.*, 470, says he had received the news of the arrival of Cortés already at Omitlan, though the message of the oidores reached him only at Aztatlan. Beaumont asserts that it was at Tepic, but his account of this expedition is very confused. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 400–1.

[48] In his letter to the emperor, dated Chametla Jan. 15, 1531, Guzman refers to another sent from Aztatlan. *Guzman, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 406. According to the *1ª Rel. Anón.*, 292–4, Chirinos returned from Chametla north of the other point named.

fortune befell Guzman. About the 20th of September, when the rainy season was nearly over and the patience of the inhabitants quite exhausted, a sudden rise in the river at midnight, preceded by a tempest, and, as some say, by the appearance of a comet, submerged the whole region of the camp for about two leagues in circumference, and made it literally *aztatlan*, 'place of waters'—now known as Etzatlan. The slight shelter of the soldiers—for the army was not encamped in the town—was blown or washed away; hogs, cattle, and large numbers of sick allies were drowned; and it is even said that the towns near the river were flooded; the waters subsided rapidly, but left the army in a critical situation. 1530

The rich stores of food which the natives had been forced to supply were now spoiled, and as the people had for the most part fled to the mountains, there were no means of replenishing the store. A pestilence attacked the auxiliary troops, carrying them off by thousands; the survivors were threatened with starvation.[49] Notwithstanding this, Guzman persisted in his plans of further exploration northward, and it was in vain the Aztec and Tlascaltec leaders implored permission to leave that vale of death and remove to some healthier locality. In vain they offered all their booty, jewels, gold, and silver. The leader's inflexibility could not however prevent attempts to escape. A number of Indians ran away; others were killed in the attempt; and not a few recaptured were hanged, while others anticipated such a fate by committing suicide. Even the Span-

[49] The accounts given of this inundation are doubtless exaggerated. It is said that the soldiers escaped drowning only by climbing trees; that 1,000 sick Indians were drowned; that of the remainder only 500 survived the famine and the pestilence; that the survivors had to live on toads and insects; that all the Mexican leaders perished, etc. Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 399–401, represents the flood as having occurred at Tepic. Escudero, *Not. Son.*, 25–6, puts the flood at Chametla. Navarrete says the Spaniards escaped on balsas to Acaponeta. Lopez, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiv. 439, makes the somewhat broad assertion, 'Adolecieron muchos españoles, los cuales, así ellos como los indios, fueron curados y asistidos del capitan general...como si fuesen sus hijos.'

iards became rebellious, and at least one of their number was hanged as an example.[50]

What concerned Guzman most was the decrease of his force. He was determined on this adventure. In fact he must go on; he could not well turn back. It was sad for him to see his men perish, not because of the men, but because of himself. Even now if he would continue his expedition he must have reënforcements. The maestre de campo, Gonzalo de Lopez, was therefore sent to Michoacan and the Ávalos provinces for Tarascan warriors and carriers, together with hogs and other supplies.[51]

At length Guzman became convinced that he must remove from that spot if he would not see the whole army perish, for disease was daily thinning his number. A division under Lope de Samaniego was sent northward to Chametla where they met with a friendly reception, and brought back fowl and fish. As they gave a good account of the place Guzman resolved to remove thither, sending first Verdugo and Proaño with a small force to prepare quarters, a task which they easily accomplished, aided by the friendly natives. At the same time, that is at the end of November or beginning of December, García del Pilar was sent southward to hasten the return of Lopez, who had been absent about forty-five days. He found the worthy maestre[52] at Ahuacatlan faithfully engaged in branding slaves,[53] for the northern market. On

[50] Another Spaniard was saved from the gibbet only on account of influential intercession; others charged with attempts at flight were kept prisoners.

[51] Tello and Mota Padilla, followed by Navarrete, say it was the captain Juan Sanchez de Olea who was sent to Mexico for aid. According to Tello he returned in two months with 6,000 carriers and supplies. Mota Padilla estimates the number at 3,500. Lopez, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiv. 437–8, and the author of the *3ª Rel. Anón.*, 447, add, that a commission was given by Guzman to enslave and punish the natives of the Jalisco district for having attacked a convoy of provisions sent from Michoacan, killing some of the men.

[52] Oviedo informs us that Lopez served under Guzman with 10 horsemen at his own expense; and unlike most of his companions he came back as poor as he started!

[53] Beaumont, *Crón, Mich.*, iii. 404, speaks of 5,000 slaves sent by Guzman from Jalisco to Pánuco. This statement, if founded on fact, probably refers to a somewhat later period. Pilar and Lopez in their declarations estimate

their return with succor they found Aztatlan almost deserted, Cristóbal de Oñate alone having remained in charge of the baggage.

About three weeks after Verdugo had been sent to Chametla, Guzman followed with the main army, and was kindly received by the natives,[54] who sent them food, and furnished a thousand carriers to transport their baggage. But continued friendships the Spaniards could not endure. Would not some of the survivors of this sickly army, some of the soldiers of this dastardly commander, prick these unsophisticated natives to the commission of some rash act which would justify the Spaniards to rob and enslave them! Nothing more easy; and by the time the maestre de campo and Pilar arrived with reënforcements the country was in a state of glorious hostility. Enslavement flourished so that soon almost any number of human beings could be obtained at the rate of five pesos each. Those captured in raids were divided among the Spaniards present.

After a month's stay at Chametla the army proceeded northward to the Quezala province, and thence to Piastla, easily subduing the natives of the district. The women were becoming more beautiful as they continued their course, which seemed to indicate that they were approaching the object of their dreams, the country of the Amazons. And indeed, glowing reports of Cihuatlan, the 'place of women,' confirmed the marvellous tales which had reached the capital.

the number at 1,000. They were branded with an iron given Lopez by Guzman, and with the commander's authorization. Making considerable allowance for exaggeration in the statement of Pilar, there still remains little doubt that the outrages committed on this people may be classed among the most noteworthy of the world. See *Pilar*, 256–7; *Guzman*, *4ª Rel. Anón.*, 473–4; López, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiv. 461–2.

[54] Passing on the road through Acaponeta, Juan Sanchez de Olea with auxiliaries and supplies is said to have joined them. In the same place the troops and stores were mustered. *Tello*, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 351–2. The province of Chametla was on a river from 12 to 20 leagues beyond Aztatlan according to different estimates by Guzman's officers. The chief town, bearing the same name, was about five leagues from the river's mouth, which formed a tolerably good harbor. The stream was doubtless the one flowing into the sea next above the Rio de las Cañas, which still retains the name on some modern maps, as does indeed a town near the original site.

All was so unknown; great patches of untraversed earth spread out in the boundless blank plains; it was as easy for the credulous sixteenth-century men to believe one thing as another concerning those lands as concerning the unexplored sky or the dark bowels of the earth—to believe of all these places to be what they were told, whether by home sages or foreign savages. And it may not be the last time that these Spaniards awoke to disappointment, when they learned at Cihuatlan that the Indians had been telling stories to amuse them; that there was no Amazon island or other great wonder there awaiting them. Yet for a long time they continued to talk of these things, and in a measure to believe in them though they knew them to be false. Still, the determination of the commander was to go forward. Marching yet farther north they came to Colombo, in the province of Culiacan, where they remained for seven months. Fruitless explorations were sent out in divers directions; tracts of barren land inhabited by rude people offered little inducement for further efforts. The fading of the Amazon myth tended to lower the enthusiasm of the soldiers, but Guzman remained steadfast. It is even hinted that vague rumors of the later famous Seven Cities had reached his ears, and served to fire his mind, now weakened by hardships and disease.[55] So impaired was his health that he had to be carried in a litter. Be this as it may, the march was renewed, now in an easterly direction over rough roads and across steep mountains.

But Guzman's star was sinking, and however much his efforts attempted to avert it, he was finally compelled to yield before nature's barriers. Confronted by the fact that to continue would entail the loss of his entire force by starvation, he returned to Culiacan, where the villa de San Miguel was established. Local authorities were appointed, and a number of soldiers

[55] *Guzman, 1ª* and *2ª Rel. Anón.*, 292, 303; but these allusions may be based on later reports.

left there as settlers, to whom were given repartimientos. With the remainder of his army Guzman began about the middle of October 1531 his march southward, to protect what he chose to regard as his rights in Jalisco. Having failed to find the Amazon Isles, and having also by his unwise and oppressive policy estranged the inhabitants and destroyed the riches of the provinces to which he had some claim as discoverer, and which should have satisfied his ambition, he felt that the region south of the Rio Grande del Espíritu Santo must be preserved at any cost. Perhaps to a man of his temper these lands seemed all the more desirable because another had a better right to them. His northern possessions properly managed would have brought him wealth and fame; he chose to return and renew his quarrel with Cortés, and thus bring upon himself ruin; but he had the satisfaction of knowing that in these later years his old enemy was hardly less unfortunate than himself. Guzman had asked the emperor to confirm the name he had bestowed of Greater Spain, his own title as governor of that province, his distribution of the towns among his friends, and his right to enslave rebellious natives. His petition was granted except in the matter of making slaves, and in the substitution of the more modest and appropriate name of Nueva Galicia. This confirmation of his authority was probably received by Guzman before his return to Tepic.[56] His authority as governor of Pánuco was continued, but of course at the coming of the second audiencia he lost his governorship of New Spain.

It is not likely that definite southern limits were

[56] *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 83. The document containing this confirmation so far as I know is not extant. The first mention of the new province by royal authority which I have found is in a cédula of Feb. 17, 1531. *Puga, Cedulario*, 73. The new province is spoken of in the earlier documents not as Nueva Galicia, or Nuevo Reino de Galicia, but as Galicia de Nueva España. Herrera, dec. iv. lib. ix. cap. xi., says that Guzman received notice of his appointment at Chiametla on his journey south. The oidores at first doubted the genuineness of the commission. *Letter of 1531*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 136–8.

at first assigned to New Galicia, and the governor's first care was to distribute the Jalisco towns among his partisans,[57] encroaching without scruple on the earlier encomiendas of Francisco Cortés and others in southern Jalisco, the Ávalos provinces, Colima, and even Michoacan, maintaining that the former discoverers had not permanently occupied the territory, and that he had been obliged to reconquer it—a plea of some plausibility, were it not that the hostility of the natives and the necessity for reconquest had resulted altogether from his own outrageous acts.[58] He founded, either immediately or within a few years, several Spanish settlements. Among these was the villa of Santiago de Compostela, in the immediate vicinity of Tepic and Jalisco towns, for a long time the capital of New Galicia.[59]

Not long afterward Juan de Oñate was sent to establish Espíritu Santo, called later Guadalajara, in honor of Guzman's birthplace. The first founding was

[57] Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 355–62, gives a list of the principal encomiendas and the persons who received them. See also *Société Amér.*, i. 35–52. Guzman was in some way prompted to it, because several of his captains, asking permission to go to Mexico, went to Peru. Afraid lest the desertions might materially reduce his power, thus invalidating his conquest, he went in person to Ahuacatlan and the Rio Grande where by liberal grants of encomiendas he contrived to satisfy the discontented. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 58–9.

[58] The dispossessed holders appealed to the crown, and by cédula of April 20, 1533, Guzman was forbidden to meddle with Colima encomiendas. *Puga, Cedulario*, 82. He pleaded that the settlers of Colima had encroached on Jalisco. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 438.

[59] Named after the capital of Galicia in Spain and honored with all the privileges of its old-world namesake. Also called by some writers Espíritu Santo de Compostela, Compostela y Santiago. Ogilby, 1671, Dampier, 1699, Laet, 1633, *West-Ind. Spieghel*, 1624, write *Compostella;* the latter adds *Cenquipa;* Jefferys, 1776, Kiepert, 1852, *Compostella. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 528. Beaumont and Mota Padilla mention the year as 1535, but the different declarations given by Guzman's captains about the year 1532 speak already of the establishment, and agree that it was made on their return from the north, and hastened by the arrival of Castilla from Mexico. Guzman himself says in his letter of January 16, 1531, that the 'Villa del Espíritu Santo,' as he calls it, had been established in the Tepic province, and that it was the first town laid out on this expedition, but probably the real foundation was made when he returned. Ramirez, *Proceso*, 215, claims that Guzman founded the town in that place against the wishes of his officers, in order the better to defend himself by sea or land against Cortés. Tello gives a list of the early settlers. *Hist. N. Gal.*, 360–1. Ancient map-makers fill up this space as follows: Lok, 1582, *Galicia*, in large letters across the country; Laet, 1633, *Nueva Galicia;* Kino, 1702, *Nova Gallicia;* Jefferys, 1776, *New Gallicia or Guadalaxara;* Kiepert, 1852, *Jalisco or Nueva Galicia. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS. ii. 552.

at Nochistlan; but in 1533 the town was removed to the Jacotlan Valley, near Cuquio, and finally in 1541 placed south of the river, in Tonalá. Even in 1533 the transfer was talked of, the latter place being deemed more convenient, but Guzman objected, preferring to hold that region for himself.[60]

During this time La Purificacion on the Colima frontier was also founded by Guzman, all with an eye to defeating his archenemy in case of open rupture.[61]

While thus engaged in establishing his authority in the south of New Galicia, Guzman was beset with serious difficulties from the first. The second audiencia had come with instructions to proceed with the residencia against the former president and oidores, and while hastening to seize the property of the

Coat of Arms of the City of Guadalajara.

[60] Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 55, 77, asserts that in 1530, when Guzman marched northward, a garrison under Juan de Oñate was left in Nochistlan, and that on December 3, 1530, Guzman issued at Culiacan a commission to organize that settlement. The latter date is evidently wrong, as Guzman was in January 1531 still at Chametla. The statements made by members of the expedition, however, agree that Guadalajara was established after the founding of Compostela, *1ª Rel. Anón.* 292–3; *3ª Rel. Anón*, 459–60; *Lopez, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, xiv. 461. By a cédula of November 8, 1529, the king granted the city of Guadalajara a coat of arms, described in *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 371–3; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 176–7; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 81 passim; *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 109, 188–9; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 90; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles*, i. 178–9. Some writers as Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 498, 557–8, and Navarrete, *Hist. Jal.*, 59, mention another intermediate transfer of Guadalajara. Ogilby, 167, writes *Guadalarra;* Laet, 1633, *Guadalajara;* Jefferys, 1776, Kiepert, 1852, *Guadalaxara. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 492.

[61] Authorities differ between 1533 and 1536 as the date. Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 360, gives a list of 21 settlers. Ogilby, 1671, gives this places as *Purificatio;* Dampier, 1699, *Purification;* Laet, 1633, *Purification* and *Acatlan; West-Ind. Spieghel*, 1624, *Purificatio* and east *Ycatlan*; Jefferys, 1776, *la Purificacion;* Kiepert, 1852, *Purificacion. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 484.

implicated officials, they had summoned Guzman to answer at Mexico to the fast accumulating charges, including not only abuses as head of the administration, but the illegal appropriation of treasury funds for his expedition, the torture and execution of Tangaxoan, and other outrages. Guzman paid no attention to the orders of the government at Mexico, which he refused to recognize, still styling himself president and governor of New Spain. His policy was to communicate directly with the crown and thus gain time to establish himself firmly in his new possessions, and to take advantage of circumstances in finally defending his conduct before the emperor.

Meanwhile he sought through the agency of friends at court, who had so far served him well, and by means of letters, to exculpate himself. In a tone of injured innocence he protested against the sequestration of his property, and the maliciousness of the charges against him. "What justice is it that permits such measures without a hearing? Is this my reward for having served your Majesty with so much labor, faithfulness, and honesty?" It is well for some that they can make up in brazen assurance what they lack in humanity and integrity.[62]

His refusal to attend at Mexico for trial was based on the ground that the conquest in the north-west demanded his constant attention, and as even his opponents recognized that interference therein might imperil Spanish interests, the audiencia resolved to postpone the case.[63] Soon after came orders to investigate the main charges, and depositions were taken and forwarded to Spain.[64]

[62] The blame for slave traffic he threw upon the settlers. The reports of the bishop could serve only to prove his malice and Guzman's uprightness. 'No puedo de todos ser amado, mas espero en la misericordia de Dios.' *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 407–13.

[63] Zumárraga and others thought, however, that Guzman should not be left in charge of the country. *Id.*, xvi. 363–75. 'Nous lui avons accordé un an.' Letter of audiencia, in *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 205; *Torquemada*, i. 604–6.

[64] By different decrees of 1530 to 1532 the crown demanded the immediate repayment of treasury funds and the investigation of Guzman's rule in

The authorities at Mexico clearly saw the futility of discountenancing the acts and attitude of Nuño de Guzman. Indeed, with the forces at his command, he could afford to bid defiance even to armed opponents, as he stood prepared to do. Cortés had naturally objected to the advantage taken by Guzman of his discoveries and plans for conquest, but this could no longer be remedied, and all he might do was to take possession for New Spain of the districts actually subjugated by his lieutenants, and at the same time afford an opening as settlers to a number of the needy adherents who had followed him from Spain. While taught by his own acts in similar cases, and by the trickery of others, he allowed himself nevertheless to suppose that the authority of sovereign and audiencia would be sufficient to obtain respect for the claim. In this belief, as captain general, he commissioned Luis de Castilla, a knight of Santiago, of noble family, to proceed with a hundred men to settle and rule the country bordered on the north by Rio Tololotlan.

Castilla approached Jalisco from the south at the same time that Guzman returned toward it from the north. Informed of the presence of a rival, the latter hastened to install a municipality at Compostela, as capital of the district, and to let the intimation reach Castilla that he had been anticipated. Luis replied that he came in the name of his Majesty, and must take possession. Guzman was by no means prepared either to yield or to shed the blood of officers armed with a royal commission; yet peradventure he might capture him. To this end artifice alone was left to him; so he sent a message full of bland assurances,

Pánuco, and his execution of Tangaxoan. *Puga, Cedulario*, 75, 79–80, 83, 87. The receipt of the papers was acknowledged in April 1533, the examination having begun in January 1532, says Beaumont. *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 379; *Id.*, MS., 179. The chief witness was García del Pilar, a conqueror under Cortés, whose services had procured for him a coat of arms. Lately he had served as officer and interpreter under Guzman, and was accordingly well informed. He died during the trial, in February. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 201–24. Bernal Diaz wrongly states that he fell in battle. *Hist. Verdad.*, 241.

declaring that the commands of the sovereign would receive his humble obedience, and even bidding the knight welcome as a valued neighbor. Satisfied, Castilla encamped at Tetlan, preparatory to entering Jalisco on the morrow.[65]

The object of Guzman's message was to throw the recipient off his guard. Following it came Captain Oñate with some fifty trusted cavalry to seize upon whatsoever advantage might offer. Informed of the negligence prevailing in the enemy's camp, he pointed out the easy task of capturing the company. It was finally agreed to undertake it, and, stealing forward under cover of the night, at the first break of dawn they fell upon the camp with a thundering "Viva Dios y el rey, y su gobernador Nuño de Guzman." The soldiers of Castilla were so completely taken by surprise that they made no effort at resistance, and all were quickly disarmed under the eyes of their leader, whom Oñate sought to reassure with affected consolation. Finding that his person was respected, Castilla's fears abated, and he hastened to use the permission granted to exhibit his credentials at head-quarters. On beholding him, Guzman broke forth with the fierce inquiry why he presumed to enter with an armed force into his territory. Castilla answered by presenting the royal commission in dignified silence. This being read, Guzman kissed it with great humility. As for obeying it, that was another matter. The cédula had evidently been issued under false representations, for the province of Jalisco had never been subjugated by Cortés, and as the sovereign could not desire to give to another his hard-earned conquests, wherein he had founded the first settlements, he must appeal to Spain before obeying the order. While a notary drew up the answer and protest, the governor sought to charm his captive by a display of his brill-

[65] Some of his followers expressed doubts about Guzman's sincerity, but Castilla maintained: 'No hay que recelar.' *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 94. Another account refers to the preliminary capture of some of Castilla's stragglers. *Guzman, 4ª Rel. Anón.*, 481–2.

iant conversational power; but when he dismissed him, he changed his tone, and bade him depart with his followers within four hours, under penalty of a traitor's doom.[66] The threat lent wings to Castilla, and he hastened crestfallen to report his failure to the captain general. "It appears that the Castillas in New Spain are better fitted to govern in peace," caustically observed Cortés as he turned his back upon him.[67]

This was the governor's last triumph; from this time his prosperity waned. His friends and supporters one by one left him, some of them estranged by his arbitrary misrule, others because the star of his foe seemed in the ascendant. The refusal of the king to confirm Guzman's license to enslave the natives thinned the settlers' ranks; the governor's severe punishment of certain persons who disobeyed the law—a tardy attempt to conciliate a powerful element among his foes—drove away others; while of the remaining colonists many were drawn away by exciting reports of the gold discoveries in Peru. The governor had the petty satisfaction on several occasions, as will appear, of refusing water and other aid to the vessels sent out by Cortés, or of plundering those vessels when cast aground on the coast; but so weak did he become finally that he offered no resistance when Cortés marched to Jalisco to recover his vessels.[68]

[66] 'Tenia intencion secreta de mandarle cortar la cabeza,' says Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 68. The *4ª Rel. Anón.*, 483, states that Castilla had been captured on the road in company with four or five men.

[67] Castilla was ordered to Spain with the documents bearing on the case, there to add to the charges against Guzman, but a gale swept the sea which swallowed the vessel bearing them with all on board. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 97; Castilla's death is implied in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 193, yet a man of similar name figures some years later in New Galicia. Ramirez and some other writers represent that this expedition of Castilla was subsequent to, and partly in consequence of, Guzman's treatment of Hurtado during his voyage up the coast; but this is erroneous, for Hurtado did not sail until May or June of 1532, while the audiencia reported the whole Castilla affair to the court on April 19, 1532; and their action in the matter was approved by the queen in a letter of October 16th. *Puga, Cedulario*, 80. Moreover Cortés describes the affair in a letter of April 20, 1532, and says that Guzman from the north, and Castilla from the south, both arrived at Jalisco the same day. *Cartas*, 512.

[68] In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. xiii. and xvi., are a number of

Shortly after Castilla's return, the audiencia, doubtless at the petition of Cortés, had ordered Guzman to confine the exercise of his authority to the region north of Jalisco and in no case to interfere in the government of Colima, Michoacan, or Tonalá.[69] This was confirmed by a peremptory order from Spain of April 20, 1523, bidding Guzman not to interfere in the southern encomiendas and not to call himself hereafter governor of Pánuco. A month later he was required to report in future directly to the audiencia of Mexico in all matters affecting Nueva Galicia.[70] Of his later transactions we know little save in connection with the seizure of Cortés' vessels, and in allusions to petty campaigns against natives whom oppression had driven into revolt, and to visits to his possessions at Pánuco.[71] The succession of disappointments and humiliations encountered in the desertion of comrades, in signs of disfavor at court, in pending residencias, and in subordinating him to the government at Mexico; all this, in connection with dwindling credit and resources, could not fail to bend his haughty spirit. "I am driven to despair," he writes, "without a crust to eat."[72]

Better boldly face the storm, he concluded, than endure this torture. He would throw himself at the feet of the emperor and seek mercy. He accordingly placed Cristóbal de Oñate in charge of the government, and set out for Pánuco, to collect additional funds and seek means of conveyance to Spain. His star willed it, however, that he should turn aside to Mexico, there to meet a portion of his just deserts.[73]

his letters wherein he seeks to justify his conduct and bring censure on that of his opponent.

[69] Tonalá, however, seems to have been under the rule of later governors of New Galicia.

[70] *Puga, Cedulario*, 82–4, 87.

[71] *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 414–20.

[72] 'Y creo que ni la justicia divina ni humana no son dello servidos.' *Carta*, in *Id.*, 419.

[73] 'Con el motivo de no perder crecidas sumas de dinero que le debian en la caja real de México de resulta de sus salarios.' *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 81. Bernal Diaz states that Mendoza invited him to come to Mexico with a

view to save him from the indignity of arrest in his own provinces. *Hist. Verdad.*, 231. But this is doubtful.

The original authorities which I have consulted on Guzman's expedition are as follows: *Relatione di Nvnno di Gvsman*, in *Ramusio*, iii. 331–9. This is a letter of Guzman dated Omitlan, July 8, 1530, directed to the emperor, and giving a detailed account of progress down to the date. The Spanish original has been published in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 356–93, and a very imperfect condensation in English may be found in *Purchas*, *His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1556–9. The writer admits only such outrages on the Indians as were merited through disloyalty to the emperor or infidelity to the white man's God; but in such cases speaks of his orders to hang and burn with a coolness that is revolting. The narrative is marked by hypocritical expressions of submission to the divine and royal will, extreme even for that time. The *Relaciones Anónimas* (*1ª, 2ª, 3ª, and 4ª*) *de la Jornada que hizo Nuño de Guzman á la Nueva Galicia* were written by eye-witnesses of the events described, including both friends and foes of the leader, were drawn out apparently by the official investigation of Guzman's conduct, and are to be found only in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. Doc.*, ii. 288–306, 439–60, 461–83. The first and second seem to have been written by the same person, whose name is unknown, as is that of the writer of the third. Icazbalceta finds much reason to identify the author of the fourth with Cristóbal Flores. Similar to these narratives is the *Relacion* of Gonzalo Lopez, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 411–61; the *Relacion de García del Pilar* and the *Relacion de la Conquista de los Teules Chichimecas* by Juan de Sámano, in *Icazbalceta's Collection*, ii. 249–87. Yet the similarity between the statements of López and Sámano. as also between those given by Pilar and the author of the *4ª Rel. Anón.*, implies that they were not made quite independently. The testimony of López may claim, as to facts, perhaps more reliability than the other when we consider that during the last part of Guzman's campaign he held the position of a maestre de campo. Pilar was a young interpreter of Nahua dialects, and one of the original conquistadores, but not of good repute if we may credit Bishop Zumárraga's allusions to his *maquinaciones diabólicas* and to his unfortunate escapes from being hanged. *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 26. He was a willing tool of Guzman during the campaign, but a bitter foe afterward, showing all his leader's acts in their worst light and relieving himself of all complicity by throwing the blame on the other interpreter Juan Pascual. In addition to this narrative, Pilar's testimony taken at Guzman's trial is published by Ramirez and Beaumont, whose works are noticed below. Juan de Sámano was one of Guzman's captains and afterward held a high position in Mexico.

Of the early chroniclers who claim or may be supposed to have had access to original sources of information, are Oviedo, *Hist. Gen.*, iii. 561–77, who consulted several members of the expedition, especially Franciso de Arzeo; Padre Tello, *Hist. de la N. Galicia*, written about 1650 by a Franciscan who had spent over 50 years of his life in the country of which he writes, but whose work, or such portions of it as have been preserved, is valuable rather for information on aboriginal manners and customs than as an historical narrative; Herrera, dec. iv. lib. vii. cap. viii.; lib. viii. cap. i.–ii.; lib. ix. cap. ix.–xii., who consulted some of the anonymous manuscripts; Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 23–66, 75, who also saw some of the original documents and often cites Tello; Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 266–7, 352–422, MS., 135, 174–207, who cites Tello and Herrera, and gives Pilar's testimony. See also Salazar y Olarte, *Conq. Mex.*, 426–35; Torquemada, i. 338, 600–4; Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 56, 271; Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 229–31; Villa Señor, *Theatro*, ii. 203–4, 229; Calle, *Not. y Mem.*, 89–90; Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 14, 95, 101–2.

Among modern writers the only ones who have treated this expedition at length are, Frejes, *Hist. Breve*, 41–68, 118–21, Ramirez, *Proceso de Resid. contra Alvarado y Guzman*, 187–258, and Navarrete, *Compendio de la Hist. de Jalisco*, 27–61, 85–6. The second gives some of the original documents of the residencia, and draws his historical sketch chiefly from Beaumont and Mota

Padilla with somewhat less skill than might be expected from the author's high reputation. The latter follows Tello to a great extent, and his work does not show extensive research. Other works which mention the expedition are the following: *Escovedo*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, vii. 5, 6; *Gil*, in *Id.*, viii. 477–80; *García*, in *Id.*, viii. 23; *Payno*, in *Id.*, 2a ép. i. 797–801, ii. 137–8; *Hernandez y Dávalos*, in *Id.*, 2a ép. iii. 187–8; *Romero, Not. Mich.*, 122, 186, 193, 197–8, *Museo, Mex.*, iv. 115; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, 184–6; *Moreno, Frag.*, 8, 9, 30; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 25–6; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 286 etc.; *Burney's Chron. Hist. Voy.*, i. 165, 169–70; *Galvano's Discov.*, 40; *West-Ind. Spieghel*, 334–50; *Gallatin*, in *Nouv. An. Voy.*, cxxxi. 240–1; *Davis' El Gringo*, 58–9; *Laet, Novvs Orbis*, 284–6; *Domenech's Deserts*, i. 168; *Gottfriedt, N. Welt*, 605; *Société Amér.*, i. 35–52; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 18, 24–5; *Larenaudière, Mex. et Guat.*, 144; *Puga, Cedulario*, 80 etc.; *Dicc. Univ.*, ix.–x.; *Greenhow's Memoirs*, 25 etc.; *Parra, Conq. Xal.*, x. MS., 76; *Rivera, Descrip. Zac.*, pt. ii. 1–5; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 204; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 178–9; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. app. 27–8; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 744–53; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 182; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 476–7, 489–90, 493–515; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 21; *Romero*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 538, ix. 15, 85–6; *Archivo Mex., Doc.*, i. 362–3, ii. 201–2; *Monumentos Hist. Polit.*, MS., 8, 9; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 239–40; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, i. 381; *Voyages, Selection of Curious*, 39; *Santos, Chron. Hospit.*, ii. 445; *Jalisco, Mem. Hist.*, 34–62; *Gordon's Anc. Mex.*, ii. 248–9; *Expl. del Codex Tel. Rem.*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, v. 155; *Dillon, Beautés*, 39–61; *Pimentel, Mem.*, 96.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A VICEREGAL GOVERNMENT.

1535–1537.

APPOINTMENT OF MENDOZA—HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND PREROGATIVES—ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION OF THE FIRST VICEROY—INAUGURAL CEREMONIES—RETIREMENT OF THE OIDORES—DIFFICULTIES OF THE ADMINISTRATION—CITY IMPROVEMENTS—DEFENSIVE MEASURES—APPARENT WEAKNESS OF THE SPANIARDS—PROCLIVITIES AND CONDITION OF NEGROES—THEIR CONSPIRACY AND ITS SUPPRESSION—MUSTER OF SPANIARDS IN THE CAPITAL.

THE sad failures attending the governing of this distant world which the Genoese had found and the Estremaduran had conquered, led Charles to bethink himself of other means. Would not a miniature court, having about it the sacred smell of royalty, the very embodiment of imperial power and prerogative, awe the turbulent spirits of New Spain into more courteous submission? And so it was determined that a viceroyalty would be the proper thing in this region.

Acting in accordance, therefore, with the wishes of his Majesty, who was in Flanders, the queen proceeded to select a person qualified both by birth and ability to fill so high a position. Her first choice fell upon the conde de Oropesa, who, however, under various pretexts declined the offer, as did also the mariscal de Fromesta. She next tendered the appointment to Manuel Benavides, but his exorbitant demands with respect to the power to be vested in him, and supplies of money, induced her Majesty to withdraw the nomination. The position was lastly offered to Antonio de Mendoza, who though he accepted it was detained

several years in Spain before sailing for the seat of his government.[1]

Though the Cortés party considered that the choice ought properly to have fallen upon the marqués del Valle, the crown did not evidently deem it prudent to invest with such power one whose possessions in the country were so extensive, his interests so large, and his friends so numerous.[2] The selection of Mendoza was, moreover, a fortunate one. Of noble birth, being son of the second conde de Tendilla, and first marqués de Mondéjar, he was connected with the celebrated naval commander Bernardino de Mendoza and the equally famous statesman and historian Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Both as regards character and ability he was well fitted for the place, his governing capabilities being equalled by the integrity of his intentions. Austere in his habits, and practising abstinence to an extent injurious to his constitution, he never relaxed his exertions in the discharge of his duties, while the responsibility of his position increased his anxiety.

Besides his appointment as viceroy,[3] Mendoza was created president of the audiencia in the place of Fuenleal, who was returning to Spain. This office did not, however, entitle him to vote in judicial matters, the administration of justice remaining in the hands of the oidores, whose provisions, sentences, and deci-

[1] He received the appointment in 1530, *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 539, but did not arrive in Mexico before 1535. From Puga it appears that his appointment was formally made out April 17, 1535. *Cedulario*, 98–9.

[2] *Herrera*, dec. v. lib. ix. cap. i.; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 540–1.

[3] He was assigned a salary of 6,000 ducados, 3,000 of which he received as viceroy and 3,000 as president of the audiencia. He was, moreover, allowed 2,000 ducados for the expenses of his body-guard. *Puga, Cedulario*, 98–9. In 1614 this salary was raised to 20,000 ducats, pay for six months being allowed for the voyage out, and a similar amount for the expenses of returning. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 25. The 6,000 ducados, at 375 maravedís each, were equal to 5,000 pesos de minas at 450 maravedís, and the laborious investigator Clemencin estimates the value of the peso de minas in 1497 to have been nine dollars and seventy-five cents, so that Mendoza's salary would be about equivalent to 48,750 dollars of modern coin. But the purchasing power of coin then was in some directions five or ten times greater than at the present day; so that it is impossible to estimate accurately the value of coin then as compared with the present. *Mem. Valor Moneda*, MS., 501 et seq.

sions had to be signed by the viceroy. In addition to these appointments he was constituted acting captain general and empowered to assume the corresponding functions should circumstances render such a step necessary. His privileges and prerogatives were most ample, and although he was advised to consult with the audiencia on matters of importance, he was fully authorized, after receiving their opinions, to act on his judgment. The instructions given him for his guidance were explicit. All affairs of the government were placed under his direction. The prelates were to be consulted on ecclesiastical matters, the establishment and extent of bishoprics, and the erection of churches; and a full report thereon was to be forwarded to the king. Clergymen who caused scandals were not to be tolerated in the province, and such as had been friars were to be sent back to Spain; the limits of the bishopric of Oajaca, which it was proposed to erect, were to be determined; the church patronage enjoyed by the crown was to be upheld, particularly the right of presentation to all ecclesiastical positions; ecclesiastical judges could have no power to arrest and punish civilians, and the audiencia was empowered to interfere in cases of appeal. Convents were to be reformed and not allowed to become places of refuge for criminals.[4]

But though his majesty was anxious for the proper spiritual government of his realm, his worldly interests were by no means left out of sight, and suggestions were made to promote the increase of the royal revenue.[5] The capability of the natives to bear in-

[4] The payment of church tithes by the natives was to be closely investigated, and an estimate made of what portion of them ought to revert to the crown. It was ordered, also, that in the existing convents the natives should receive better instructions, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xxiii. 426–45; and they were to be encouraged in industrious habits, and to collect themselves into communities. No arms were to be sold to the natives, nor were they to be taught to manufacture them. Spaniards settled in Mexico were to keep offensive and defensive arms in their houses, and negroes were forbidden to carry weapons either publicly or secretly. *Herrera*, dec. v. lib. ix. cap. i. and ii.

[5] Mendoza, among other orders, was instructed to search for buried treasures in the great temples of Mexico, the king having been informed that

creased tribute was to be considered, as well as the question whether those portions of the country hitherto exempt could not be taxed. Moreover industries were to be encouraged for the promotion of the welfare of the country and the benefit of the royal treasury; the accounts of the royal officials were to be examined and the collection of all balances due was ordered. Instructions were also given for the erection of forts, and provisions were made with regard to arms in order to insure the safety of the country.

About the beginning of October 1535, Mendoza arrived at Vera Cruz,[6] and preparations were made to receive him with becoming ceremony. He was conducted in great state to the capital, where he was sumptuously entertained by the authorities. Nevertheless the reception was quite tame as compared with later ones, when the viceroy was conducted with excessive pomp and pageantry, involving great expense, from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, the whole journey being a triumphal march, the road spread with palm-branches and spanned by arches of fresh evergreens and flowers; the entrance into Tlascala, Puebla, and all the principal towns on his route being signalized by martial music, and processions of multitudes of natives decked in brilliant colors and bearing aloft the banners and devices of their towns. High in front of the viceregal party there used to float a richly embroidered flag, on one side of which were worked the arms of the king and on the other those of the viceroy. The solemnity of the reception on

native nobles had been buried there with great riches. The question of sending slaves from Spain or elsewhere to work in the mines, was also to be examined. *Id.*

[6] Herrera only mentions the year without giving the month. *Id.* Torquemada says in 1534. *Monarq. Ind.*, i. 608, followed by Figueroa, *Vindicias*, MS., 126, Vetancurt, *Trat. Mex.*, 7, and several minor authorities. Padre Medina assigns the 15th of August 1535 as the date of his arrival in Mexico, *Chron. de San Diego de Mex.*, 233, but the acts of the ayuntamiento of Mexico show that on the 13th of October dispositions were made for the reception of Mendoza, and on the 17th the commission made a report of the conference held with him. Presuming that the conference was held on the 16th, his arrival probably took place on the 15th. Zamacois accepts this date. *Hist. Méj.*, iv., 586; and Rivera, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 29.

each occasion was proportionate to the importance of the town; and as his successor approached the capital the outgoing viceroy left the city to meet him and resign the government into his hands.

On arrival at Chapultepec the viceroys used to halt, and in the evening proceed to the city, where the ceremony of taking possession would be performed with great solemnity. Then he was conducted first to the hall of the audiencia,[7] after that to the hall of civil procedure, where the seal was delivered to him, the royal cédulas constituting his appointment were exhibited, and the oath was taken by him on the holy gospel. Then followed, on a day appointed for the purpose, his public entry into the city, on which occasion was displayed a costly magnificence in retinue and apparel. Near the church of Santo Domingo the ayuntamiento delivered to him the city keys beneath a triumphal arch, whence, under a canopy of state, he was conducted to the cathedral, where he was received by the archbishop in his pontifical robes. At the entrance another was usually erected for the occasion, beneath which a panegyric in verse was addressed to him. After the te deum the viceroy would proceed to the palace, and for several days the city would be gay with festivities, the night bright with fireworks, and the day one continuous round of bull-fights and other amusements.[8]

[7] Each viceroy was the bearer of a sealed letter, called the pliego de mortaja, addressed to the audiencia, and which could be opened only in case of his death while in office. This document designated the person whom the crown appointed to succeed him under such an event.

[8] The expenses of these inaugurations in time became excessive, amounting to as high as 26,000 pesos. The king, by royal cédula of May 6, 1688, limited the sum to be employed for this purpose to 8,000 pesos. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 9–11. On account of the disputes which occurred on the entry of the viceroy Galvez, in 1783, the court ordered that in future the procession on horseback into the city should be discontinued, and thenceforth the ceremony terminated, and the viceroy and accompanying authorities entered the city from Guadalupe in carriages, the garrison being drawn out in the streets. The respective oaths were taken in the council-chamber, and the ayuntamiento paid the expenses of banquets and other festivities. These still amounted to the great sum of 14,000 pesos, and the second count of Revilla Gigedo advised his successor to suppress them. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 99. In former times it had been the custom for the authorities of the capital,

Soon after the arrival of the viceroy several members of the audiencia retired from office. President Fuenleal, already advanced in years, had in 1532 requested permission to return to Spain, and the oidores Salmeron and Ceynos, for the same reason, were equally anxious to be relieved from their duties. By cédula dated November 13, 1535, Francisco de Loaisa was commissioned to take the residencia of the four oidores.[9] On the 24th of February 1536 this order was proclaimed with the usual form in the city of Mexico; but it does not appear that charges were preferred against any one except Quiroga, who was accused of having caused to be erected two hospitals, one at Santa Fé near the capital, and the other in Michoacan, the construction of which had brought great distress to the natives, whose houses had been destroyed to supply materials. Quiroga, however, vindicated his action by proving the great benefit that had been derived from the hospitals, especially from that in Michoacan, and in March 1536 he was formally exonerated by the juez de residencia.[10]

Shortly after the favorable termination of their residencia, President Fuenleal and the oidores Salmeron and Ceynos returned to Spain. It is no more than a just tribute to their memory to acknowledge that they faithfully discharged the duties intrusted to them;[11] that during their administration, in conjunction with their colleagues, the system of tyrannical misrule organized by their predecessors was broken; and that reforms of essential benefit were effected by

including the tribunal of the inquisition, to meet the viceroys at Chapultepec, where they were entertained with bull-fights and festivities, but from the tenor of a royal cédula of 1761 it appears that before that year Chapultepec had ceased to be the halting-place before their solemn entry into the city. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 105.

[9] On the 19th of the same month an order was addressed to the viceroy directing him to return their staffs of office to the oidores on the event of their residencia being satisfactory. From the day on which the varas were given back to them they could continue to receive their annual salary of 500,000 maravedís. *Puga, Cedulario*, 110.

[10] *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 316–17, iv. 315–49.

[11] Bernal Diaz says that the new audiencia 'no entendian sino solamente en hazer lo que Dios, y su Magestad manda.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 230.

them under circumstances which required the greatest prudence, good judgment, and courage.[12]

It is refreshing to be able to speak well of one of Spain's rulers in America. Mendoza made every effort to carry out the instructions he had received. The duties of his position had been rendered somewhat less difficult of performance by the previous exertions of the second audiencia in the work of reform; nevertheless it was no easy matter to rule with satisfactory results a community divided into factions, whose opposing interests were asserted with jealous claims of merit and equal expectations of support. The number of provinces, and the varied condition of the native tribes in different parts, rendered it impossible to apply the same rules in all cases. Regulations which were beneficial and necessary in some districts were inapplicable in others; hence discontent and charges of capriciousness against the viceroy. Moreover, each ruler of a province and each encomendero wished the government to adopt his own particular views, and the advice offered to Mendoza was so multifarious that he found it the best plan quietly to listen to all without dissenting, and then do as he thought best,[13] as contradiction on his part led to interminable wrangling. The adjustment of existing jealousies between the conquerors proper and the new settlers was a difficult task, but much more so was the enforcement of the new laws relative to the treatment of the natives; and though he was

[12] Speaking of President Fuenleal, Gonzalez Dávila attributes to his care and prudence all the good that was effected in New Spain during this period, and adds that he returned to the Peninsula without gold or silver. *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 262. On his return he was appointed to the see of Tuy; afterward he was made bishop of Leon, and finally of Cuenca on the 25th of July 1542. At the same time he was chosen president of the audiencia of Valladolid, where he died January 22, 1547. He was buried in the Dominican convent of Santa Cruz, founded by himself in his native place. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 230; *Herrera*, dec. v. lib. ix. cap. i.; *Oviedo*, iii. 534–5; *Torquemada*, i. 608; *Cartas de Indias*, 829–30.

[13] 'En verdad,' says Mendoza to his successor, 'que si hubiese de hacer lo que se aconseja, que ya la tierra estuviera trastornada de abajo arriba viente veces.' *Relacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 509–11.

well aware of the necessity of extending to them protection, he advised the repeal of the laws.[14] The excessive difficulties encountered in legislating for the benefit of the natives are aptly represented by Mendoza, who considered that the numerous experiments tried were enough to drive them to insanity.[15]

Apart from the administration of political affairs the viceroy was occupied in carrying out improvements in the city of Mexico, and providing means of defence against outside and inside attack. The second audiencia had already executed certain works beneficial to the comfort of the inhabitants, such as the introduction of water into different parts of the capital, and the substitution of stone bridges for wooden ones.[16] The aqueduct from Chapultepec to the city had also been begun by order of the oidores.[17] The continuance of these improvements under a viceroy, and the prospects for the future of stability in the government had naturally an effect upon the value of city real estate, and Mendoza informs the king, on the 10th of December 1537, that rents and property had doubled in value since his arrival.[18] The defensive

[14] The general outcry against these laws impelled Mendoza to act contrary to his feelings. 'Tengo harto escrupulo,' he writes to the king, 'de dar parescer que V. M. los quite de su cabeza;' and he goes on to state that on one occasion when in 1537 he had transferred certain Indians to the care of the royal treasurer they wept for joy. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 205–6.

[15] 'Y en lo de los indios, son tantas las mudanzas, que algunas veces he dicho que los hemos de volver locos con tantos ensayos.' *Mendoza*, in *Id.*, vi. 510. One of Mendoza's first actions was to induce certain prominent encomenderos to exchange towns which it was important that the crown should control—such as Cholula and Huexotzinco—for encomiendas in the interior. The principal incentive to the assignees was the expectation that much gold existed in the new districts assigned to them. The encomenderos, however, soon repented of their bargain and reclaimed the towns they had surrendered, but in vain. *Torquemada*, i. 613–14.

[16] Fuenleal, writing in September 1532, stated that these improvements would be finished during the next month. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 235.

[17] The queen, by cédula of November 13, 1535, ordered the viceroy to complete it, as being most necessary for the convenience of the inhabitants. *Puga, Cedulario*, 109. Its completion, however, was not the result of a limited number of years, and indeed work at this aqueduct has been going on, from time to time, ever since its commencement.

[18] *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 260; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 200. Arrangements were made with the different religious orders that the construction of their buildings should be conducted on proper plans so as to insure the erection of good edifices. *Id.*, vi. 513.

measures adopted by him also contributed to this increase of prosperity. Besides steps taken to cast pieces of artillery from metal produced in the country,[19] he proposed to erect on one of the causeways a fortress, which he considered would greatly contribute to the security of the city.[20] Though this project does not seem to have been carried out, at Vera Cruz he began the erection of fortifications, as a defence against corsairs[21] and for the purpose of providing facilities for the repair and security of vessels, which were frequently exposed on that coast to violent storms.[22]

Protective measures against internal revolt were indeed of vital importance to his Majesty's domain, and instructions were from time to time issued, designed to keep the colonists on their guard.[23] Owing to the scarcity of arms the position of the Spaniards at this juncture was by no means secure. The recognition of this want had not only impelled Mendoza to apply to

[19] Mendoza reports to the king December 10, 1537, that there is abundance of metal in the country for the manufacture of artillery, but that skilled workmen are wanted to extract and smelt it. He therefore requests that such be sent from Spain. *Id.*, ii. 183; *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 121.

[20] He moreover recommended the building of a strong fortification on the Calzada de Tacuba, containing apartments for the audiencia, a foundry, mint, and arsenal. Such a fortress he believed could be constructed for 9,000 pesos, the sum which had been paid Cortés for houses for the audiencia. *Id.* This work, however, had not been commenced in 1540, and Mendoza that year describes the old fortress as in a ruinous condition and of no further use for the purpose it was intended, namely, as an arsenal and dock-yard, since the lake was quite dry. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 357. He had in 1537 stated that, from the same cause, it could be removed to no place that would enable the brigantines to be of any service. *Id.*, 182–3.

[21] The India Council had, as early as 1526, deemed it advisable to order the building of forts in America as a protection against pirates. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. x. cap. ix.

[22] To defray the expenses of these works he laid an impost upon the merchandise imported from Spain, and borrowed 2,000 pesos with which to begin operations. The viceroy, however, met with difficulties and delays: some Basque workmen whom he had employed died; and Sancho de Piniga, master of a vessel bound for Spain, attempted to steal 2,000 pesos de minas which Mendoza intrusted to his care for the purchase of tools. He was detected and imprisoned, but managed to escape. These mishaps retarded the work, and in December 1537 Mendoza requested the king to send out competent men. *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 123–5.

[23] The queen in November 1535 ordered arms to be distributed among the settlers in the city of Mexico. *Puga, Cedulario*, 109–10.

the king for weapons of war,[24] but also for permission to retain and purchase arms which were on the point of being withdrawn by adventurers for Perú. This apparent weakness of the Spaniards in New Spain was regarded by the negro population as offering a favorable opportunity to effect their destruction, and, with the coöperation of the natives, liberate the country from the Spanish yoke.

The vindictive character and hardihood of the African race had at an early day attracted the attention of the government to the danger to which the Indies were exposed by the importation of negro slaves. In proportion to the population their numbers were becoming alarming,[25] and although their number in New Spain was relatively insignificant compared with that of the indigenes, it was such as to hold out to them, turbulent as they were and refractory by nature, a prospect of gaining their freedom. They were further emboldened by the knowledge which they obtained of the troubles that embarrassed the king, and by the arrival of vessels from Spain only at long intervals.[26]

Their intercourse with the Indians, and the mutual

[24] In December 1537 he informs the king that no arms had been received by him from the royal officials at Seville, to whom the matter had been intrusted. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, ii. 200.

[25] In 1523 it was ordered that the number of negroes should only be in the proportion of one to three Spaniards, and that the latter should be well armed; 'porq̃ a causa de auer muchos mas negros, q̃ Christianos en las islas, y auerse començado a desuergonçar.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. viii. Later other precautionary laws were passed. In 1551 negroes were prohibited from carrying arms. By order of 1542 they were not permitted to be out of doors at night. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 363–4. In 1575 they were forbidden to live in Indian towns, and negroes without occupation were to be sent to work in the mines. As the necessity of more stringent laws became apparent it was ordered, in 1612, that they should not congregate in companies of more than three, while only four negro men and four women were allowed to attend at the funerals of those of their race. *Montemayor*, *Svmarios*, 208, pt. iii. 45–6. Nevertheless the negroes in many matters met with consideration, and inducements to become quiet members of the community to which they belonged. By a royal letter to the authorities of New Spain, dated November 1526, we learn that it was considered advantageous to allow them to marry, and after a certain period of service even to purchase their freedom. *Puga*, *Cedulario*, 20. Marriage was to be encouraged among them, but the act of marriage did not confer freedom. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 361.

[26] The viceroy in his letter to the king of December 10, 1537, alluding to 'las guerras y necesidades que V. M. tiene,' remarks, 'y viene á noticia de los negros y de indios, sin que se les encubra nada.' He also advises the king

sympathy which existed between the two races, offered a temptation to their unsubmissive proclivities. Accordingly a plot was formed to massacre the Spaniards and, in alliance with the natives, gain possession of the country. The head-quarters of the conspirators was in the city of Mexico, and there they held meetings, elected a king, and formed their plans in connection with those of their race located at the mines and outside towns. One of their number, however, informed the viceroy of the plot, and Mendoza by judicious management succeeded in arresting the already elected king and the ringleaders. Confessions opened their eyes to the danger escaped. The Spaniards in the mining districts and country towns had already been put upon their guard, and other arrests were made outside the capital. Twenty-four of the captured conspirators were hanged and quartered.[27] Although no complicity could be proved against the Indians, investigation left little doubt that they were aware of the plot, and that, had the negroes broken into overt acts, the natives would have given their aid.

It was now deemed dangerous to import negroes, and the viceroy requested the king to prohibit the traffic. Moreover, to arouse the settlers from their apathy, and inform himself of powers for defence, he ordered a muster in the city, at which six hundred and twenty horsemen presented themselves, four hundred and fifty of whom were well equipped and fit for service. There was also an equal number of foot-soldiers, well conditioned.[28]

to send vessels regularly, so that news from Spain might be received frequently. Such communication would contribute greatly to the content and quiet of the people. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 199.

[27] Many of the negroes fled, four of whom with one woman were killed by the Indians, who salted their bodies and brought them to Mendoza, because he had ordered the fugitives to be taken dead or alive. *Id.*, 198. 'En este año de 6 Casas y de 1537 se quisieron alzar los Negros en la Ciudad de Mexico, de los quales áhorcaron los inventores de ello.' *Cod. Tell. Rem.*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, v. 155.

[28] These numbers do not represent the whole Spanish male population in the capital at this time, because there were 'otros muchos que, por indisposicion y otros impedimentos justos, dejaron de salir.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 199–200.

CHAPTER XIX.

A DECADE OF CHURCH MATTERS.

1530–1540.

TROUBLES OF BISHOP ZUMÁRRAGA—HE GOES TO SPAIN—HIS CONSECRATION AND RETURN TO MEXICO—FIRST CHURCHES IN THE CAPITAL—UNCERTAIN PRIORITY AND SITES—THE FIRST CATHEDRAL—NECESSITY OF MORE BISHOPRICS—DIOCESES OF OAJACA AND MICHOACAN ESTABLISHED—FRANCISCAN PROGRESS—CUSTODIA OF SANTO EVANGELIO RAISED TO A PROVINCE—LABORS OF THE PADRES—DOMINICAN PROVINCIA ESTABLISHED—UNSEEMLY STRIFE—SUCCESSFUL PROPAGANDISM—ARRIVAL OF AUGUSTINIANS—LABORS AND HARDSHIPS—PROVINCIA ESTABLISHED—MIRACULOUS SHRINE AT CHALMA—DAGON OVERTHROWN—THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE—A GLORIOUS VISION—A MODEST SHRINE AND A COSTLY CHURCH—A WONDERFUL PAINTING—MULTITUDES OF CONVERTS—SECRET IDOLATRY.

WHILE the political government of New Spain was thus undergoing important changes, reforms equally momentous were being effected in the ecclesiastical administration. The disorders which had prevailed previous to the arrival of the second audiencia had been such as no efforts of the church could arrest. The ecclesiastical body found their labors at conversion almost ineffective from the fact that their teachings were naturally disregarded by the natives, who saw clearly enough that the doctrines of the religion preached to them were practically ignored by the race enforcing it. The condition of the natives, both spiritual and temporal, during this period was lamentable in the extreme. Bishop Zumárraga, who had been appointed protector, exerted himself in vain to alleviate their sufferings; his efforts in their behalf seemed only to bring upon himself the animosity of all

interested. Nevertheless his words had their effect, and he was sent for from Spain to give advice on measures for ameliorating the condition of the Indians.

Without money,[1] but resolute in his labors, he arrived in Spain about the middle of 1532, and was received at court with every mark of favor. His defence of the religious orders in New Spain, and of his own line of conduct, his description of the condition of the natives and his fervid pleadings in their behalf were listened to with attention. His eloquence and earnestness, his self-negation and poverty, bespoke favor for his cause. The title of protector was confirmed to him, and he was empowered to examine the sytem of tributes, with the object of their reduction, and the audiencia received instructions to assist him and conform to his views as far as possible.[2] On the 27th of April 1533 he was solemnly consecrated as bishop at Valladolid in the Franciscan church by the bishop of Segovia, in the presence of a large assembly. After the ceremony he journeyed through different parts of Spain for several months, and induced many members of his own order to return with him to Mexico and aid in the labor of conversion.

In 1534 he again arrived in Mexico, having at some time during the same year issued a letter from Toledo erecting his cathedral, establishing the dignitaries of his chapter, and defining the rules by which his diocese would be governed.[3]

It has been a matter of much discussion as to the

[1] 'Con harta pobreça de dineros.' *Torquemada*, iii. 449.

[2] *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 21; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 631; *Sosa, Episc. Mex.*, 9 and app. 236.

[3] The chapter consisted of a dean, archdeacon, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, ten canons, and six prebendaries. The salaries of these ecclesiastics varied from 150 to 35 pesos per month. *Nueva España, Breve Res.*, MS., i. 120–40, contains a copy of the bishop's letter. One fourth of the tithes he reserved for himself and successors; one fourth was appropriated for the payment of the salaries of the cathedral dignitaries and others; the remainder was apportioned for the payment of rectors, the king's tithes, the building of churches, and the support of the hospital. The parishes of Mexico City are mentioned in *Maltrat. de Indios*, MS., No. 18, fols. 6–11.

first church erected in the city of Mexico. During the next three years after the capture of the city no edifice was built for church service, but a hall in the house of Cortés was set apart for the purpose of divine worship. This place was soon required as a store-room for arms, and a chapel was established in a narrow corridor, inappropriate both to religious solemnity and the requirements of the worshippers, many of whom had frequently to stand outside unprotected from the sun or rain.[4]

The Franciscan order claim to have founded the first church, but some doubt exists as to their priority from the fact that in the books of the cabildo it is recorded that on May 30, 1525, a piece of land for an orchard was granted to Fray Pedro de Villagran, who is styled the parish priest "of the church of this city."[5] It is not unreasonable to conclude that Cortés, previous to his departure, marked out the site and took measures for the erection of a church, which was begun during his absence, and completed at a later date.

[4] *Cortés, Residencia*, i. passim; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 101.

[5] The same book proves that, in August 1524, the hospital of Jesus was founded and a church attached to it. Alaman maintains that the parish church and this one were the first established. *Disert.*, ii. 133. Orozco y Berra, quoting the same authority, draws the conclusion that in the last months of 1524, after Cortés had left for Honduras, the first church was built. *Mex. Not. Ciud.*, 69. Icazbalceta considers that hardly any doubt exists that the first church was not built until after the arrival of the Franciscans. *Salazar, Mex. en 1554*, 184–202; *Torquemada*, iii. 35–6. According to Vetancurt, the name of St Joseph was given to the parochial church. *Trat. Mex.*, 6. The assertions of Mendieta and Torquemada, who advance the claim of the Franciscans, are disputed by Sigüénza y Góngora and Alaman. They are, moreover, at variance with Herrera, who plainly attributes to Cortés the establishment of the principal church. Herrera's statement—dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. viii.—may, however, be reconciled with that of Mendieta, by interpreting it to mean that only the initiatory steps were taken by the conqueror. Mendieta asserts that the church was built in 1525, 'con mucha brevedad; porque el gobernador D. Fernando Cortés puso en la edificacion mucha calor.' *Hist. Ecles.*, 222. Cortés, however, was in Honduras at that time. According to evidence given by witnesses in his residencia it would appear that it was built during his absence in Honduras; though Ixtlilxochitl claims that his ancestor of the same name, after the return of the expedition, rendered great aid in its construction by supplying both labor and materials. The house for the Franciscans had been already begun, and after the completion of the church Ixtlilxochitl assisted the friars in the erection of their buildings. *Hor. Crueldades*, 114–16.

An equally difficult question to decide is the site of the first church,[6] but there is good reason to suppose that the parochial church stood on ground previously occupied by the great Aztec temple, and where the old cathedral was afterward erected.[7] By a bull of Pope Clement VII. this church was elevated in 1530 to the rank of cathedral,[8] so that the first cathedral and the parochial church were identical. But this edifice was only regarded as a provisional one, and during the presidency of Fuenleal the construction of a more appropriate building was begun and completed by the viceroy Mendoza.[9] As time advanced this structure also was too humble in which to celebrate the worship of God with becoming grandeur. A few decades later was laid the first stone of the magnificent edifice which exists to-day.[10]

[6] Icazbalceta, after carefully weighing the arguments adduced by Alaman and José F. Ramirez in analyzing the statements of Torquemada, although recognizing the difficulty of proof, comes to the conclusion that the conjecture that the Franciscan church was the first one built in the city of Mexico is probably right and that its site was that occupied by the atrium of the present cathedral. *Salazar, Mex. en 1554*, 184–202, 213–29.

[7] Herrera states that the foundation-stones of the parochial church were idols: 'y comẽnçò la mayor'—i. e. iglesia—'sobre ciertos idolos de piedra q̃ siruen por vasas de las colunas.' dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. viii. If this vexed question as to priority and site should ever be solved it will probably be found that the first parochial church and the first Franciscan church were built almost contemporaneously, the former occupying the site of the Aztec temple, and ground which had, according to Vetancurt, been assigned to the Franciscans for a convent, but of which they relinquished their rights as owners, *Trat. Mex.*, 17; and that the latter named church stood near by on the east, in Santa Teresa street. There is evidence which indicates the site of the first cathedral, for Fuenleal, writing to the empress on the 30th of April 1532, suggests the appropriation of 12 out of 25 lots, 'señalados para hacer iglesia, claostra y casa episcopal,' for the purpose of erecting on them buildings for the audiencia. These lots of ground were situated in the plaza between the two houses of Cortés, and the position of those proposed to be appropriated was such, 'questa casa de Audiencia y las dos casas del Marqués tengan la iglesia y plaza en medio.' *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 214–15. This subject is discussed at great length and ably by Icazbalceta in *Salazar, Mex. en 1554*, and by *Alaman, Disert.*

[8] *Nueva España, Breve Res.*, MS., i. 124. From the same bull we learn that the church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Speaking of the cathedral Beaumont says: 'cuya titular es la Asuncion de Nuestra Señora.' *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 251.

[9] By a cédula, dated August 28, 1532, it was ordered by Prince Felipe that the cost of construction should be divided into three portions, and defrayed respectively by the royal treasury, the encomenderos, and the natives in the diocese. *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, i. 519–20.

[10] Its growth was slow, however; slower than that of the temple at Jerusalem. Forty-two years were occupied in building the outer walls, and it

The careful attention with which the second audiencia examined into the ecclesiastical system, and the suggestions made by them showed the necessity of reorganization. In August 1531 they represented to the king that the districts comprised in the diocese of Tlascala were unwisely selected, inasmuch as they were distributed at distances from the episcopal town varying from fifty to one hundred and sixty leagues, and they urged the necessity of establishing more bishoprics of limited extent,[11] and consisting of contiguous districts. Such a system, they argued, would compel the prelates, whose means and power would be curtailed, to confine themselves to the conversion of the natives, and attention to church matters only.[12] The metropolitan see of Mexico ought, they considered, to be of limited extent, but it was advisable that the bishop should be invested with extraordinary power to decide doubtful questions.[13] These representations had their effect, and by cédula of March 20, 1532, the bishopric of Tlascala was limited to the districts of the town of that name, and of Huexotzinco, Cholula, Tepeaca, and the newly founded city of Puebla de los Angeles.[14]

Further, in accordance with Fuenleal's recommendation,[15] the India Council expressed their opinion to the king that not only ought there to be four bishoprics in New Spain, the number to be increased as circumstances might require, but that an archbishopric, or

was not until 1626 that the interior was so far completed that the old cathedral, beside which the new one was reared, could be pulled down. *Orozco y Berra*, in *Mex. Not. Ciud.*, 71; *Not. Mex.* in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 320. Vetancurt gives 1655 as the date. *Trat. Mex.*, 18.

[11] They advised that the diocese of Tlascala be limited to a radius of 10 leagues. *Carta*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 166–8.

[12] Friars Domingo de Betanzos, Francisco de Soto, and Martin de Valencia are mentioned as being willing to accept so poor bishoprics. *Id.*

[13] Especially regarding native marriages, as the Indians concealed their degrees of relationship when it was their interest to do so.

[14] The audiencia was also instructed to give its views after due consultation regarding the establishment of other sees. *Puga, Cedulario*, 76–7, 90–2.

[15] He remarks, 'y an de ser personas que anden á pié dó no pudieren andar cavalgando, y que se contenten con el mantenimiento de los indios y con toda pobreza.' *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, xiii. 225.

metropolitan bishopric with superior powers, should be established.[16]

By a royal cédula issued in February 1534, New Spain proper was divided into four provinces, designated as Mexico, Michoacan, Goazacoalco, and Miztecapan;[17] but the bishoprics, which it was intended to some extent should follow these political divisions, were known by the names of Mexico, Michoacan, Tlascala, and Oajaca. The boundaries of all new dioceses were to be limited to a radius of fifteen leagues, having the cathedral town as the centre. Intervening space between two sees was to be equally divided, but should any principal town be situated near a boundary line the district belonging to it was to be under the jurisdiction of the bishopric in which the town lay, even though it extended into the neighboring diocese.[18]

But these regulations were attended with inconveniences. The different bishoprics still included greater territorial extents than were consistent with thorough work, and in later times the want of definiteness respecting boundaries led to frequent disputes. In addition to the two bishoprics now existing, namely, those of Mexico and Tlascala, two others were to be established, those of Oajaca and Michoacan. The see of Oajaca was first offered to Padre Francisco Jimenez,[19] one of the first twelve Franciscans, but he did not accept the appointment, and it was conferred upon Juan Lopez de Zárate, a licentiate in canonical law, doctor of theology, and a devoted member of the Dominican order.[20]

[16] *Parecer del Consejo*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, xii. 133–4.

[17] The limits of each were properly defined. *Puga, Cedulario*, 90–1.

[18] *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 484.

[19] He had been called to several different sees. Torquemada states that he refused that of Guatemala. Gonzaga calls him the bishop of Tabasco, and Medina considers him to have been the first bishop of Oajaca. This latter author considers that the vagueness of diocesan boundaries at this period gave rise to this diversity of opinion. *Chron. de San Diego de Mex.*, 246, *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Comp. de Jesus*, 231–2. According to the first-quoted authority and *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, 222, he was appointed by Charles V. on the 14th of January, 1534.

[20] He gave permission to this order to establish in his diocese all the con-

On the 20th of May 1535 the pope established the bishopric, designating Antequera as the cathedral town, and on the 21st of June of the same year confirmed the bishop elect in his appointment. Bishop Zárate on the 28th of September following issued his letter of instructions for the organization of his diocese and its government.[21]

The bishopric of Michoacan was established the year after by bull dated the 8th of August, Tzintzuntzan being selected as the cathedral town. The establishment of this see had been meditated since 1533, after the visit of the oidor Quiroga, and the Franciscan, Luis de Fuensalida, had been nominated bishop in 1534, but he declined the honor.[22] Some delay was caused by the death of Pope Clement VII., and the appointment of a bishop was not effected before 1537.[23] The oidor Vasco de Quiroga had displayed so much wisdom and disinterestedness in the affairs of Michoacan, that although not a churchman, the bishopric was offered to him as being the person most suitable for the position. He accepted, and having received all

vents they might choose, and left one third of his library to the Dominican convent in Mexico, and another third to that in Oajaca; the remaining third was willed to his own church. He attended the first ecclesiastical council in 1554 and died the same year. On his death-bed he requested the Dominicans to bury him in the same grave with Padre Pedro Delgado, 'para que el valor de sus huessos fauorecicsse los pobres suyos,' and accordingly he was interred in the Dominican convent of Mexico. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 222–3.

[21] The dignitaries, members of the chapter and vestry, and all appointments were the same as those of the bishopric of Mexico. For want of funds, however, to pay the salaries, only the four dignitaries and five canons were appointed, the other positions being left vacant. A copy of the bull and the bishop's letter is contained in *Nueva España, Breve Res.*, MS., ii. 278–97. Bishop Zárate one time appears to have been dissatisfied with his diocese. In a letter, dated May 30, 1544, addressed to Philip II., he complains of not being permitted to go to Spain, and reiterates his previous request for permission to appear at court. He moreover remarks upon the extent of his diocese, which he says was too large for three bishops, and yet only contained within it two convents occupied by eight friars. *Zarate, Carta*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 287–306. Consult also *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 79; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 547.

[22] *Vetancvr, Menolog.*, 84; *Moreno, Frag. Quiroga*, 37. Beaumont, in *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 12–18, considers that Moreno is in error in stating that Fuensalida was proposed as bishop in 1533, and approves Calle's date 1534. See *Mem. y Not.*, 72.

[23] The establishment of this bishopric was recommended by Viceroy Mendoza. *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. ix. cap. vii.

the priestly orders at the hands of Zumárraga was consecrated by him in 1538;[24] but owing to a variety of circumstances he did not issue his letter organizing his diocese till 1554.[25] Both these sees were subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Seville.

While the church was thus extending her jurisdiction over the country, and gradually unfolding an organized system of conversion and instruction, the several orders were making similar progress by establishing convents in various parts of the country. The rivalry existing between the Franciscans and Dominicans acted upon each order as an incentive, and the competition for power produced rapid results. As early as 1535 the convents of the Franciscans in Michoacan were of sufficient number and importance to cause the founding of a custodia,[26] and in 1536, at the general chapter held in Nice by the Franciscan order, the custodia of Santo Evangelio in Mexico was raised to the dignity of a provincia,[27] Fray García de Cisneros being appointed first provincial. On the

[24] Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 112, says in 1537, which is somewhat supported by a letter of the queen to Mendoza, dated September 20, 1537, representing that Quiroga had written to her expressing his desire to proceed to his diocese and undertake his spiritual duties; but Beaumont, on the authority of an old manuscript of the Jesuit Father Francisco Ramirez, states that Quiroga took possession of his bishopric on the 22d of August, 1538; and was consecrated at the end of the same year. *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 162–3.

[25] *Nueva España, Breve Res.*, MS., ii. 250–70. In *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, MS., 731–2, may be found a list of the border towns of the diocese proper.

[26] Mendieta, *Hist. Eccles.*, 376; Torquemada, iii. 333; Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 52–6, write 1536. It became subject to the provincia del Santo Evangelio, and when founded was promised one third of the members of the order that should arrive from Spain. Padre Testera, in 1542, during the few months of his administration as commissary-general, provided the custodies of Yucatan, Michoacan, and Jalisco with a competent number of religiosos, out of the 150 brought out by him. Figueroa, in *Pap. Francis.*, MS., series i. No. 1. Antonio de Beteta was probably the first custodian. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 52.

[27] The first comisario general was Alonzo de Rozas who was afterward custodian in Michoacan and Jalisco. *Mendieta*, 543, *Torquemada*, iii. 374. The custodia had existed nearly 11 years. *Figueroa*, in *Pap. Francis.*, MS., i. series i. No. 1. During that time there were four custodians who held office in the following order: Fray Martin de Valencia, Luis de Fuensalida, Fray Martin, a second time appointed, and Jacobo de Testera. *Torquemada*, iii. 303, 305. This provincia del Santo Evangelio, when Torquemada wrote, contained within its limits 70 convents and included the archbishopric of Mexico and the bishopric of Tlascala. *Id.*

following year Cisneros died,[28] and was succeeded by Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, who occupied the position for the full term of three years, and was followed by Marcos de Niza, as third provincial in 1540.

Thus the Franciscan order established in New Spain a regular government at an early date, and under its direction systematic measures for the conversion of the natives gradually supplanted the doubtfully productive efforts of erratic missionaries. The instruction of children in Christian doctrines throughout the subjugated provinces was carried on with unrelaxed zeal, while the adults listened to the words of salvation in their own language.[29] Missionary enthusiasm increased. Fearless friars pushed forward into remoter regions, and dauntlessly entered the haunts of tribes untamed as yet by sword and arquebuse. Whether it was Guzman's explorations into unknown lands, or a voyage of discovery undertaken by Cortés into unknown seas,[30] that offered an opportunity of carrying the tidings of joy, there were ever at hand priests ready to risk their lives to extend the spiritual conquest. We cannot but admire the courage with

[28] García Cisneros, a Castilian, received the appointment because of his many virtues and literary attainments. He mastered the native language, and is said to have baptized 100,000 persons. He founded the important college of Santa Cruz de Tlatelulco as a seminary for native nobles, and placed there such learned professors as Bassacio, Olmos, Sahagun, and others. He contributed largely to the foundation of Puebla de los Angeles. *Mendieta*, 621–2.

[29] The proficiency acquired by the friars in the native languages was in many cases remarkable. Among great numbers may be mentioned Pedro de Castillo who acquired the Mexican and Otomí dialects to perfection. This friar's religious enthusiasm was unyielding. Crippled and blind, he caused himself to be borne from town to town in a chair, preaching and teaching on every occasion possible. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 686–8. Equally famous for his aptitude to acquire the native tongues was Fray Alonso de Escalona, who in three years acquired the Mexican so thoroughly that his written sermons in that language were extensively used by other preachers. *Id.*, 667–74. See also *Torquemada*, iii. 490–9.

[30] Friars Juan Padilla, Antonio de Segovia, and Martin de Jesus accompanied Guzman's expedition into Nueva Galicia, and baptized multitudes at the founding of San Miguel. They afterward traversed a great extent of country represented by the present states of Michoacan, Jalisco, and Zacatecas. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 423–6, Franciscans accompanied Cortés on his expedition on the Pacific, and while at Tehuantepec waiting for the completion of the fleet, they preached through the country by the aid of interpreters of the Zapotec language spoken there. *Id.*, ii. 486–7.

which they penetrated alone into the country of the barbarous Chichimecs. In 1539 two friars went from Michoacan into that region and baptized many,[31] while in 1540 Fray Francisco de las Navas was the first to administer baptism to the Popolucas who inhabited the valley of Tecamachalco.[32]

The Dominicans were not less zealous and active. Down to the year 1532 the monastic establishments of this order were subject to the jurisdiction of the provincia of Santa Cruz, in Española, which had been made independent of Andalusia. But Padre Betanzos had been sent as a delegate to the general chapter held at Rome in that year, to represent the interests of his convent, and procure, if possible, the creation of a Dominican provincia in New Spain. His efforts were successful, and the provincia of Santiago of Mexico, independent of that of Santa Cruz, was established at the convocation, and approved by Pope Clement VII. on the 2d of July 1532, Fray Tomás de Berlanga being appointed acting provincial.[33]

Unfortunately for the harmonious working of this decree, the first provincial chapter of Santa Cruz, held in the city of Santo Domingo in August 1531, had included the convent of SantoDomingo in Mexico as a part of its organization, and elected for its prior Fray Francisco de San Miguel who had recently arrived from Spain with a small party of friars.[34] These appointments gave rise to strife scarcely less unseemly than

[31] Friars had previously entered this region. The two mentioned in the text visited about 30 small towns, the population of the largest of which did not amount to 600 inhabitants. *Motolinia*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 173.

[32] According to Torquemada Navas baptized 12,000 natives in two months, and told the date of his own death long before the event. He was twice guardian of the convent in Mexico, and at times definidor of the province. iii. 523–6.

[33] Chiefly through the instrumentality of Betanzos. *Prov. Santiago*, MS., 3. The term of the provincial's office at first was three years, but in 1568 it was increased to four years. *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 284.

[34] Padre San Miguel was the first prior proper, the government hitherto having been in the hands of vicars. Having served only one year he was succeeded by Bernardo de Minoya. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 56; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 284.

that which disgraced secular rule. Berlanga arrived in New Spain with ten friars at the beginning of 1532, but when he entered the monastery and presented his appointment as provincial, the prior caused him and his companions to be put in irons.[35] The proceeding reached the ears of the audiencia, and President Fuenleal ordered the immediate release of the friars, who thereupon assumed control of the convent.

In July 1534 copies of the official documents relative to the creation of the provincia were received, and in 1535 Betanzos returned from Spain, invested with the authority of vicar general. On the 24th of August of the same year he convoked a provincial chapter, by which he was himself elected provincial, and Fray Pedro Delgado prior, who succeeded him as provincial in 1538. The organization of the provincia was thus at last effected; but though its creation had given rise to temporary dissension in the ranks of the order, it did not retard their advance or interrupt their labors.

About this time the fierce and man-eating Chontales,[36] who had hitherto scorned to accept civilization at the point of the sword, yielded to the preaching of the devoted Diego Carranza and other Dominican friars. Under the spiritual guidance of these missionaries they cast aside their baser habits, clothed themselves, and changed their contumacious hate to active obedience alike to spiritual and civil superiors.[37] The labors of the friars in Tehuantepec were of a different kind. Aided by King Cociyopa, they erected a magnificent monastery and church, besides making other material progress. In Puebla, also,

[35] President Funleal in letter of April 30, 1532, to the king speaking of this arrest says: 'un fray Vicente que se decia prior, le prendió... y le hechó unos grillos, y le quito los poderes que traia.' *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 210–11.

[36] They occupied a considerable portion of the wilder districts of Tabasco. *Native Races*, i. 645, this series.

[37] *Búrgoa, Geog. Discrip. Oajaca*, ii. 335–6, in which is a description of the condition and mode of life of these people.

and Oajaca the Dominicans were quite successful in their efforts.[38]

The Augustinians were first represented in New Spain in 1533, when seven of the order arrived under the leadership of their prior, Francisco de la Cruz.[39] Their names were, Agustin de Coruña, afterward bishop of Popayan, Gerónimo Jimenez, Juan de San Ramon, Juan de Oseguera, Alonso de Borja, Jorge de Ávila, and La Cruz.[40]

On their arrival in June they were hospitably lodged in the convent of Santo Domingo, while their application for a grant of land was being considered by the cabildo to whom it had been referred by the audiencia.[41]

They at once began their labors, and the wild districts of Tlapan and Chilapan having been assigned to them, two of their company, Fray Jimenez and Padre Ávila were selected to enter upon the work of conversion. The town of Ocuituco in Mexico was, however, at that time without spiritual instructors,

[38] Fray Gonzalo, specially competent for the position on account of his knowledge of the native languages, was placed in charge of the mission of Chila; and Oajaca, the district of Villa Alta, and the peaceful valley of Yanguitlan, were occupied by friars in 1538. By the exertions of Fray Domingo Santa María, 12,000 families in the latter district accepted the Christian religion and received instruction. Santa María acquired the language in one year, and wrote a work on Christian doctrine for the use of the natives. *Búrgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oajaca*, i. 14–18, 131–3, ii. 262–4.

[39] As early as 1527 they had requested permission of the emperor to proceed to New Spain, and made preparations accordingly. *Grijalua, Cron. S. August.*, 2–9. Before departing they met at Toledo in 1532, elected La Cruz prelate, and resolved to make the journey on foot in hempen sandals to the place of embarcation. *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 123. Hazart states that they entered New Spain in 1532. *Kirchen Geschichte*, ii. 532. Medina and Vetancurt follow Grijalva.

[40] The above list is from Fernandez. Grijalva mentions Fray Gerónimo de San Estévan, who doubtless is to be identified with Jimenez.

[41] Torquemada states that they bought the site for their monastery in the city of Mexico with the alms they received. iii. 70. Icazbalceta, in *Salazar, Mex. en 1554*, concludes that the cabildo assigned the piece of ground to them, though there is no record of such a grant. The Indians called it Zoquipan, 'in the mire,' because it was always muddy, owing to a neighboring spring. Grijalva says: 'Al fin resoluio la Audiẽcia de señalarles sitio donde fundasen.' *Cron. S. August.*, 11. Fernandez remarks: 'Al principio era muy corta la casa de Mexico, y assi viuian los Religiosos de dos en dos en vna celda.' *Hist. Eccles.*, 124.

and the audiencia granted the Augustinians permission to found a convent there. These two friars, therefore, directed their steps thither, and were joined shortly afterward by Padre Coruña and Padre Ramon.[42]

In October the friars Coruña[43] and Jimenez proceeded onward to the Chilapan district, where for several months their efforts to convert the natives were unavailing, and the sufferings they endured were extreme. Influenced by their priests the natives refused to supply them food or render any assistance, but held aloof and left them to starve. For three months these enduring men sustained themselves on ears of corn which they gathered from the patches of the natives at the risk of their lives. Yet return was never thought of. They could die, but not abandon their trust. At last curiosity prompted the natives to come forward; and soon they would learn something from these holy men. Gradually their dislike yielded before the kindness and winning example of the friars, who before long founded a convent at Chilapan.[44]

While Coruña and Jimenez were thus establishing

[42] Juan de San Ramon was one of the most prominent of the first Augustinian friars in Mexico. His parentage and birthplace are not recorded, but at an early age he was made superior of the convent at Valladolid. His fame in Michoacan as prior of the convent of Tiripitio caused his election at a later date as provincial of that provincia. In 1544 he returned to Spain to plead in behalf of the encomenderos, and, with Jorge de Ávila as his companion, in order to have an interview with the emperor, who was then in Germany, he travelled through the Lutheran countries disguised as a soldier. His mission was successful. He returned to Mexico after an absence of nine years. Again, in 1555, he visited Spain in behalf of his order, which was engaged in certain disputes with the bishops. His efforts obtained from the king a cédula ordering the bishops to make no innovations. Having returned in 1564, he was appointed provincial in 1566, but needing rest, he declined the honor. In 1569, however, he felt compelled to accept that office, a second time offered to him; but on the conclusion of his term, retired to the convent of Puebla, where he died and was buried in 1581, being the last survivor of the seven first Augustinians who came to Mexico. He was about 80 years of age. *Mich., Crón. San Nicolas*, 26–32.

[43] Fray Agustin de Coruña was born in the city of that name in Spain, and took the habit of the order in Salamanca. He labored for 20 years in the districts of Chilapan and Tlapa, and then returned to the capital. He was afterward appointed bishop of Popayan, and consecrated in Madrid in 1562. He died in 1590 at the age of 80 years, at the town of Tamana.

[44] The church and convent of Chilapan were destroyed by an earthquake in 1537. All their convents had hospitals connected with them.

themselves in Chilapan, Father Borja[45] had been sent to Santa Fé, a town founded by Quiroga, two leagues from the city of Mexico.[46] Thus five of the seven Augustinians were placed in different parts of the country, while in Mexico the prior and Padre Oseguera labored to support their brethren by the collection of alms,[47] and by forming a system of government for their prospective province.

In June 1534 La Cruz convoked a meeting of his brethren at the central convent of Ocuituco, to consider the prospects of the order and consult upon future measures.[48] Some months later La Cruz returned to Spain and obtained further assistance from his order, which had previous to his arrival appointed him provincial vicar in New Spain. But the prior did not live to fulfil the duties of this higher position. Assiduous labor, rigorous fasts, and exhausting journeys on foot broke his health, and shortly after his return to Mexico he died, on the 12th of July 1536.[49]

During the absence of La Cruz in Spain, Father Agreda had arrived in Mexico bearing letters addressed

[45] Alonso de Borja, born at Aranda, of noble parentage, was uncompromisingly austere in his habits, fasting thrice a week and sleeping on bare boards. Feeling his end approaching he set out on foot for Mexico city, 19 leagues distant. Having received the last sacraments he died shortly afterward in 1542, and was buried in the convent of his order. *Grijalua, Cron. S. August.*, 62–4.

[46] In the district under his charge there were 12,000 families, the members of which observed great regularity in their devotions. At Santa Fé a convent was founded by Father Borja. *Id.*, 15–17.

[47] From the Lady Isabel de Montezuma, daughter of the great emperor, and married to Pedro Cano, they obtained great favors; she assumed the entire maintenance of their house, and contributed so lavishly that the priests remonstrated until told to give the surplus to the poor. *Id.*, 17.

[48] At this convocation regulations for their future guidance were drawn up; and it was agreed that La Cruz and Oseguera should occupy the convent of Ocuituco, inasmuch as they had not yet been engaged in the work of conversion.

[49] Fernandez gives June 11, 1535, as the date of his death. *Hist. Eccles.*, 124–5. Fray Francisco de la Cruz was born in Ciudad Rodrigo, in Estremadura, and took the habit of the order in Salamanca. Though not a learned man he possessed the gift of preaching to an excellent degree. Miracles are attributed to him after death. On one occasion he even rose from his grave in the convent of San Agustin in Mexico to save a novitiate from the clutches of the devil, who had already dragged him through a narrow grating and was carrying him off. Passing by La Cruz's tomb, however, the friar arose, and having put the evil one to flight, took back the novitiate to the convent through the same grating. *Id.*

to him from his order. These were now opened and found to contain the appointment of La Cruz as provincial vicar, and naming Father Jimenez as his acting vicar or successor in case of his absence or death. Jimenez was at once recognized as provincial vicar, and he convoked a general meeting,[50] at which, among other matters, was discussed the important one of establishing an independent provincia in Mexico. It was, however, decided to remain an adjunct of the province of Castile.[51] Moreover, they resolved to abandon the convent of Santa Fé and devote their energies to the conversion of the natives of the mountainous regions, to whom the gospel had not yet been carried.

From this time the Austin friars patiently and devotedly pursued their missionary course with marked success. Father Borja, with several fellow-brothers, went to Atotonilco, and pushing northward labored among the Otomís. The wild fastnesses of the Sierra Alta were invaded by Sevilla and Roa, and the scattered inhabitants after long and arduous exertions were brought into submission.[52]

At Tacámbaro and Tiripitio convents were established, and at the latter place a school which in time developed into a university.[53] Nor did the dangers

[50] The friars were now 23 in number. In 1535 five more had arrived, Fray Nicolás de Agreda being their superior, and La Cruz brought with him from Spain 11 other members especially chosen for the work. A fourth company of Augustinians was brought out by Prior Juan Eustacio in 1539.

[51] The provincial of Castile had authorized them to elect from their own number four definidores, who with their provincial vicar formed their chapter. These were empowered to regulate local matters without reference to Spain, and elect their own priors. Fray Juan de Sevilla was on this occasion elected prior.

[52] After a year's unremitted efforts and hardships Roa in despair left his companion with the intention of returning to Spain. Having observed, however, the success of brother friars under similar difficulties, he returned to the Sierra and practised such patience and perseverance that the two friars eventually succeeded in converting the inhabitants of that region and collecting them into towns. They even advanced into mountain ranges occupied by the Chichimecs.

[53] The convent at Tiripitio, Michoacan, founded in 1537 by Diego de Alvarado, a nephew of Pedro de Alvarado, and afterward bishop elect of the province, soon became celebrated as an educational centre, and won the title of the Athens of New Spain. In 1540 this convent, which was two and a half

of the low-lying coast lands, reeking with pestiferous air, deter the Augustinians. From Tiripitio they descended into the tierra caliente of the southern seaboard, and labored there as elsewhere, regardless of their comfort or their lives.

They went also to Ocuila, twelve leagues south-west of the city of Mexico, and having acquired that most difficult language by the aid of the converts, they finally succeeded in erecting a convent and a church. Miraculous assistance was vouchsafed to the Austin friars as to others. Situated in a beautiful ravine between the towns of Ocuila and Malinalco, and about eighteen leagues south-west of the capital, the mysterious cave of Chalma had, from time immemorial, been celebrated as a place of heathen worship. Here reposed the idol of the awful Ostotoctheotl, and here his rites were solemnized and his anger appeased by the blood of men and beasts. This stronghold of Satan the friars Sebastian de Tolentino and Nicolás de Perea determined to assail, and in 1537, accompanied with an army of Ocuiltec converts, went in solemn procession to Chalma, Fray Nicolás bearing a cross upon his shoulder. But on arriving at the gloomy cavern they beheld a wondrous sight. The dark cave was illuminated by a heavenly light, the hideous Dagon lay prostrate and broken on the ground; and a beautiful crucifix occupied the now purified place of Ostotoctheotl, and thereupon Chalma became a hermitage and shrine visited from afar.[54]

In 1537 the term of the provincial of Castile, under whose license they were acting, expired, and the Austin

years in building, was made a college for the higher branches of learning. A son of the king of Michoacan was one of the first pupils. Under the provincial Ávila it was one of the great centres of the faith. *Mich., Cron. St Nicolas*, 4, 6–12, 22, 145.

[54] The first hermit who occupied the sanctuary was Bartolomé de Jesus María. In time a house, with cells for a few friars, and a chapel were built, and finally an Augustinian convent. On March 5, 1683, the church of Chalma was dedicated. There is also a hospedería for the accommodation of pilgrims who visit the place twice a year, at the beginning of Lent and on St Michael's day in May. Many miracles and wonderful cures are credited to this shrine. *Romero Elías, Salv. ó Caridad*, No. ii. 105–44; *Sardo Joaquin, Chalma*, 1 et seq.

friars in New Spain appointed Father Nicolás de Agreda as provincial vicar pending further action in Spain.[55] At a chapter of the order held in 1540, Father Jorge de Ávila, one of the first seven, was chosen provincial vicar. A season of increased activity followed, as is evidenced by the numerous convents founded at the time. It was not until 1541 that the Augustinians began to build their convent in the city of Mexico. A royal grant had enriched the order with the revenue of an Indian town, and that of Tezcuco had been assigned to them by the viceroy Mendoza. The building was not completed before 1587, and cost one hundred and sixty-two thousand pesos, the whole of which sum was provided by the king.[56]

The establishment of bishoprics, the organization of provincias of the regular orders, the encouragement held out to them to found convents, and the gradual but continued erection of churches[57] were far more effective in the suppression of idolatry than had been all the labors of itinerant friars, who, howsoever many converts they baptized, left impressions of no very durable character. The encomendero and the exacting tribute-collector followed in the footsteps of the missionaries, which tended to render the teachings of the latter distasteful. Thus it was that during the decade from 1530 to 1540 more lasting conversion was

[55] This friar afterward returned to Spain, attended the chapter held at Dueñas in 1543, and was elected prior of Pamplona, where he died. *Grijalua, Cron. S. August.*, 36.

[56] There being already two convents in the capital, it was at first considered by the king inexpedient to found a third, which was the cause of the delay. The first stone was laid by the viceroy, the second by Bishop Zumárraga, the third by the prior of Santo Domingo, the fourth by the guardian of San Francisco, and the fifth by the vicar of San Agustin. *Id.*, 11, 50. Consult also *Salazar, Mex. en 1554*, 248–9; *Medina, Chron. San Diego de Mex.*, 10; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., No. vi. 328.

[57] A royal cédula, dated August 2, 1533, ordered that places of worship, where Indians might be instructed, were to be erected in all principal towns, whether pertaining to the crown, the marqués del Valle, or encomenderos, the expense of construction to be defrayed by the tributes paid by the natives. *Mex., Col. Leyes*, i. xlv.–vi.

accomplished, and perhaps a greater number baptized, than during any other period of equal length.

In 1531 an event occurred which greatly contributed to the suppression of idolatry, which was the miraculous appearance of the virgin of Guadalupe, the history of which apparition is as follows:

An Indian of low birth who had received baptism a few years before, and had been christened Juan Diego,[58] was proceeding, on Saturday, the 9th of December, to Tlatelulco[59] to hear mass and receive instruction. On his way thither he was obliged to pass an eminence about a league from the city.[60] It was a rugged, sterile hill, seamed with fissures and pierced with cavities, and on it grew no vegetation except the cactus and stunted shrubs.

While crossing the slope of this barren mount, harmonious strains of sweetest music enrapt his attention, and turning his eyes upward in the direction whence the melody came, with increased wonder he beheld an arc of glorious coloring. In its centre shone a brilliant light, such as that shed from a heavenly throne. The rocks around were resplendent with prismatic hues and seemed to him masses of opal, sapphire, and burnished gold. Gradually he drew nearer, and in the radiance beheld a lady of beautiful countenance and form, who in a gentle and assuring voice bade him ascend to where she stood. When he reached the spot the lady told him that she was the virgin Mary, and it was her wish that, on the place where she was standing, a church should be built.

[58] His native name was Quauhtlatohua. He was born at Quauhtitlan, a pueblo about five leagues to the north of Mexico city, and at the time of the apparition was living at Tolpetlac, two leagues distant from the same. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 435.

[59] There was a college at Tlatelulco where the Spanish language and the arts and sciences were taught. *Becerra Tanco, Felic.*, 47.

[60] 'Fué llamada de los indios *Tepeyacac* que quiere decir extremo ó *punta de los cerros*' or more literally '*nariz de los cerros.*' *Bustamante, Aparic. Guad.*, 9. It was also called Quautlalapan, corrupted into Guadalupe, says Beaumont. The historian Sigüenza derives the latter word from the Arabic *guada*, river, as in Guadalquivir, Guadiana, and *lub*, or *luben*, fountain. Others consider the word composed of the Arabic *guada* and the Latin *lupus*, its signification then being wolf river. *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 279.

She then charged him to hasten to the bishop and inform him of her commands. Juan Diego at once proceeded on his mission, and told his story to Zumárraga. The bishop, however, gave no credence to the tale, and Juan returned to the spot where he had seen the vision. Again the virgin appeared and bade him on the morrow repeat to the bishop her message. More attention was paid to him on this occasion. The prelate questioned him closely, but telling him that his statements were insufficient, bade him bring some sign from the lady by which he might recognize her divine command. Under the impression that the Indian was laboring under an illusion, the bishop directed two persons to follow him unobserved and watch his proceedings. This was done. And when Juan Diego approached the bridge spanning a small stream which crossed the way, he disappeared from their sight, nor did the closest search discover him. Returning to the bishop they made their report and expressed the belief that the Indian was guilty of witchcraft.

Meanwhile Juan pursued his course, unconscious of the miracle performed in his behalf, and reported to the virgin the result of his mission. She bade him come to her on the morrow, when a sure and certain sign would be given him. He did not, however, carry out the virgin's injunctions, owing to the condition of his uncle, Juan Bernardino, who had fallen ill. But on the second day, which was the 12th of December, while on his way to Tlatelulco to obtain the services of a priest for the dying relative, he remembered his neglect, and in his simplicity hoped to avoid meeting the apparition by taking another path. On arriving at a small fountain,[61] however, he perceived the virgin descending the slope, surrounded by the same effulgence as on the first occasion. The vision dazzled him. Conscience-stricken, yet contrite, he fell on his

[61] Called the Pozito de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

knees trembling. But the virgin consoled him, and bade him be in no anxiety for his uncle, who was well already. She then bade him ascend the hill, cull the roses he would there find, and bring them to her in the folds of his mantle.[62] The man obeyed, finding on the barren summit a miraculous garden of roses which shed a delicious perfume. Gathering as he had been bidden he carried the roses to the holy one,[63] who having taken them in her hands, gave them back to the Indian and bade him carry them unseen by any one to the bishop.

On arriving at the bishop's Juan Diego unfolded his mantle and displayed the roses as the required sign, and behold, a figure of the virgin was found painted upon the mantle. Then all acknowledged the holy nature of the apparition and bent their knees in worship. Zumárraga, with priestly hand, took from the shoulders of the native the sacred cloth, and reverently placed it in his oratory.

On the following day the prelate, accompanied by his household, and guided by Juan Diego, visited the spot designated by the virgin. His mission ended, Juan Diego returned, accompanied by several of the bishop's followers. On their arrival at Tolpetlac, Juan Bernardino was found to be in perfect health, and it was discovered that at the same hour in which the virgin had told Juan Diego of his recovery she had appeared to Bernardino, restored him to health, and expressed her wishes with regard to the erection of a church.

Far and wide spread the tidings of the miracle, and the crowds which flocked to the bishop's palace to see the divinely painted figure became so great that he placed it on the altar of the cathedral, that all in turn might venerate it. There it remained till a shrine was

[62] The Mexican tilma was nothing more than a square piece of cloth. With regard to the modes of wearing it consult *Native Races*, ii. 366, 727.

[63] The virgin was waiting for him at the foot of the tree called by the Indians Quauçahualt, and by the Spaniards arbol de telas de araña, or cob-web-tree. *Becerra Tanco, Felic.*, 27.

erected on the site indicated by Mary, whither it was transferred in a solemn procession in 1532.

No more propitious event could have occurred. Divine interposition quickly accomplished that for which the servants of Christ had been so long striving. From that time idolatry rapidly declined in Mexico. Thousands annually visited the sanctuary and in bent adoration deposited their gifts.[64] In time a more appropriate repository for the sacred robe was wanted, and a chapel was built around the hallowed spring at which the virgin's form had waited.[65] And later still an imposing edifice, with lofty dome and columns supporting graceful arches, beneath which glittered silver altar-rails and ornaments of gold, received and held safe the venerated painting.[66]

In regard to the painting itself, we find the virgin represented as standing with the right foot on a crescent moon, supported by a cherub with wings outspread, and hands clasped upon her breast. A rose-colored tunic richly embroidered with gold covers her form, and a girdle of velvet clasps her waist. The mantle, decorated with stars, partially covers the head, on which rests a crown with ten points, or rays.

[64] Bustamante avers that the Spaniards would not have allowed so many thousands to congregate at the shrine, had they not been aware of the peaceful purport of their assembling. *Aparic. Guad.*, 51.

[65] The painting was removed there in 1662, according to Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 440, and Villa Señor, *Theat. Amer.*, i. 16. But this date is obviously incorrect, as the removal took place in the time of Archbishop Serna who died in 1631. Consult *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 167–8.

[66] The cost of this magnificent church, probably the richest in Mexico, is estimated at from half a million to eight hundred thousand pesos. It was begun in 1695 and not fully completed till 1709. The high altar, according to Beaumont, cost 98,000 pesos, and the throne, or tabernacle in which the picture is enshrined, 52,119 pesos. *Cron. Mich.* iii. 441. Later authorities give a still higher estimate of this latter work of art. The painting was placed in the church on the 1st of May 1703, where it remained till 1836, when it was temporarily transferred to the convent of the Capuchins during the internal renovation of the edifice, being restored to its place in December of the same year. Magnificent donations have been made to this church. In 1707 Andrés Palencia left 100,000 pesos, and in 1747 the accumulated capital amounted to 527,832 pesos, yielding an income of 30,000 pesos. With this sum endowments were made for the support of an abbot, 10 canons, and other church officers. *Villa Señor, Theat. Amer.*, i, 16; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 168–74; *Florencia, Estrella del Norte*, 25–9; *Beltrami, Mex.*, ii. 226–7.

The artist Cabrera[67] describes the countenance as exquisitely beautiful in every feature, and maintains that even if a person were ignorant of the origin of the painting, he could not deny, on seeing it, that it is supernatural work.[68] The figure is surrounded by an aureola encompassed by a luminous-edged cloud.[69]

In 1835 a formal investigation was made with regard to the genuineness of the existing painting,[70] from which it was discovered that its identity with the one miraculously depicted on the mantle of Juan Diego,[71] was not proven until its removal from its place on the

[67] Miguel Cabrera, at a meeting of the artists of Mexico in 1751, was selected to make a copy of the painting for presentation to Benedict XIV. This copy was the most celebrated ever taken. Cabrera in 1756 wrote a lengthy critique on the original. *Aparic. Guad.*, 42–7.

[68] Grave authorities have agreed that no human hand could have painted such a picture. *Becerra Tanco, Felic.*, 55.

[69] The length of the picture is, according to Cabrera, two and one twelfth varas, and its width a little over one and a quarter varas. The length of the virgin's figure is about one vara. It is painted on ayate, a coarse native cloth manufactured out of the fibre of the agave plant, and has been extensively copied. The miraculous origin of this painting has given rise to much controversy as to its authenticity. The arguments advanced in contra consist of five principal ones: 1. The miracle was never affirmed by any auto; 2. Bishop Zumárraga left no writing on the subject; 3. Torquemada leaves the reader to infer that it was the work of man; 4. The ayate, said to have belonged to Juan Diego, was longer and narrower than the mantles usually worn; 5. The painting itself shows artistic faults. Bartolache makes an elaborate attempt to refute these arguments. *Manifiest. Opusc. Guad.*, 70–105. The defenders of the miracle, the warmest of whom is Bustamante, base its authenticity on native manuscripts giving an account of it; on extant narratives of ancient writers mentioned by Veytia and others; on the testimony of aged persons; on ancient native canticles; and on the miracles performed at the sanctuary, mentioned by many writers, among whom was Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 250. Those who desire further information can consult, besides the authorities already quoted, the following: *Lasso de la Vega, Huei Tlamahuicoltica*, published in Mexico, 1649, a work supposed to be modelled from Sanchez; *Boturini, Idea, Hist. Gen. Amer.*, Madrid, 1746. This author collected a great number of Indian manuscripts: *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, Mexico, 1698; *Sanchez, Imagen Guad.*, Mexico, 1648; *Cabrera, Maravilla Amer.*, Mexico, 1756, a work treating exclusively of the painting; *Florencia, Zodiaco Mariano*, Mexico, 1755; *Id., Estrella de el Norte*, Mexico, 1741, a discussion on the painting and Indian antiquities. *Antonio* and *Tuñon, Col. Ob. y Opusc.*, an excellent collection of passages from the best writers on the Guadalupe mystery; and *Castro, Octava Maravilla Mex.*, Mexico, 1729, a poem in five cantos. The material on which the picture was painted is discussed in this work.

[70] The committee, besides Bustamante, was composed of the bishop of Monterey, Fray Ortigosa, two prebends, Movellan, secretary of congress, a notary public, and the artists Aillon and Villanueva.

[71] This personage, after the apparition of the virgin, withdrew from business, lived a life of celibacy, and devoted himself to her service. He died in 1548, aged 74, warned, according to Vetancurt, *Chron.*, 128, of his approaching end.

old altar on account of repairs, when attention was attracted to its extraordinary weight. Examination revealed the fact that it was attached to the top of Zumárraga's table, on which was an inscription by the bishop, certifying this to be the true and original picture.[72]

Among the most assiduous propagators of the faith was the Franciscan friar, Toribio Motolinia, who kept a record of baptisms from 1524 to 1539. In the city of Mexico and the surrounding villages more than a million children and adults were baptized, an equal number in the district of Tezcuco, and in Michoacan and other provinces over three millions more. In the single year of 1537 above five hundred thousand received the faith. These conversions were the result of the labors of the Franciscans alone, several members of which order, it is claimed, baptized individually numbers varying from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand.[73] The number of friars employed in this work did not exceed sixty, for though in 1539 the members of the order present amounted to about eighty, not all of them were occupied in baptizing, owing to a want of experience and a knowledge of the language. In spreading the gospel these evangelizers received much aid from native converts,[74] who, as well as the native traders, carried tidings of the

[72] The painting had been stretched upon five boards, solidly joined together by treenails, and at the back was the inscription: 'Tabla de la mesa del Illmo. Sr. Zumárraga, y en la que el dichoso néofito puso la tilma en que estaba estampada esta maravillosa imágen.' The carpenter, who accompanied the committee, testified to the antiquity of the boards, while the wooden nails were like those used by the Indian carpenters in the bishop's time. *Aparic. Guad.*, 27–9.

[73] *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 108–9; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 275. Gonzalez Dávilla, *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 25, states that by the Dominican and Franciscan friars 10,500,000 natives were baptized, not including those converted by other orders. According to Fernandez, *Hist. Eccles.*, 47, the Franciscans baptized 1,000,000 during the first eight years. *Torquemada*, iii. 156.

[74] In the year 1530 a school for the religious instruction of Indian girls was established with a similar good result, the young women assisting in the work of conversion as soon as sufficiently taught. This seminary was under the management of six pious sisters sent out by the queen of Spain. It existed for about ten years. *Id.*, 48. Also *Motolinia*, 224–6, and *Mendieta*, 482–3.

cross into remote districts not yet penetrated by the friars.

It was a grand and happy consummation, alike for church and state; so at least it was regarded until the state became jealous of the wealth and power of the church. At this time the church rejoiced for the millions thus brought into the fold, and the crown rejoiced for subjects thus reclaimed from savagism who were henceforth to add to its revenues. Thus we find the queen writing in 1532 to the archbishop of Toledo, of the great work already accomplished in New Spain, and the wide field for new conversions. The prelate is then asked for virtuous and exemplary laborers willing to go thither.[75] And again in 1536 the king enjoins the viceroy and audiencia to promote to the utmost the spread of the faith. By this and other means the number of religious teachers was greatly increased.[76]

But not all of the baptized aboriginals were happy in their new relations. There were some from whose hearts the eradication of idolatry was not so complete as appeared on the surface. Many clung tenaciously to the creed of their ancestors, and when open profession was no longer possible they had recourse to stratagem. While outwardly observing the Catholic form, they practised in secret their ancient rites, and while they knelt before the image of the virgin offered adoration to hidden idols of their own.[77]

[75] *Cédula*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, ii. 379–80.

[76] 'Aunque los obreros eran muy buenos (mediante la diligencia del Visorrey) desde este punto comẽçaron a ser mas en numero, y mejores.' *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. i. cap. x.

[77] For an account of secret ceremonies see *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, iii. 321.

CHAPTER XX.

FUTILE ATTEMPTS TOWARD DISCOVERY.

1530–1540.

AUTHORITY OF CORTÉS CURTAILED—INDIAN CONSPIRACY SUPPRESSED—DISTURBANCES IN OAJACA—AN EMPTY TITLE—CORTÉS AND THE COLONISTS OF ANTEQUERA—FURTHER DISPUTES WITH THE AUDIENCIA—CORTÉS PERSISTENT—BAFFLED EFFORTS AT DISCOVERY—HIGH HOPES AND A LOWLY DWELLING—MISFORTUNE FOLLOWS MISFORTUNE—GUZMAN'S ANIMOSITY—CORTÉS DEFIANT—HE SAILS NORTHWARD—FAILURE OF THE ENTERPRISE—RIVALRY OF MENDOZA—CORTÉS DISGUSTED—HE RETURNS TO SPAIN.

UPON the arrival of the second audiencia Cortés hastened to lay before that body his commission as captain general. Though it was duly recognized by them, the powers it conferred were greatly controlled by a royal order produced by the audiencia, requiring that Cortés, in all his operations, should consult the president and oidores and act only on their approval. This we may well imagine was not pleasing to the marquis,[1] and soon he and the audiencia were engaged in hot disputes. Jealous of their position, and proud of the king's confidence,[2] the oidores were uncompromising in the exhibition of their authority, and carried out their instructions to the letter; while Cortés,

[1] Cortés professes to have been at first satisfied with this order: 'y fué para mí muy gran merced, porque siempre querria tales testigos de mis servicios.' *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 191.

[2] When the audiencia attended mass on the arrival at the capital the bishop of Tlascala in the prayer for the royal family, after the words, 'regem nostrum cum prole regia,' added, 'et ducem exercitus nostri,' whereupon Oidor Salmeron admonished him to observe the king's preëminence: 'é yo le amonesté que guardase al Rey su preeminencia Real en aquello.' *Salmeron*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 192

accustomed to domineer, ill brooked opposition to his views or interests, and pressed matters with a haughtiness that offended the king's judges.

Thus it was that almost immediately an antagonism appeared, regarding questions of minor importance at first, as those of etiquette and precedence,[3] but later affecting weightier matters both public and private.

Unfriendly relations being thus established, the breach grew wider day by day, and their letters were full of bitterness, marked by complaints of grievances on the one side and of obnoxious interference on the other. Such being their respective attitudes, it was with difficulty and delay that even the royal orders were carried out in matters concerning Cortés. Whether the question at issue related to the counting of his vassals, the assignment of towns and lands granted him, or expeditions of discovery, it was in every case attended by many loud and angry words.

The first business in connection with the marquis to which it was necessary the audiencia should give attention was the counting of the twenty-three thousand vassals assigned him by royal grant. Difficulties at once arose which rendered the counting slow,[4] and there were also disagreements between the oidores and Cortés with respect to the method. Moreover as public interests were involved by the establishment of a remarkable precedent, the action of the oidores was closely watched and criticised.[5] The discharge

[3] Salmeron complainingly reports to the king the prominent position in which Cortés caused his chair to be placed in the church, and the fact that he took precedence in church ceremonies: 'y al ofrecer, nos porfiamos todos, y él ofrece el primero; y la paz saca un sacristan, y vá primero á nosotros, y tómala el primero.' *Id.*

[4] The oidores reported to his Majesty that the Indians, at the instigation of their chiefs, evaded the count. This they could readily do owing to the facility with which they removed from place to place. The duties of the commission appointed to take the count were thus made irksome in the extreme, and the result inaccurate. They were employed during the whole of lent in determining the population of a single town in the district of Cuernavaca without satisfactory result, and there were not less than 20 others in that district. *Relacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiv. 330; *Audience*, *Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 151, 197–8.

[5] Cortés maintained that the heads of families only should be counted, while the oidores claimed that the individual members ought to be included.

of this unenviable duty was intrusted to six commissioners, three of whom were appointed by Cortés and three by the audiencia.[6]

The commission, however, after having labored for many weeks in vain efforts to arrive at even an approximate count, reported to the audiencia that the difficulties were insurmountable and a correct numeration impossible, since not one fifth of the estimated population presented itself. The attempt was consequently abandoned, and a compromise entered into by which Cortés, pending instructions from the king, was left in possession of Cuernavaca with its dependdent townships and the districts of Tehuantepec and Cuetlachtlan. The valleys of Oajaca and Quilapan, and various towns in the province of Mexico, were also assigned him under the encomienda system, no judicial authority being therewith conferred.[7]

Yet the audiencia considered that the principle on which the king's grants had been made was dangerous, from the fact that the scattered positions of the different districts would give Cortés too wide an influ-

Again, several families occupied the same dwelling, separated from each other by partitions of bamboo. The oidores complain to the king that many of these houses were found empty, although they were convinced that the inhabitants had only temporarily removed. In other instances the partitions had been taken down so that several families might appear to belong to one and the same head; and the audiencia considered that all houses ought to be counted whether occupied or not. *Id.* Moreover strictness in count was warmly discussed by the encomenderos who recognized that the decision on this point materially affected themselves. Several witnesses testified that the contador, Rodrigo de Albornoz, had asserted that the count ought not to be taken too strictly as the difference of 50 macehuales more or less was a matter of slight importance. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvi. 548–54.

[6] The audiencia appointed Cristóbal de Barrios, Gerónimo Ruiz de la Mota, and Ruiz Gonzalez; the representatives of Cortés were, Andrés de Tapia, Juan de Salcedo, and Francisco de Terrazas. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 197. Cortés complains that two of his greatest enemies were chosen by the audiencia. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 22–3.

[7] The marquis complained of this limitation of his jurisdiction, and also protested against the appointment of corregidores of certain towns claimed by him as pertaining to his grant. *Id.*, 155, and *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv., 331–2. A description of the different districts and townships included in the assignments will be found in *Id.*, 333–7, and *Ternaux-Compans. Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 153–5. A copy also of the agreement between the audiencia and Cortés is contained in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 514–20. Cortés engaged to surrender all claim to any districts which might afterward be found outside of his grant.

ence, and the oidor Salmeron had already counselled the king to centralize the authority of the marquis by confining his possessions to one portion of the country.[8] The fact is his power over the natives was such as to cause the oidores heartily to wish him back in Spain.[9]

Nor was the assignment of these grants the only cause of dispute. The erection of his palace, the sale of his houses in the city of Mexico to the audiencia, and his claims to lands within the limits of the city were alike productive of grievances and annoyance.[10]

But the treatment of Cortés by the audiencia in his public capacity as captain general engendered yet stronger feelings of indignation and wounded pride. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that his high office was one more in name than in reality, and his quick perception soon revealed to him that although the crown had recognized his services it did not intend to allow him much control in the guidance of affairs.

[8] In March 1531, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 203–4.

[9] In August of the same year Salmeron remarks, 'il a un tel pouvoir sur les indigènes, que d'un seul mot il pourrait tous les faire révolter,' and later adds: 'Il dit...qu'il retournera en Espagne. Plût au ciel qu'il le fit; cela serait heureux pour la Nouvelle-Espagne.' *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 196. In the same letter he expresses the conviction that it would be well not to include the township of Antequera Oajaca in the grant, while Oidor Quiroga apprises the king that the assignment to Cortés of the town of Tacubaya, so near the capital, would be greatly prejudicial to the city. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 427–8.

[10] By a letter of the oidores, dated 14th of August 1531, already frequently quoted, the king was informed that Cortés was building in the city a palace more pretentious than any to be seen in Spain, and that the work had been interrupted by the audiencia placing the towns from which the marquis drew his laborers under the corregimiento system. He had, however, been allowed to employ the Indians of Chales, on the condition that he paid them wages. This he had failed to do, and the oidores had stopped the work. With regard to his houses in the city Cortés complains, in 1533, that the audiencia had neither paid him for them, nor were willing to give up the property, not even the traders' buildings which, according to agreement, he was to retain; and he requests the council to interfere in his behalf. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.* xii. 550–1. Certain lands lying within the city commons, were granted to Cortés by royal order of July 27, 1534, but he was dispossessed of them by the oidores of the first audiencia. In 1531 he claimed restitution, which was resisted, and the audiencia decided to submit the matter to the India Council. *Id.*, xxix., passim. The queen, in April 1533, empowers the audiencia to investigate the matter and decide according to justice. *Puga, Cedulario*, 86.

From the first the new administration avoided consultation with him,[11] and when in military matters he offered suggestions, his views were not accepted, and even his actions were interfered with, while at the same time no means was omitted of impressing upon the natives the fact that the great conqueror was subservient to the higher authority of the audiencia.

The very first attempt made by Cortés to exercise his functions as captain general caused a rupture between him and the audiencia. The inefficient condition of the available forces in New Spain was such as to excite a fear of an uprising of the natives. With the approval of the audiencia, Cortés therefore proclaimed a general muster in all Spanish towns, attaching certain penalties to those who failed to appear with their arms and horses. The muster in the capital was a failure, and when Cortés sought to enforce the fines upon the delinquents the oidores took umbrage, considering that his action was an encroachment upon their authority.[12]

The weakness displayed by this failure to muster in force and the well known dissension that prevailed among the Spaniards offered a strong temptation to the Indians. They believed that an opportunity for throwing off the Spanish yoke had at last arrived, and they entered into a conspiracy to destroy their oppressors. Straggling Spaniards in the country were murdered,

[11] The audiencia informed the king that their policy was to avoid seeking the advice of Cortés in matters affecting the government. *Salmeron, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 191. Cortés also complained to the king that he was not allowed to consult with the audiencia, but was simply required to obey orders. *Id.*, 12. In his *Relacion de Servicios* he states that the audiencia construed the king's instructions relative to himself to suit themselves, and that without voice or vote in their councils he was compelled simply to execute their orders. Failures could thus be charged to his account, while the credit of his successes could be appropriated by the president and oidores. *Escritos Sueltos*, 217–18.

[12] This question of prerogative was still unsettled in April 1532. Cortés writing to the king on the 20th remarks: 'y así se ha quedado hasta hoy que ninguna órden ni concierto hay.' *Id.*, 191. A similar failure occurred at Vera Cruz. *Id.*, 220. The audiencia attributed this failure to the action of the enemies of Cortés who 'aimeraient mieux perdre tout ce qu'ils possèdent que le reconnaître pour leur supérieur.' *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 155–6.

and preparations made for a sudden rising in the city. According to Oviedo more than two hundred Spaniards were soon found to be missing, and the alarm became general. The oidores in the emergency recognized that the only man capable of dealing with the excited Indians was the captain general, and him they now called upon to come to their assistance. With a large force he marched into the capital, and by his decisive measures quiet was restored. Great numbers were made prisoners and the horrors of fire and blood-hounds implanted a wholesome fear upon the natives, who were once more taught that their patriotic struggles only tightened the conqueror's grasp.[13]

The revolt seems to have extended far southward, for during the early part of 1531 the Zapotecs in Oajaca and Impilcingo were in rebellion, and a number of Spaniards who had entered the district in search of gold had been slaughtered.[14]

The ayuntamiento of Antequera despatched all available force against the insurgents, but as this left the town without defenders it was necessary to send assistance from Mexico. But even under these circumstances, in which the experience and military ability of Cortés ought to have been respected, his views met with opposition, and the conqueror of New Spain deemed it prudent to yield in all points to the opinions of the oidores on the ground that his would be the blame in case of mishap. The revolt was suppressed, but the expeditions sent out by the captain general encountered unnecessary difficulties, owing to the interference of the audiencia.[15]

[13] *Oviedo*, iii. 521. A false alarm was raised one night in the capital which caused general consternation. The originator of it was not discovered, but it afforded an additional motive for suppressing the conspiracy. *Torquemada*, i. 605; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 99–100. Consult also *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. ix. cap. iv.

[14] One Alonso Tabera and several companions were killed, and shortly afterward six other Spaniards with a large number of slaves were put to death. *Carta del Ayunt.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 182–3.

[15] *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 191–3, 218–19. Even the punishment of insubordination in his ranks was not allowed him by the audiencia. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 156; and when on one occasion an officer exceeded

Thus thwarted in every public and private measure, Cortés felt bitterly the humiliations to which he was subjected. Accustomed to command so long without restriction, his position became distasteful. His great achievements merited, he thought, a higher appreciation than that which made of him but a mere figure-head of power; and with wounded heart, and in disgust at his empty title of captain general, he begged the king, since his ability was held in so poor esteem, to appoint a more competent person to take his place.[16]

But after all the misery was not wholly on one side. Cortés was to the audiencia as a thorn in the flesh. His friends were numerous, and their ranks were reenforced by discontented encomenderos who saw their interests attacked by the audiencia, which endeavored to suppress repartimientos. In July 1532 President Fuenleal suggested the recall of Cortés to Spain, with four or five others who were causing trouble.[17]

Meantime Cortés had left the city and retired in disgust to Cuernavaca, where he had caused a palace to be built on the outskirts of the town. Here he

his instructions and reduced to slavery some prisoners captured in the Impilcingo campaign, the marquis was reprimanded for not having given sufficiently definite orders to his lieutenant, and the officer was arrested. *Quiroga*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 424–6. The king in March 1532 instructs the audiencia not to proceed against either the captain, Vasco Porcallo, or the marquis in this matter. *Puga, Cedulario*, 79. Nor could Cortés obtain any redress from the audiencia when Captain Luis de Castilla, whom he had sent with an expedition to colonize part of the country previously pacified, was seized by Guzman and kept prisoner till his followers disbanded. *Escritos, Sueltos*, 192–3.

[16] His letter is dated April 20, 1532, and he remarks: 'Porque pues hasta aquí no he errado, no querria errar de aquí adelante: yo, como un vecino, seguiré lo que me mandaren.' *Escritos Sueltos*, 193. On the 20th of March preceding, the queen issued the following somewhat indefinite instructions to the audiencia regarding the duties of the captain general: 'El Marques ha de vsar el oficio de capitan general en la nueva España en las cosas, q̃ por nos especialmẽte le fueren mandadas, o alla por vosotros en nuestro nombre se le mandaren, y no en otra cosa, mirareys bien siempre lo que les encomendays y mandays, porque se escusen difcrencias, teniendo siempre respecto a la persona del marques.' *Puga, Cedulario*, 79.

[17] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 226. This advice was again given by the audiencia in November following. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 208–9. Herrera is alone with respect to the relations between Cortés and Fuenleal. He describes them as amicable, and asserts that the president continually consulted Cortés. dec. iv. lib. ix. cap. xiv.

occupied himself with agriculture and stock-raising, entertaining meanwhile various projects of discovery.

On taking possession of the domains of his marquisate, in the valley of Oajaca, the inhabitants of the town refused to accept him as their feudal lord.[18] This action of the Indians was doubtless owing to the town having been included in the limits of the Spanish settlement of Antequera which adjoined it;[19] and from this time forward the people of Antequera and Cortés were involved in frequent and violent disputes. The marquis justly regarded the founding of the city as an encroachment upon his domain, a hostile intrusion. His people were always in trouble with the Spanish residents, who in their turn appropriated portions of the best ground, seized upon his water privileges, and treated his agents with indignity.[20]

The central and advantageous position of the town had induced Cortés to begin building a palace in Oajaca, but he now discontinued the work, and erected a house a quarter of a league distant. This removal of his seat and the narrow confines to which Antequera was limited effectually checked the prosperity of the city,[21] and instead of a flourishing settlement,

[18] The towns of Oajaca and Antequera may be considered as one. The first audiencia founded the Spanish town of Antequera close to the Indian village of Oajaca on land belonging to the marquis. Cortés maintained that this was done to injure him, and presented a petition to the second audiencia regarding the matter. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 146–7. Florencia states that the king granted Cortés four villas in exchange for the city. *Comp. de Jesvs*, 231.

[19] In March 1531 the oidor Salmeron informs the India Council that the settlers in Antequera wished to have the villa removed elsewhere, before they had erected many buildings; or have the town of Oajaca given to them. Salmeron advises that the latter proposition be adopted. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 203.

[20] On one occasion the alcaldes imprisoned his agent, Diego del Castillo, and submitted him to outrageous treatment. *Id.*, xii. 551–4.

[21] Charles gave it the name and privileges of a city April 25, 1532. *Medina, Chron. San Diego*, 246. Villa Señor names April 25, 1531, as the date, *Theatro*, ii. 112, which is probably incorrect, as Cortés, writing on the 25th of January 1533, to the Council of the Indies, represents that a proctor had been despatched to Spain by the Spaniards of Antequera for the purpose of petitioning that their villa be elevated to the rank of a city, and opposes the request by bringing forward his own claims. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 545–6. According to Herrera, exemption was granted the city for 30 years, 'del seruicio ordinario.' dec. v. lib. ii. cap. viii.

in a few years its residents were reduced to actual distress.[22]

Other matters during this period became grounds of contention between him and the ruling powers, such as the payment of tithes,[23] forest, pasture, and water rights, to which he laid exclusive claim in the district of Cuernavaca,[24] and complaints made by his vassals of the excessive tribute imposed upon them.[25] Moreover, the much vexed question of the number of his vassals was again brought forward, the proceedings in the matter being marked by want of liberality in the actions of the audiencia, and by petulant complaints on the part of Cortés.[26] Yet no adjustment could be arrived at. The marquis, though deprived of

[22] Antequera was raised to the rank of a cathedral town in 1534, but the description of it given by Bishop Zárate in 1544 indicates the victory of Cortés. The city, he writes, was in such a condition that its abandonment would be no loss. The distress of the inhabitants was owing to the city possessing no lands, all the surrounding country being owned by Cortés. Provisions consequently commanded exorbitant prices. The town had been founded out of malice to the marquis, but the scheme only worked to the injury of the settlers, who had not even commons for pasturage. A change, however, might be effected by a proper arrangement with Cortés, which would make Antequera one of the most important places in the country. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 295–8.

[23] Cortés had obtained from the pope a bull granting to him immunity from tithes on the domains granted to him by the king. The audiencia report his consequent refusal to pay them. In 1533 royal orders were issued to the effect that he was not to be exempt from the payment, since such exemption would be prejudicial to the royal patronato, which it was not the pope's intention to injure. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 49; *Puga, Cedulario*, 84.

[24] The queen by cédula of April 20, 1533, ordered that these forests, waters, and pastures be common property of the Spaniards. *Id.*, 85.

[25] The natives of the Cuernavaca district presented to Pedro García, the interpreter of the audiencia, eight paintings descriptive of the tributes they had paid to the marquis, and stated that they were treated by his underlings more like slaves than vassals. *García*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 142–7. The king in September 1533, directed the audiencia to determine the tribute to be paid by the vassals not only of Cuernavaca but of all his domains. *Puga, Cedulario*, 87.

[26] In April 1532 the audiencia informs the crown that in order to arrive at some knowledge of the number, Indians in the guise of traders had been secretly sent into the district of Cuernavaca. These had made drawings of the towns and villages in the valley, from which it appeared that in that district only there were more than 20,000 houses each containing several families. The audiencia believed that Cortés had received more than his right. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 204–5. The queen in April 1533 approved the suggestion made by the audiencia that President Fuenleal and two oidores should proceed to Cuernavaca and verify the paintings, taking with them the natives that had drawn them. *Puga, Cedulario*, 83–4.

some portion of his grant, adhered to his claims and defended his rights as tenaciously as the audiencia assailed them, filing protests and making appeals to the crown whenever loss was threatened.[27]

Again, in 1537 and 1538, under the administration of Viceroy Mendoza, an attempt was made to bring affairs to a satisfactory adjustment.[28] Again the marquis in a letter to the India Council, dated 20th of September 1538, enters at length into the troubles and expenses attending the count, and having been deprived of many townships, impoverished by the heavy expenses of unremunerative expeditions, in reduced circumstances, and oppressed with debt, he asks relief in order that he may live. Poor conqueror![29]

But it is time to consider the efforts made by Cortés to extend discoveries in the South Sea, and mark how his exertions were cramped and his prospects of success marred by the same watchful opponents.

The reader is already aware that previous to his departure to Spain, Cortés had despatched a fleet to the Moluccas, and that the commerce he wished to establish there might be permanent, he began the construction of other vessels at Tehuantepec with the intention of sending them to support the first expedition. Four vessels were already built when he left

[27] *Cortés*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xii. 541–9, 554–63. On account of the enmity displayed by the audiencia he petitioned the king to send a special commissioner to make the count and deliver him his vassals, or to empower a commission of prelates and friars in New Spain to do so, otherwise a settlement would never be accomplished. *Id.*, xiii. 24–5.

[28] Viceroy Mendoza and Vasco de Quiroga, bishop elect of Michoacan, were empowered, November 30, 1537, to count the vassals. *Id.*, xii. 314–18.

[29] *Cortés, Carta, Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 194–201. His expenses in fitting out armaments had been enormous, besides other calls upon his purse, which was ever an open one. He thus describes his straitened circumstances: 'Con las ayudas de costa que dese Real Consejo se me han hecho...yo tengo harto que hacer in mantenerme en un aldea, donde tengo mi muger, sin osar residir en esta cibdad ni venir á ella, por no tener que comer en ella.' And he entreats the council, 'dar...órden como en mis dias tenga de comer y despues dellos se conozca en mis hijos que su padre meresció algo.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, iii. 539. But no final settlement of his claims was made in his lifetime, and it was only after his death that the latter wish obtained recognition, when the original grant was confirmed to his son, with a slight reservation and without limitation as to the number of vassals, by Philip II.

New Spain, and a fifth was completed later. The fleet was almost ready to sail, when the oidores of the first audiencia interfered. They seized and sent prisoner to Mexico the officer in charge, dismissed the Indians employed, and suspended work. The ship tackle and stores were stolen, and the vessels were left to rot. On the return of Cortés they were almost ruined, and the loss which he sustained amounted to more than twenty thousand castellanos.[30]

Nor did Cortés meet with that coöperation from the second audiencia which he had expected. Not disheartened by the discouraging result of his former attempt, shortly after his return to New Spain he hastened to carry out his contracts with the king. He began the construction of four new vessels, two at Tehuantepec and two at Acapulco, and succeeded in getting them launched about the beginning of 1532. But the audiencia, which at first had encouraged him to proceed with the execution of his schemes,[31] now, to the marquis' cost, and notwithstanding a decree forbidding its interference,[32] caused him much trouble. Acapulco[33] was inaccessible to carts and pack animals, and Cortés found it necessary to employ native carriers to transport tackle and stores for his ships. The opening policy of the new audiencia with respect to the treatment of the natives was that of strictly

[30] As a further injustice the oidores, according to the representation of Cortés to the king, condemned the officer in charge to pay 3,000 castellanos, claimed by the carpenters as compensation for the loss of work for nearly a year. Property belonging to Cortés was sold to meet this demand. *Carta*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 39–40. The amount of loss is stated by the attorney of Cortés at a later date to have exceeded 30,000 castellanos. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 217.

[31] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 287–8.

[32] 'Aunque yo he visto una provision, en que se manda al presidente y oidores que no se entremetan en cosa deste descubrimiento, sino que libremente me dejen hacer.' *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 194.

[33] Acapulco was the capital town of the Cohuixcas under the Aztec empire. It had been visited at an early date by explorers of the south coast sent by Cortés. The port was recognized by Cortés as affording facilities for ship-building, and vessels were constructed and despatched here at an early date. It is mentioned by the audiencia in 1532, *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, séric ii. tom. v., but can hardly be considered as a recognized Spanish settlement till 1550. Philip II. elevated it to the rank of a city.

enforcing the laws of protection. Accordingly, his Indians were taken away, his operations ordered discontinued, and a fine of forty thousand pesos imposed.[34]

Thwarted at every turn, Cortés gave way to despair. "I obeyed their order," he writes, "and ceased my preparations, so that neither by sea nor land can I do your Majesty any service," and in his heart doubted whether the exploration of the South Sea was a matter of any interest to the crown. Such is the version given by the marquis, but the audiencia tell a somewhat different tale, and inform the queen that Cortés paid no heed to the alguaciles whom they had sent to release the natives from their servitude, but defiantly ordered the carriers to continue their labors. Whereupon the audiencia instituted proceedings against him.[35] There was undoubtedly truth in what the oidores said.

Notwithstanding all the machinations of the evil ones, Cortés despatched from Acapulco in May 1532 two ships, the *San Marcos* and the *San Miguel*,[36] under Hurtado de Mendoza, the details of which expedition, as well as those of the subsequent maritime efforts of the marquis, may be found in my *History of the North Mexican States*.

With this beginning Cortés next determined to superintend in person the completion of his ships at Tehuantepec, and repairing thither hastened his prep-

[34] Cortés in his account to the king of this interruption explains that the natives employed were those of his own encomienda; that he paid them for their labor, and that the ordinance prohibiting the employment of Indian carriers had been violated with impunity by others. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xii. 548; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 175–7. Alonso de Zurita, writing in the last half of the 16th century, 'oydor que fue de la real audiencia,' represents that the construction of fleets by Cortés cost the lives of thousands of Indians. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, ii. 113–14.

[35] *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 203–4.

[36] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, xii. 541. These vessels were built under contract by Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte, for 1,500 castellanos, to be delivered before Christmas, 1531. *Cortés*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, ii. 416–19. The ill-fated vessels were both lost, and nearly every one of the crews, weakened by sickness and famine, massacred by the natives. Cortés attributed the failure of this expedition to the enmity of Guzman, who prevented his captains landing for supplies and repairs. *Real Provision*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. Doc.*, ii. 35.

arations as rapidly as possible, living in a hut on the beach, and even laboring with his own hands.[37]

Yet with all his eagerness the work went slowly on. For a year and a half he lived in his cabin on the sand, and though in January 1533 he reported to the king his expectation to be ready in March, it was not till the 29th of October following that his vessels, the *San Lázaro* and the *Concepcion*, left port.[38]

The enterprise, which led to the discovery of lower California, was attended with disaster. About the middle of 1534 the *Concepcion* was brought into the port of Chiametla by six or seven sailors,[39] the sole survivors of her crew, who had much to tell of mutiny and murder.[40] She had become separated from the *San Lázaro*, which afterward found her way to Tehuantepec. The reports of lands discovered brought by these men excited in Nuño de Guzman a desire to continue the adventure on his own account. So he seized the vessel and held the sailors, that the news might not reach Cortés. But the marquis heard of it,[41] and appealed to the audiencia, only to enter upon fresh complications. That body, though it issued an order in the king's name commanding Guzman to surrender the ship, and prohibiting him from prosecuting the discovery, ordered Cortés also to desist from further exploration in that direction.[42] The marquis appealed to the crown, maintaining that Guz-

[37] *Id.*, 35–6. The port of Tehuantepec was called Port of Santiago. *Romay, Cuenta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col Doc.*, xii. 298.

[38] *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 250. The cost of the two vessels amounted to 9,000 pesos de oro de minas. *Romay, Cuenta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 298–313. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, iv. 564, 574, erroneously regards the two expeditions as one, and has confused the events of the latter with those of the former.

[39] 'Con hasta siete hombres.' *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 263.

[40] See *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., this series.

[41] Writing on this matter Cortés says: 'Supe casi por milagro, segund la diligencia que Nuño de Guzman puso en guardar el secreto,' etc. *Escritos Sueltos*, 263.

[42] The reason given by the oidores was that they had heard that Guzman had already despatched an expedition to the discovered land, and that 'escándalos, muertes de hombres ó otros incovenientes' would be the consequence if the two should meet. The order sent to Guzman is dated August 19th, that to Cortés the 2d of September 1534. *Real Provision*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 31–40, and in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 418–29.

man had neither sent nor could send an expedition, since he had no vessel of his own, and the *Concepcion* was stranded. At the opening of his protest he significantly calls attention to the fact that he was acting in conformity with his Majesty's commands and with the contract which he held.

The action taken by the audiencia after this protest was no more favorable to the efforts of the marquis than had been its previous course. The truth is that the oidores were secretly supported by the throne, a course at once cowardly and base on the part of Charles, who through very shame could not cast off one to whom he owed so much, and yet he feared to permit him to prosper. Gonzalo Ruiz was commissioned on the 22d of August to proceed to Nueva Galicia and investigate the matter; but nothing was done in favor of Cortés, whose repeated appeals to the audiencia were responded to with such lukewarmness that he rightly concluded that their neglect was intentional.[43] He therefore determined to take matters into his own hands, despatch a third expedition, and command it in person. At the same time he would call to account his adversary of New Galicia. About midwinter 1534–5 he despatched from Tehuantepec for Chiametla three vessels, the *San Lázaro*, the *Santa Agueda*, and the *Santo Tomás*, thoroughly equipped and well supplied with stores. About the same time he started by land for Chiametla at the head of a considerable force.[44] But Guzman, too weak to contend with him, avoided hostilities, and, during the time Cortés was in Jalisco, preferred to be absent, occupying himself with the suppression of an Indian outbreak in the valley of Banderas.[45] The land and sea expeditions were thus

[43] *Comision*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii., 429–39.

[44] A witness in a subsequent lawsuit testified that there were 400 Spaniards and 300 negroes. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 233–4, says the expedition consisted of 320 persons, including 34 married couples.

[45] Guzman, writing in June 1535, claims that the bad policy of Cortés while passing through Jalisco was the cause of these Indian troubles. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 414–17.

reunited at Chiametla without molestation, and Cortés, after inspecting the *Concepcion* which he found in an unserviceable condition, proceeded to make an attempt to found a colony on the eastern shore of the Californian peninsula.

The failure of the scheme, unless additional vessels and supplies were provided for the colony, soon became apparent to Cortés, and he returned with the *Santa Agueda* and *Santo Tomás* to Acapulco with the intention of fitting out a new fleet for that purpose. Moreover news of the arrival of Mendoza as viceroy had been brought to him by a vessel under the command of Francisco de Ulloa, and this, together with an earnest request from his wife, was an additional motive for his return.[46] Though little is known of his operations during the following two or three years he did not give up the hope of attaining some brilliant success, and with his customary activity made preparations for another expedition. In September 1538 he informed the India Council that he had nine good ships already built, but not yet launched, owing to the want of navigators,[47] and in 1539 his enthusiasm was raised by the marvellous reports brought by Marcos de Niza of the cities of Cíbola.

Whatever had been the captain general's hopes of assistance on the arrival of a viceroy in New Spain, the change in the form of government only brought into the field a new and powerful competitor. Mendoza himself would like to be a great explorer, and in 1537 he asked of the king permission to participate in enterprises of discovery.[48]

[46] Respecting the returning fleet and all other particulars, see *Hist. North Mex. States*, vol. i. this series.

[47] He had sent to Panamá and Nicaragua for sailors, but without success. He therefore despatched at this time Juan Galvano to Spain in order to procure them. *Cortés, Carta*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 193–4. See also *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 535–43, and *Escritos Sueltos*, 281. Motolinia, *Hist. Ind.*, 171, followed by Mendieta, *Hist. Eccles.*, 398, makes mention of an expedition sent out by Cortés some time during this year, and accompanied by three Franciscan friars; but I do not find the assertion of these authors supported by any other authority.

[48] And for the same favors granted to others in like cases. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 211.

At first the relations between Mendoza and Cortés were not of an unfriendly nature, but the extreme punctiliousness which presently arose indicated a growing jealousy,[49] and the regulations defining certain formalities which for the sake of harmony they agreed to observe, were ineffective to prevent a rupture; and now when men became wild over the rich realms to be found in the north, each wished the other in the foul pit. Cortés, determined that the exclusive right of northern exploration to which he laid claim should not be wrested from him, hastened his preparations, and in spite of the viceroy's attempts to prevent him, succeeded in despatching a portion of his fleet from Acapulco, under the command of Francisco de Ulloa.[50] But Mendoza threw every possible obstacle in the way, seizing upon the captain general's remaining vessels at Tehuantepec, forbiding any one to leave New Spain without his permission, and sending a strong force up the coast to prevent the entrance of Ulloa's ships into any of the ports. A messenger despatched to Cortés from Santiago in Colima was seized and tortured, that information might be obtained from him; and shortly afterward, one of the vessels putting into Guatulco[51] under stress of weather, the pilot and sailors were made prisoners.[52]

All future efforts of the marquis to prosecute dis-

[49] They agreed to address each other by the title of 'señoría;' that the viceroy when entertained at the house of the marquis should take the head of the table, 'y á ambos se sirviese con salva y maestresalas,' that at the viceroy's table no chair was to be placed at the head when Cortés was being entertained, but that they should occupy the respective sides, the viceroy being seated on the right. When together the viceroy was also to occupy the right position. The arrangement of their seats in the church was, moreover, decided upon, and the first rupture between them arose from an attempt of the servant of Cortés to advance his master's chair to the line of the viceroy's. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 141–2.

[50] Mendoza, however, though too late to prevent the departure of Ulloa, detained six or seven vessels of the marquis, and ordered them not to go on the expedition. *Cortés, Descub.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 218.

[51] Guatulco, a port on the western shore of the gulf of Tehuantepec. Ogilby, 1671, writes *Aguatulco*, the next name west being *Marila*, *Aguatulco Capalita;* Dampier, 1699, *Port Guatulco*; Laet, 1633, *Aguatulco; West-Ind. Spieghel*, 1624, *Guatulco;* Colom, 1663, *Aguatulco;* Jefferys, *Guatulco;* Kiepert, *Huatulco. Cartog Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 348.

[52] 'Y se perdió el navío.' *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 303–4.

coveries or obtain redress for his grievances were futile. His prestige was lost, his power in the country gone, and his petitions to the king unnoticed.[53] Thus harassed by his enemies and neglected by his sovereign, the great conqueror thought once more to plead his cause in person before the throne, and early in 1540 he left forever the shores of New Spain, which, after having been the scene of his grand achievements, had now become the witness of his failures and deep humiliation.[54]

[53] As early as February 1535 he complained that he did not receive replies to letters addressed by him to the India Council. *Escritos Sueltos*, 260–1.

[54] The exact date of his departure to Spain is not known, but he addressed a letter from Habana to Oviedo, dated February 5, 1540. *Oviedo*, iv. 19.

I may mention as additional authorities on the preceding chapters the following: *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oajaca*, i. 5, 13–139; ii. 199–361; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 71–6; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, 105–583, passim; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 185–98, 284; *Diezmos de India's*, iv. 1–3; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 58–60; *Florencia, Hist. Comp. de Jesvs*, 231–2; *Cortés, Corresp.*, 366–72; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 292; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 19–28, 107–13, 222–3; *Grijalva, Cron. S. August.*, 34; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 222–736, passim; *Oviedo*, iii. 521, 544; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 10–11; *Puga, Cedulario*, 21–118, passim, 167; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 543; ii. 25; *Reales Cedulas*, MS., i. 105; *Torquemada*, i. 605–13; iii. 35–9, 302–580, passim; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 61–259, passim, 425–35; *Id., Trat. Mex.*, 6–9, 17–18; *Id., Chron.*, 127–8; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 179–362; iii. 83–4; xii. 133–562, passim; xiii. 25–6, 213–50, 427–50; xiv. 142–7, 329–47; xxiii. 423–67; xxix. 326–577; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 203, 261, 267–8, 270, app. i. 28; ii. 33–6, 127–78, passim; 206–318, passim; iii. 94–100, app. 9–11; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, ii. 479–80; iii. 138–553, passim; iv. 1–602, passim; v. 238–41; *Id.*, MS., 122, 925; *Alaman*, in *Prescott's Mex.*, i. 60; *Bercerra Tanco, Felic. Mex.*, 1–109; *Concilios Prov.*, 1555–65, 213–335; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 71–151; *Cabrera, Escudo de Armas*, 6–475, passim; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 106–9, 112; *Figueroa, Becerro*, MS., 35, 41; *Pap. Francis.*, MS., i. ser. i. No. 1; *Fvnd. Prov. Santiago*, MS., 2–6; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 147, 173–4; ii. 41–61, 190–7, 552; *Monumen. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 61, 69, 76–9, No. ii. 240–1; No. v. 7–8; No. vi. 320–1, 352–4; *Moreno, Fragment. de Quiroga*, 1–202; *Medina, Chron. S. Diego Mex.*, 122–3, 236–46; *Pizarro, Varones Ilustres*, 120–1; *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 5–6, 216–63; *Romero, Not. Mich.*, 9–25; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 56–8, 106–52, 458, 465, 525–38; *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, i. 53–9; *Centro América, Extractos Sueltos*, MS., 22; *Salazar, Mex. in 1554*, 53–4, 164–5; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Anot. Crit.*, MS., 2–6, 28–35; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 287–8; série ii. tom. v. 155–278, passim; *Salazar, Conq. Mex.*, 441–57; *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 119–39; *Veitia, Linage*, MS., 3–26; *Doc. Eccles. de Mex.*, MS., i. No. v.; *Arévalo, Compend.*, 98–100, 251; *Arroniz, Hist. y Cron.*, 57–62; *Antinez, Mem. Hist.* 132–4; *Bartolache, Manif. Guad.*, 3–105, and app.; *Bustamante, Aparic. Guad.*, 5–75; *Id., Manifest.*, 16, 22; *Id., Inform.*, 1–26; *Guadalupe, Col. Ob. y Opusc.*, 1–815, passim; *Heredia, Serm. y Desert., Guad.*, iii. 1–29; iv. 1–55; v. 1–201; *Hernandez, Comp. Geog. Mich.*, 8; *Iglesias y Conventos*, 230–3, 268–73; *Lorenzana, Hist. N. Esp.*, 13–14, 35–6; *Lacunza, Discurs. Hist.*, 458, 460–2; *Lebron, Apolog. Jurid.*, 1–124; *Papeles en Derecho*, · pt. iv.; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 49, 150–2; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 103–14; *Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, xcix. 192; cxxxi.

245; *Marcou, Notes*, 5; *Mich. Prov. S. Nic.*, 32–5, 101–2; *S. Miguel, Mex.*, ii. 3–4, 13, 68–81; *Mex. Not. Ciud. Mex.*, 400–5; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 140–3, 162–3, 279–80; *Conejares, Maravil. Aparic.*, 1–214; *Cuatro Imágenes, Milag.*, MS., 1–43; *Doc. Ecles. Mex.*, MS., i. No. v.; *Conde y Oquendo, Disert. Ap. Guad.*, i.–ii.; *Guridi, Aparic, Guad.*, 1–210; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 87, 169–75; *Beltrami, Mex.*, ii. 219–29; *Crepo, Mem. Ajust.*, 5–6; *Carriedo, Estud. Hist.*, i. 104–5, 112–13; *Episcopado Mex.*, 7; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 203; *Guadalupe, Inform.*, 1–26; *Michuacan, Anal. Estad.*, 5; *N. Esp. Brev. Res.*, i. 120–39; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec.*, i. 139–42; *Ribera, Gob. de Mex.*, i. 23, 57–60; *Repertorio Gen.*, 35–7; *Id., Literat.*, i. 241–3; *Prov. de Santo Evangelio*, No. iii.; *Silicio, Foment. Col. Ind.*, ix. 32–47; *Sardo, Relac. de Chalma*, 1–142; *Parras, Conq. Jal.*, MS., 84–5, 222–65; *Jalisco, Mem. Hist.*, 175–6; *Viagero, Univ.*, xxvii. 87; *Touron, Hist. Gen. Am.*, vi. 34–6; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 470–715; v. 19–20, 105–26; *Ribadeneyra, Man. Patronato*, 400–8; *Fricius, Indianischer Relig.*, 22–44; *Corral, Serm. Hist.*, pp. vii. 24; *Cartas de Indias*, 56–61, 684–870, passim; *Alm. Calend., 1856*, No. vi. 56; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 732–3, 762–87; *Bussiere, L'Empire Mex.*, 355–86; *Barros, Serm.*, 14–19; *Cortés, Diario, 1820*, iii. 155; *Dic. Univ.*, passim; *El Liceo Mex.*, i. 163–73; *Granados, Tardes Am.*, 332–9; *Gordon's Hist. Geog. Mem.*, 29; *La Cruz*, i. 201–8; *La Estrella de el Norte*, 3–29; *Museo Mex.*, i. 165–197, passim, 447–51; *Mosaico Mex.*, ii. 342, 461; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 141–5; *Villa Señor, Teatro Am.*, i. 14–16, 28; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, i. 153–230; vii. 162–237; viii. 167–610; ix. 1–82, 2a ép. iv. 639–42; *Pap. Var.*, v. No. ii. 58–6; cxliii. No. xi.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONQUEST OF YUCATAN.

1527–1549.

ABORIGINAL YUCATAN—FRANCISCO DE MONTEJO APPOINTED GOVERNOR—BATTLE OF AKÉ—THE SPANIARDS MARCH ON CHICHEN ITZA—ALONSO DE ÁVILA AND HIS BAND IN QUEST OF GOLD—HIS MESSAGE TO THE LORD OF CHETUMAL—THE CHIEFTAIN'S REPLY—ÁVILA'S COMMAND BESIEGED—THEIR ESCAPE AND DEPARTURE FOR HONDURAS—MONTEJO DEFEATED—THE CANINE BELL-RINGER—FLIGHT OF THE SPANIARDS—THE ADELANTADO'S NARROW ESCAPE—GALLANTRY OF BLAS GONZÁLEZ—THE GOVERNOR DEPARTS FOR TABASCO—THE SPANIARDS DRIVEN INTO THE SEA—MONTEJO TRANSFERS HIS RIGHTS TO HIS SON—THE SPANIARDS AGAIN BESIEGED—TORTURE OF DIEGO AND JUAN CANSINO—SANTILLAN TAKES MONTEJO'S RESIDENCIA—MISSIONARY LABORS.

NOWHERE on the continent of North America are the traces of a by-gone civilization more distinctly marked than in the peninsula of Yucatan. Here are found pyramids resembling in mathematical outline the vast structures in which the Pharaohs lie entombed. Here also the traditions of the early inhabitants carry the mind back to the days when the Israelites fled from their pursuers through the sundered waters of the Red Sea,[1] and when the great law-giver lifted up the brazen serpent in the wilderness.[2]

Into the Antillean sea the peninsula juts out a vast and arid promontory, risen from the ocean perhaps when Atlantis sank. Broken by undulating hills and low ranges, it extends in a series of irregular plains,

[1] As related in their traditions, a path through the sea was opened for the first inhabitants of Yucatan, as they fled from their enemies. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. x. cap. ii.; *Landa*, *Relacion*, 28.

[2] The worship of the god Cukulcan, seemingly identical with Quetzalcoatl, a name signifying feathered serpent, was common among the Itzas Cocomes.

from which comes a heated, perfumed air, springing from the borders of rivers which lightly water a narrow fringe of coast, now of treeless lands and languid vegetation clustering in oases round the *senote* reservoirs formed at intervals by commiserating nature.

Clinging to half-forgotten names that were once applied to the peninsula,[3] tradition itself seems to stamp it as risen from the sea, with an influx of settlers from the orient, and a reflux from the occident, consequent upon the overthrow of some pre-Toltec invasion. With the first inwanderers is associated Zamná, the culture-hero and earliest ruler of the country, the founder of its provinces, its institutions, its hieroglyphics, and the builder of Mayapan. After his time Chichen Itza rises into notice, as the seat of a triumvirate, with which is connected Cukulcan, who is identified with the mysterious Quetzalcoatl, and who leads the western immigration of dispersing Nahuas. His followers, the Cocomes, rule supreme at Mayapan, and under their wing the Tutul Xius enter from the south to found a third state, with capital at Uxmal. During the civil wars which ensue, the latter rise to the first rank, and inaugurate the most glorious period of Maya history. The last century of aboriginal rule presents a confused record of strife, pestilence, and disasters, which leave the country at the arrival of the Spaniards divided into enfeebled and hostile factions, to offer an easier prey to invaders. Yet they are still strong enough in number and spirit to repel both Córdoba and Grijalva, while reports of their meagre possessions serve to speed Cortés onward to the richer Tenochtitlan. And so Yucatan lies neglected, while the ocean paths on either side teem with eager fortune-seekers.[4]

The remnant of a shipwrecked crew are the pioneers of Yucatan. It has already been related that

[3] For which see *Native Races*, v. 614–15, this series.

[4] For a full account of their history and institutions see *Id.*, ii. iii. v. passim.

in 1512 Valdivia and twenty of his men were thrown upon the Maya shore, where, being seized by the natives, several of them were offered in sacrifice, and their roasted limbs devoured by the natives.[5] Mention has also been made of Córdoba's disastrous expedition in 1517, when, landing at Catoche, and afterward near the mouth of the river Champoton, he was defeated with heavy loss and glad to escape to Cuba, where a few days after his arrival he died of his wounds.[6] More fortunate was Grijalva, who, disembarking in the following year on the island of Cozumel, was astonished to find there a town with paved streets and structures of stone, but passing thence to the mainland, failed to establish any permanent settlement.

It will be remembered that on his way to Mexico Cortés also touched at Cozumel, and skirting the coast of the peninsula, landed at the Rio de Tabasco, where he gave battle to the assembled warriors.[7]

Among those who accompanied the expeditions of Grijalva and Cortés was Francisco de Montejo, whom Bernal Diaz describes[8] as of medium stature and pleasing aspect, lavish of expense, fond of pleasure, and fitted rather for a business life than for that of a soldier. Soon after the conquest Montejo set out for Spain as the envoy of Cortés, and under a capitulacion with the emperor, dated November 17, 1526, was appointed governor and captain general of Yucatan and Cozumel, with a salary of two hundred and fifty thousand maravedís a year.

By the terms of this agreement he was required to

[5] *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 350, this series.

[6] *Hist. Mex.*, i. 8–11, this series. For the origin of the name Yucatan see *Id.*

[7] *Id.*, i. 78 et seq. During his expedition to Honduras in 1525, Cortés, while at Trujillo, despatched a vessel to Mexico, with instructions to call at Cozumel and take on board a party of Spaniards left there by Valenzuela. *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 571–2, this series. It was the intention of the Spaniards to establish at this island a calling-place for vessels en route between Mexico and Honduras.

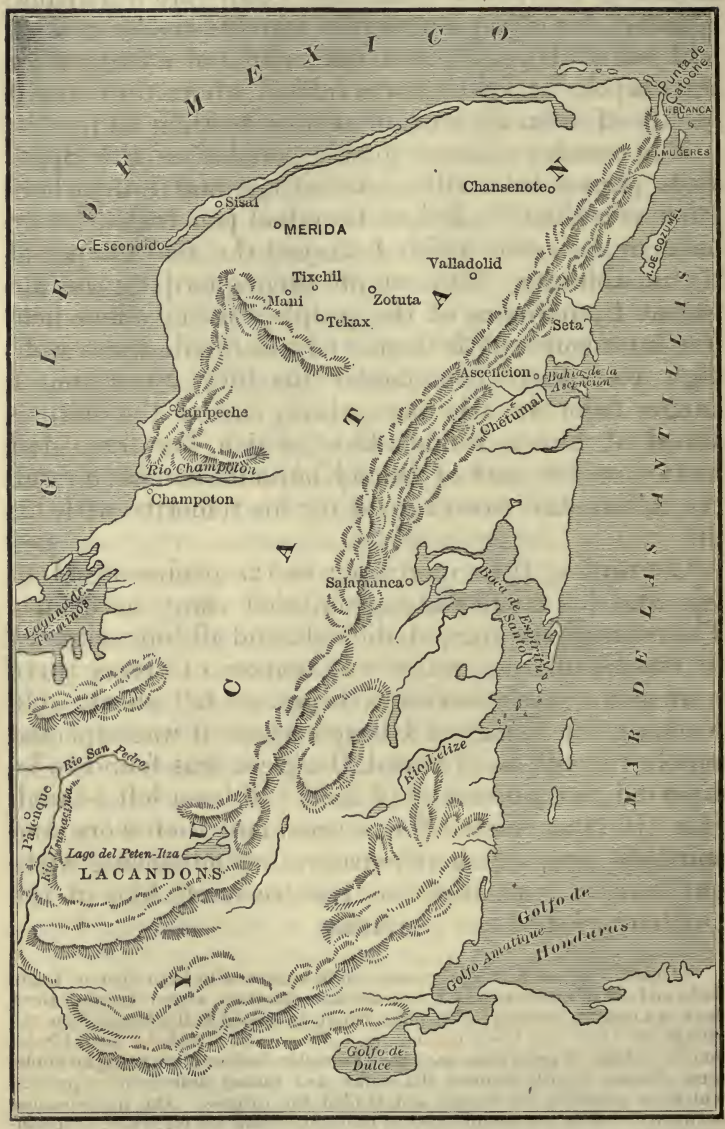
[8] *Hist. Verdad.*, 245.

build two forts at his own expense, wherever in the territory he might deem best. He was allowed to select as his own property ten square leagues of land. He was to be entitled to four per cent of any royal income that might be derived from his discoveries and conquests, the amount to be payable to himself and heirs after deducting the expenses of administration. Lands allotted to settlers were to be deeded to them after they had been occupied and improved for four years. One half of the royal fines was to be devoted, during the first five years, to public works and to the building of hospitals. The enslavement of Indian rebels and their purchase and sale were to be permitted only where peaceful measures had proved ineffectual. Montejo was specially enjoined to prohibit the excesses which had attended previous discoveries and conquests, and especially to forbid cruelty toward the natives, all cases regarding their treatment to be referred to the ecclesiastics, a number of whom were to accompany the expedition; but this latter clause of his contract the adelantado failed to observe.[9]

A sufficient force was levied, and early in 1527 Montejo's armament left the shores of Spain, the contador Alonso de Ávila being second in command. Touching at Española for supplies, the expedition was reënforced by many recruits, and a number of horses were taken on board the vessels. On reaching Cozumel, the Spaniards, whose forces mustered about four hundred, apart from the sailors, who manned their flotilla of four ships,[10] were received with all outward show of friendship. Arriving at the mainland they

[9] The full text of Montejo's capitulacion with the crown is given in *Cogollvdo, Hist. Yucathan*, 62–73, and includes a cédula, dated November 17, 1526, bearing upon the general organization of expeditions of discovery and conquest.

[10] *Cogollvdo, Hist. Yucathan*, 74. This author states that only the sailors received pay. Notwithstanding the terms of the capitulation no friars accompanied the expedition, nor could Cogolludo discover the name of any ecclesiastic connected with it, except that of Francisco Hernandez. Herrera asserts that Montejo equipped three vessels in which over 500 men embarked, dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. iii. In *Cartas de Indias*, 806, the same statement is made. Oviedo, iii. 225, affirms that he had two large vessels and 380 men.


G U L F O F M E X I C O
Punta de Catoche
I. BLANCA
I. MUGERES
Chansenote
Sisal
MERIDA
C. Escondido
Valladolid
Tixchil
Mani
Zotuta
Tekax
Seta
Ascencion
Bahia de la Ascencion
Campeche
Chetumal
Rio Champoton
Champoton
Salamanca
Laguna de Terminos
Rio San Pedro
Rio Usumacinta
Palenque
Lago del Peten-Itza
LACANDONS
Golfo de Honduras
Golfo Amatique
Golfo de Dulce
M A R D E L A S A N T I L L A S

YUCATAN.

were allowed to disembark without opposition, and unfurling the royal banner of Spain cried España! España! Viva España! while the natives looked on with seeming indifference, but indifference feigned for the purpose of luring them inland, where they might be cut off from all hope of retreat to their ships.

The country seemed thickly peopled as the Spaniards passed from village to village, and everywhere quiet prevailed.[11] Before they had penetrated far an incident occurred which betrayed the real temper of the inhabitants. Thrown off their guard by the apparent friendliness of the people, the invaders held free intercourse with them, and this heedlessness well-nigh cost their commander his life. Snatching a hanger from an attendant slave, one of the natives aimed at him a sudden blow, which, but for a deft motion on the part of the adelantado, had been fatal. As it was, the savage paid for his temerity with his life.

Continuing their march across the peninsula, Montejo and his command encountered many hardships. The country was rugged, difficult, and all but unknown to the Spaniards; water was scarce; of rivers there were none; and provisions began to fall short. On reaching the village of Choaco, where it was expected supplies would be obtained, the place was found to be deserted, and no morsel of food had been left behind. Here the men rested for a time, and then worn and spiritless resumed their journey, now advancing without fear of opposition on the town of Aké in the northern part of the peninsula.

[11] Oviedo's account, iii. 225 et seq., differs materially from that of Cogolludo and other authorities. He states that Montejo, after remaining three days at Cozumel, crossed to Yucatan, where he landed half a league from the village of Xala, and there encamping, built a town which he named Salamanca. Want of provisions, says the chronicler, bad water, and an unwholesome climate rapidly thinned the ranks, and caused desertion; to prevent which he stranded his vessels and landed the cargoes. The discrepancies between Oviedo's version and that of other historians are elsewhere so essential that he appears to be describing entirely different expeditions. Several native villages which, according to the former, the adelantado visited, are not even mentioned in Cogolludo.

But as yet they knew little of the character of their foe. There were among Montejo's command veterans who had borne the brunt of the fight during the darkest hours of the Noche Triste, but even they had not seen a more appalling sight than that which greeted them, when, on the early dawn of a winter day, toward the close of 1527,[12] they approached this town. "Hordes of Indians, hideous in their war-paint, came forth," says Oviedo, "like fiercest devils from their lurking-place;" and so vast was their number that it seemed as if all the rulers of Yucatan had massed their forces for the coming struggle. Nor could they have selected a spot more favorable for a battle-field. The ground was narrow, unfavorable for the action of cavalry, and such that the Spaniards being unable to deploy their ranks could make but little use of their fire-arms, and were in danger of being crushed by the mere weight of the enemy's columns.

While Montejo was speaking words of cheer to his men and bidding them stand firm before the shock, his voice was drowned by the uproar of the oncoming masses, as they mingled with their war-cries the shrill blasts of their conch-shell trumpets. Flights of arrows were aimed at the Spaniards at short range, and the next moment, their lances pointed with sharpened flint, and wielding doubled-handed swords of hardest wood, the Indians grappled with their foe. Nevertheless the adelantado held his ground, and beating back the assailants a short distance let loose at them his cavalry and blood-hounds. The horsemen were in turn pushed back by sheer weight of numbers, and again the natives advanced to the attack.

Thus till dark the combat lasted, neither side gaining decisive advantage. The night was spent by the Spaniards in dressing their wounds and obtaining what little rest they could, the natives meanwhile bringing up fresh reënforcements. With the morning the

[12] The exact date of this battle cannot be ascertained, but it was certainly near the close of this year. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan,* 77–8.

conflict was renewed, and until mid-day the scale of victory hung in the balance, when, the natives falling back in some disorder, Montejo ordered a final charge on their wavering ranks. This put them to flight, and the Spaniards, too exhausted for pursuit, flung themselves on the ground amid the corpses of twelve hundred of the foe, having lost one third of their own number during the battle.

No further resistance was made, and the adelantado taking possession of the town of Aké remained there during the winter. Breaking camp early in 1528, he put his troops in motion toward Chichen Itza.[13] Here he impressed into his service a number of natives, and erecting a fort and dwellings of timber, gave to the settlement the name of Salamanca. No outward signs of dissatisfaction were shown, and after this battle the inhabitants submitted patiently to the yoke, which for the time they felt themselves unable to shake off. Montejo then distributed the surrounding territory and its inhabitants among his followers, the natives apparently accepting their lot without a murmur.

Had this expedition been in charge of an able leader it would probably have been successful; but Montejo was unfitted for command. Already he had allowed himself to be surprised, and now, surrounded as he was by bands of Indians whom he imagined to be subdued, he committed the fatal blunder of dividing his forces. A rumor was current throughout his camp—one raised doubtless by the natives for the purpose of hastening the overthrow of the invaders—that in the district of Bacalar[14] rich gold-mines were to be found. Yielding to the clamor of his men he despatched in that direction Alonso de Ávila with a

[13] An Indian phrase meaning mouths of the wells (bocas de pozos), the words referring to two large water-tanks built there. *Castillo, Dic. Hist. Yuc.*, i. 247.

[14] Called Bakhahal by some old chroniclers. At the mouth of the Bacalar River. On the east coast is a town called by Jefferys, 1776, and Kiepert, 1858, *Bacalar*. *Ogilby*, 1671, *Dampier*, 1679, *Laet*, 1633, *Salamanca*. *Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 332.

band of fifty foot and seventeen horse, the choicest troops of his command. Arriving at the town of Chablé, a place distant more than forty leagues from Montejo's head-quarters, and one where gold was supposed to exist, the Spaniards commenced their search, but found no trace of the precious metal. Meeting here with an outward show of friendship and even with friendly services, the contador sent to the lord of Chetumal,[15] a neighboring region and one also supposed to be auriferous, asking for information as to the mines and for a supply of provisions. The reply was stern and severely laconic. "Of gold," said he of Chetumal, "I scorn to speak; of fowls you shall have all that you can take from the points of our lances, and we will send you maize in the shape of flights of arrows."

Ávila was an officer whose courage none disputed, but one sorely lacking in the quality which is deemed valor's counterpart. Although under strict injunctions from Montejo to use only peaceful measures, he set forth at once with half his force to punish the insolence of this Indian noble, taking with him some of the friendly caciques[16] to assist in the discovery of the mines. But again the Spaniards were disappointed, and after a long and useless search they marched against the proud chieftain of Chetumal,[17] who dared thus to hurl scorn on Christian soldiers. Approaching his town[18] they found their path stopped by far-spreading swamps and lagoons, across which, with much difficulty, they made their way in canoes. Soon they came in sight of ripening fields of maize and fruit and cacao,[19] and halting here for a brief

[15] Situated a little to the east of Amatique Bay, on a large river which rises in a lake in Guatemala, or perhaps in Lake Nicaragua, and flows into the Golfo Dulce. Mercator, 1569, *Chetemal; West-Ind. Spieghel*, 1624, *Chetemal. Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 266.

[16] *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 80.

[17] Among others the chiefs of the province of Guamil. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 100.

[18] Their line of march is described in *Oviedo*, iii. 245, but as already stated, Oviedo differs from other chroniclers in his narrative of the conquest of Yucatan.

[19] Here was also abundance of honey as good as any found in Spain; but the wax was as black as jet. *Oviedo*, iii. 245–6.

space to refresh themselves, advanced to give battle. But in their revenge, as in their lust for gold, the Spaniards were doomed once more to disappointment. Chetumal had fled.[20]

Ávila took up his quarters in the chieftain's town. "A place then containing two thousand houses," says Oviedo, "and distant but two leagues from the sea." Sending to Chablé for the remainder of his force he determined to establish here a Spanish settlement, and give to it the name of Villa Real.[21] What fairer or safer spot could be found for the site of a new colony? The lord of Chetumal had every chance of making good his boast, when the Spaniards, crossing the lagoons in their frail canoes, could make little use of their weapons, and up to this time he had been skulking a fugitive from his capital without striking a blow for its defence.

But the contador was now to learn that Chetumal was no mere braggart. From certain natives captured during a scouting expedition, he ascertained that the chieftain occupied an intrenched camp a few leagues from the town, and was about to join his men with those of the neighboring caciques. Ávila at once marched against him, and taking him by surprise defeated his forces. Nevertheless he felt somewhat ill at ease, and resolving to open communications with the adelantado, despatched six messengers to his camp, telling them that their return would be expected within sixty days. Meanwhile Chetumal was not idle. Allying himself with the caciques of the surrounding district, he assembled his forces for a purpose which the Spaniards could not fathom, for he ventured on no attack.

Many months elapsed, weary months of waiting,

[20] Gold was secured to the value of 600 pesos, according to *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 101–2; 1,000, according to Oviedo.

[21] The place was 40 leagues distant from Salamanca. *Cerezeda, Carta*, in *Squier's MSS.*, xx. 50, and was named after Ávila's birthplace. *Oviedo*, iii. 244–6. From Chablé to Chetumal was a journey of seven leagues. *Dávila, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 103.

and the contador began to realize that the answer of the lord of Chetumal was not an idle boast. His little band was surrounded by countless hordes, who began to harass him in ceaseless petty encounter; but yet for many weeks Montejo remained in Villa Real,[22] daily looking for aid from the adelantado. None came; nor any tidings[23] from Chichen Itza. Ammunition was nearly exhausted and the beleaguered Spaniards began to look upon themselves as doomed, for the foe attacked them almost daily, showing no sign of fear. Their only hope was to cut their way out of the place without further delay.

In sorry plight Ávila's band set forth to traverse the sixty leagues that separated them from their comrades. All along their route were evidences of a wide-spread plan to exterminate them. Some towns were abandoned; others were secretly fortified to serve as man-traps; no provisions could be found; and as they advanced hostilities became more active, until at length being driven back on one of the deserted towns and hemmed in on all sides, they sat down in despair. An Indian whose life the contador had saved attempted to lead them, in the silence of the night, by an unfrequented path through the woods. Still they were pursued and their progress disputed at every step. All hope of escape by land being abandoned, they fought their way to the coast, all that were left of them, where finding some canoes they proceeded along the shore, living on berries and shell-fish, until they came to Trujillo, in Honduras.[24]

[22] Oviedo says that he occupied the place for more than a year. iii. 246.

[23] Cogolludo says the messengers were killed 13 leagues from Villa Real. *Hist. Yucathan*, 81. Oviedo affirms that they were massacred while at supper in fancied security. iii. 246.

[24] According to a statement made by Ávila and his officers to Cerezeda, then governor of Honduras, and narrated in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 98–113, the survivors were in Trujillo on the 18th of March 1533. In *Oviedo*, iii. 254, it is stated that the journey from Villa Real to Trujillo occupied seven months, and in *Herrera*, that they saved their horses by rafting together their canoes. As the coast was low, and in parts overflowed, they could not find a suitable spot for landing. dec. v. lib. i. cap. ix.

Meanwhile nothing was known by Montejo of the fate of Ávila's command. Surrounded by hostile hordes he was cut off from his base of supplies. His foraging parties were captured or driven back, and the natives became so fearless that his men were seldom allowed to devour their meal of roots and horse-flesh without having to exchange shots with the enemy. No sleep could be had unless strong picket-guards were posted. In this intermittent warfare occurred many single acts of bravery and skill on both sides. "One of the Spanish archers," says Cogolludo, "inflicted great injuries upon the natives, skilfully directing his aim at the leaders. An Indian equally dexterous in the use of the bow resolved on his death. The Indian simulated carelessness, and the archer shot a dart from his cross-bow which apparently took effect; but as the Indian was prepared the Spaniard received almost simultaneously an arrow in the arm. The Indian being indeed severely wounded in the breast, rather than it should be said he had died at the hands of the Spaniard, withdrew and hanged himself." Such was the quality of their patriotism; and yet Cogolludo is at a loss to understand why the natives were so relentless in their war upon the Spaniards!

At length a decisive battle was fought, one of the severest known in the annals of Indian warfare. The Spaniards had no alternative but to meet the foe on the open plain, for an immense multitude had assembled to crush them. The battle was indecisive; but when the Spaniards returned to camp one hundred and fifty of their number lay dead upon the field, and few of the survivors escaped unwounded.

After this engagement Montejo's only thought was to save himself and the remnant of his force; but how, when so beset, were his wounded men to escape across the many leagues of rugged country that separated them from their ships? Indeed they had well-nigh given themselves up for lost when a ruse was hit upon which is commonly attributed to the adelantado, but

was probably the invention of some more ingenious brain. Tying a hungry dog to the tongue of a large bell suspended from the limb of a tree, they placed food above the animal, but out of reach. Then they made a sally, which was but a feint, in order to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, and draw them off from their pathway of escape. All being ready they crept stealthily forth under cover of the night, leaving the dog to ring deception regarding their watchful presence. Thus some hours were gained, and when the enemy discovered the trick and a number pursued they dared not openly attack.

Reaching the town of Silan[25] in the territory of the Cheles, a friendly people, they remained in that neighborhood for several months, and thence made their way to Salamanca,[26] where they arrived sometime in 1532, and were soon afterward rejoined by Ávila and all that was left of his command.[27]

Once more Montejo displays his unfitness for com-

[25] A harbor and town on the north coast, some 21 leagues east by north from Merida. In *Ogilby*, 1671, is given *Morras de Silaa; Dampier*, 1699, *Sélam*; *Kiepert*, *Vijia de Silan*. *Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 374.

[26] In Herrera's narrative are many perplexities and contradictions as to Montejo's expedition. In dec. iv. lib. x. cap. i., he says: 'The adelantado abandoned Chichen Itza in 1531, went to Campeche for a few months, and then proceeded with his men to New Spain, where he lived some years importuning assistance to renew his attempt.' In dec. v. lib. i. cap. ix. he affirms 'that in 1532 Montejo was settled in Salamanca, where Ávila on his return from Villa Real and Trujillo found him.' Again, in dec. v. lib. ix. cap. viii., he states 'that in 1535 the adelantado, the contador, and their men were at Salamanca, and that at this time Montejo left Yucatan and went to Mexico to ask aid from the newly arrived viceroy.' Speaking of the natives he stigmatizes them as 'mendacious and perfidious creatures, who never killed a Spaniard except by treachery;' utterly oblivious of the numerous encounters in which, by reason of native courage and endurance, it often went hard with their hated destroyers. Herrera may be used but cannot be wholly trusted when writing on Yucatan.

[27] When Ávila and his men arrived at Trujillo, he was supplied with arms and horses by the colonists, and with such articles of clothing as they could spare, although, no vessel from Spain having reached there for three years, they were themselves in need of raiment. See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. this series. Soon afterward two ships arriving from Cuba, the contador put his men on board, and thus rejoined Montejo. From Ávila's own narrative to the king, dated from Salamanca, June 23, 1533, we learn that he had been 25 days at Trujillo, and was forced to leave 16 of his men behind. He refers to another report by Valencia, an officer of Montejo, also addressed to the king. *Dávila, Relacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 97–128. 'Ávila, after two years' absence, returned to Montejo's camp, by way of Trujillo.' *Montejo, Carta*, in *Squier's MSS.*, xxii. 129.

mand. No sooner has this reënforcement arrived than he despatches the contador with fifty men into the interior, remaining himself in an intrenched camp with the same number. And untaught by previous disasters, no sooner does he thus again divide his forces than hostile natives appear. "More than twenty thousand of them were soon in the field," says Cogolludo. While attempting to conciliate them the governor narrowly escapes capture and sacrifice to their idols. "On hearing a tumult outside his camp," the chronicler writes, "the adelantado went out on horseback to see if he could pacify the natives. They were divided into several groups, and approaching one of them which was posted on a small eminence, he asked them whether they were angry, saying that as no harm had been done to them there was no cause for the revolt. The Indians, who had resolved to murder all the Spaniards, approached him as soon as they heard his voice, and having surrounded him, some of them seized his lance, while others held his horse by the reins. They were in the act of dragging him from his saddle, when Blas Gonzalez, seeing his peril, charged at the enemy, and fought with such desperate courage that he prevented his commander from being captured, until others coming to their help they were rescued, though both were wounded, and the horse of Gonzalez was fatally injured."

Warfare, hardship, and desertion[28] had now so greatly thinned Montejo's ranks, that he resolved to proceed to New Spain for recruits and supplies, for the emperor had given orders[29] that he should there receive all needful assistance. He soon levied a sufficient force; but when on the point of departure he heard that the

[28] In a letter to the king, dated Gracias á Dios, Dec. 26, 1545, Montejo says that his people deserted him in Yucatan because there was neither gold nor silver there, and made for Peru, and that after occupying the territory for nine years he was compelled to abandon it. *Carta, Squier's MSS.*, xxii. 128. It is somewhat singular that in a letter to the king, mentioned in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 463, Guzman should have petitioned that the gold and silver might be coined at Española, where they had silver from Yucatan.

[29] In a cédula issued from Ocaña, April 4, 1531.

inhabitants of Tabasco, a district that lay within his territory, had risen in revolt, and taking with him sixty men he started thither, directing his son Francisco to proceed with the remainder to Salamanca.

Here again this effeminate commander makes a mistake in applying to his purpose means just too weak for its accomplishment. The Tabascans could not be pacified by so slender a force; so he sent Gonzalez Nieto with two vessels to Salamanca, ordering every Spaniard there to come to his aid. And well was it for his people at Salamanca that their help was needed, for they were besieged and in a pitiable condition, hemmed in, as Cogolludo tells it, on the spot where they had landed; they had been compelled to make constant sorties for food, and obtained so little that their commander himself and five others were all who had strength left to watch over the living skeletons of Francisco's command.

Before the end of 1535 not a single Spaniard was left in Yucatan. Nor was Montejo more successful in Tabasco, until being joined by Diego de Contreras with a small band of veterans, and receiving other reënforcements, he succeeded in subjugating this portion of his territory. He then resolved once more to attempt the conquest of the peninsula. In 1537 men and supplies were obtained in New Spain, whence Montejo sailed for the Rio Champoton, whence he proceeded at the head of one hundred men toward Acalan, a town which Cortés had told him held commercial intercourse with the farthest limits of Central America. Falling sick by the way, he intrusted the command to Ávila, who on approaching the town sent messages of peace by certain of his captives. But the recollection of the visit of Cortés was yet fresh in the minds of the natives,[30] and on his arrival the contador found the place deserted. The following day many of the natives returned, whereupon their caciques were placed in irons, in the hope of extorting

[30] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 546–7, this series.

information of gold supposed to be thereabout. Ávila purposed to establish a settlement there, giving to it the former name of Salamanca; but after failure to find gold they returned to Champoton, that is those of them remaining alive.

Meanwhile the adelantado, leaving his son Francisco again in command, had returned to Tabasco, whence he purposed to send recruits and supplies. The troops had been allowed to disembark without opposition, and for a time were not molested; but at midnight, a few days after their landing, the approaches to their camp were crowded with stealthily gliding figures; and the Spaniards, roused from slumber by the cry of a sentinel as he fell pierced to the heart, had barely time to grasp their weapons when the foe was upon them. For hours the stillness of the night was broken by the yells of the wounded and the groans of the dying, as a desperate hand-to-hand struggle was maintained in which the Indians would not yield and their enemies had no alternative but to fight or die. At length the assailants were repulsed; and for a brief space hostilities were suspended, the natives taking advantage of the opportunity to send fleet messengers over the country summoning the caciques to arms. Soon the Spaniards were again in a state of siege. All provisions being removed, they were compelled to live mainly on fish, and two of their number straying from camp were captured by the Indians, who sacrificed and ate them.

The caciques were now ready to attack, and the assault was made in such overwhelming force that after a stubborn resistance the Spaniards were compelled to retreat to their boats, whither the natives pursued them. Arraying themselves in the garments the Spaniards had left, the natives pointed the finger at them with scorn and gibe as the invaders pulled from shore. "Where now is the courage of you Spaniards?" they cried. Maddened by these taunts, Francisco and his men resolved to die rather than suf-

fer such disgrace. Putting back, they gave battle, and after a desperate struggle won the day, forcing the natives back, step by step, till they regained possession of their camp.

The result of it all was cessation from hostilities and a truce; but every effort to penetrate the interior ended in failure, and the Spaniards were compelled to remain in the neighborhood of their camp. Here disease and famine rapidly thinned their ranks, and before long nineteen gaunt and sickly figures were all that survived of Francisco's band.[31] Still they remained at their post, their wants being occasionally relieved by passing vessels, but neither supplies nor reënforcements reached them from Tabasco, though a few men and a small store of provisions had previously been sent, probably from Honduras, of which province, in answer to his own petition and that of the settlers at Trujillo, Montejo had been appointed governor.[32] But this relief was insufficient; nor was it an easy matter to enlist recruits, for throughout the New World the fame of Pizarro's conquest was on every tongue, while the poverty of Yucatan was almost as widely known. At length, being no longer able to endure their hardships, the commander set forth to ask aid from the adelantado, leaving his cousin and namesake in charge of the camp.[33]

But help was long delayed, and matters in the mean time became worse. Some of the Spaniards threatened to desert, whereupon their captain, bringing them in the presence of their comrades, bade them depart at once. The men hung their heads and begged leave to remain. Finally the question of

[31] The names of six of them are given in *Cogollvdo, Hist. Yucathan*, 117.

[32] Montejo's appointment as governor of Honduras was dated 1535, but he did not receive it till the following year. *Oviedo*, iii. 314.

[33] Before his departure Francisco Gil, one of Pedro de Alvarado's captains, arrived at the mouth of a river then known as the Tanochil, or Tenozic, some distance to the north of the Champoton. Here he founded a settlement which he named San Pedro, but his men suffered greatly from privation. Being visited by the adelantado's son he abandoned his claim. *Cogollvdo, Hist. Yucathan*, 117–18.

abandoning the settlement was openly discussed, and only through the persuasions of Francisco were they induced to remain till relief might come from Tabasco.

But that relief was long delayed.[34] During the year 1539 vessels despatched by the adelantado arrived at the settlement, with men bringing provisions, arms, clothing, and a number of recruits, and shortly afterward the adelantado's son returned by way of New Spain in command of twenty horse. About this time Montejo, having resigned in favor of Pedro de Alvarado his claim to Honduras, and received in exchange certain territory in Chiapas, set forth for the latter province about the middle of December. Thence he sent for his son and formally transferred to him, with certain reservations,[35] his rights and powers over Yucatan. A month later Francisco returned with a good store of supplies, and in accordance with his instructions, at once began the removal of his head-quarters to Campeche.

He had proceeded but a short distance when his party was assailed by a large band of natives. The latter were routed, but along the Spaniards' pathway trenches had been dug and embankments thrown up at each favorable point; and they were compelled to fight at every step. So great was the slaughter of the Indians that they often fought behind a wall of their own dead. At length the goal was reached; and in 1540 was founded there a settlement named San Francisco de Campeche.

No sooner had this colony been organized than Francisco despatched his cousin with a party of fifty-seven men to the district of Quepech and the town of Tihoo. During this expedition also great hardships were encountered. Fortifications constantly

[34] So long that one of their party, Juan de Contreras, was sent to apprise the adelantado of their desperate strait. Whether Montejo himself returned to Yucatan at this time is doubtful. *Id.*, 121–2.

[35] In a document dated Ciudad Real, 1540, the adelantado reserves to himself the district of Tutul Xiu and the towns of Techaque, Campeche, and Ciudad Real, the Spaniards being ordered to remove to Campeche. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 123–5.

obstructed their progress; the country was cleared of provisions; crops were destroyed; there were no streams on their line of march, and the wells had been filled with rocks. Their road, a narrow path cut through the forest, was encumbered with putrescent carcasses. One night, while in camp, their tents and baggage were set on fire, and thus they lost nearly all their effects. Nevertheless they continued the march, sending word of their disaster to the commander, and at length reached their destination. Here they were joined by forty others bringing supplies from Campeche. Taking up their quarters at Tihoo, they were visited by a number of natives, who asked, "what do ye here, you Spaniards? Those coming against you are more numerous than the hairs on the deer." The reply was that the Spaniards would go forth to meet them. True to their word they went, and coming up with them a few leagues from the town, put them to rout.

Francisco himself soon arrived at Tihoo with all his force, and receiving the submission of several caciques resolved to found there a city, his command being united and mustering about two hundred men. But one more battle had yet to be fought. On a certain evening in June 1541, while celebrating the feast of Saint Barnabas, the Spaniards beheld, from the hillock on which their camp was pitched, a hostile host swarming into the surrounding plain. At daybreak they found themselves surrounded, the number of their foes being estimated at from forty to seventy thousand. Without waiting to be attacked, the Spaniards descended to the level ground, and deploying their forces gave battle. After fighting till nearly sunset the natives were driven from the field, and so great was the carnage that the Spaniards were often compelled to climb over heaps of the dead in pursuit of the living. This battle decided the fate of the natives of Yucatan. Although they frequently rose again in rebellion, and their final subjugation was not

effected until several years later, they never united their forces for a general engagement.

On January 6, 1542, the Spaniards founded on the site of Tihoo a city to which they gave the name of Mérida.[36] Thence young Montejo extended his conquest eastward to the districts of Conil and Choaca. On the 28th of May 1543 he founded, in the latter territory, the city of Valladolid, but afterward changed its site to a more favorable location.[37]

Zatuta, a region occupied by the Cocomes, and Bacalar were also brought under subjection, the latter by Gaspar Pacheco, who with a sufficient force accomplished his task by inflicting on the hapless natives such diabolic atrocities as can hardly be believed. He used to amuse himself by clubbing men to death or by chopping off their hands, ears, and noses; and cutting off the more tender parts from the bodies of his female captives, ordered them to be thrown into a lake, with calabashes tied to their feet, and there left to drown. In Bacalar was founded, during 1544, the city of Salamanca,[38] the second of that name in Yucatan.

Two years later the last organized revolt occurred among the natives. Of all nations brought under Spanish domination, the Ah Kupules in eastern Yucatan were the stubbornest. Leaguing with the neighboring caciques, they rose in revolt, attacking the settlement of Valladolid, after putting to death all the colonists at their encomiendas throughout the adjacent districts. It was on the 9th of November 1546 that the insurrection broke out. I will cite a few incidents. The first victims were

[36] The names of the original vecinos are given in *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 137–8, 165–7.

[37] To Zaqui, a site six leagues distant from the ocean, and one affording easy access to the port known by the Spaniards as 'El Cuyo.' It was again changed to a spot further inland. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 159–63. See also *Notas Voc. Geograf.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 696.

[38] For an account of Pacheco's expedition and of the founding of Salamanca see Bienvenida's letter in *Cartas de Indias*, 72–7; *Yucatan, Simancas, Squier's MSS.*, xxii. 53–7; *Bienvenida, Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 307–43.

two brothers named Diego and Juan Cansino, the sons of one of the conquerors of New Spain. Unconscious of their danger, they were living at the Indian town of Chemax, granted to them in encomienda, and being attacked, while unarmed, by a multitude, were overpowered and captured. Fastening them to crosses, and retiring to such a distance that their weapons would not prove immediately fatal, they fired arrows at them, uttering all the imprecations contained in their vernacular against the religion of their victims. For many hours these young men were forced to endure this torture. At sunset, their bodies riddled with darts, they expired, chanting the salve regina with their dying breath. Their heads were then chopped off and borne as trophies by the leaders of the revolt, and their bodies cut into small pieces and sent all over the districts in token of the uprising.

Other encomiendas were attacked, and their owners treated with similar atrocity, or offered in sacrifice. Two only escaped. Diego Gonzalez de Ayala, with the aid of a negro slave, forced his way through a band of natives which had surrounded his dwelling, and galloped off toward Valladolid, eight leagues distant, hotly pursued. Their horses were soon exhausted, and they knew that on foot they would soon be overtaken. Thereupon they turned and dismounted, holding their pursuers at bay until their horses were rested; and thus the two reached the settlement in safety. "On the roadside," says Cogolludo, "is a fruit-tree which is now called the tree of the hook, because here Ayala, riding up sorely fatigued, and feeling that his only refuge was in flight, unbuckled his shield and hung it on one of the branches."

After sixteen Spaniards had thus been slaughtered at the encomiendas in the neighborhood of Valladolid, the Indians united their forces to attack the town. At this time its garrison mustered only twenty men; but sending for assistance to Mérida, they sallied

forth to meet the enemy, leaving three or four of their number in the fortifications, with orders to beat drums and make all the uproar possible, and thus impress the foe with the belief that a strong guard was stationed there. Astonished at their boldness, the natives forebore to advance, and by making frequent sorties the besieged held them in check until young Montejo with a considerable force came to their relief. Soon after his arrival the Spaniards marched forth to give battle, and after a stubborn fight put the enemy to rout, though with the loss of twenty of their own number and five hundred of their native allies.

By adopting peaceful measures after the victory, the adelantado's son succeeded in pacifying the disturbed districts, and though in 1547 the territory of the Chetumals was the scene of a slight outbreak, which was suppressed without bloodshed by the politic measures of Juan de Aguilar, it may be said that all concerted resistance was at an end. Thus at length there was peace in Yucatan; but the conquest of this sterile peninsula had cost the lives of more Spaniards than had been expended in wresting from the Incas and the Montezumas the wealthiest empires of the western world.[39]

Although Francisco de Montejo had been allowed to remain nominally at the head of affairs in Yucatan, the circumstances under which its subjugation had been effected precluded him from any real claim to authority. One of the first measures of the audiencia de los confines had been an attempt to enforce a royal decree, by which he was to be deprived of office. In 1545 the oidor Rogel was ordered to take his residencia; but Montejo was son-in-law to the president, and it was arranged that the investigation should be held at Chiapas. Here none came to accuse him,

[39] Cogolludo estimates the loss of the Spaniards in Yucatan up to 1547 at 500.

and the proceedings amounted to nothing. Of course the governor was allowed to retain his title. Again in 1548, during which year the province was made subject to the audiencia of Mexico,[40] the licentiate Diego de Herrera was ordered to proceed to Mérida and take the residencias of the adelantado, his son and nephew. The principal charges brought against Montejo[41] are those of unlawfully abstracting funds from the royal treasury, and of refusing to liberate his slaves in the face of repeated orders from the government.

In spite of all prohibitions slave labor was common throughout the province, and in 1549 the India Council, learning from the reports of missionaries that no heed was given to their injunctions, caused a *real provision* to be sent to the province, wherein all the settlers were ordered at once to release their bondsmen, and were promised in return a compensation for the loss of their services.[42] During the year the oidor Santillan arrived at Mérida with full power to correct abuses; and once more the governor was subjected to residencia.[43] Before the investigation was completed Francisco de Montejo bid farewell to the scene of his many disasters and his bitter humiliations. Returning to his native land, advanced in years, despoiled of office, and shattered in health and fortune, he sought redress at the court of Spain, but

[40] In 1547 the cabildo of Mérida petitioned for this change, because Gracias á Dios, then the seat of the audiencia de los confines, was far distant from Yucatan, and the journey was attended with great danger, whereas one could reach Vera Cruz by sea within eight days. *Squier's MSS.*, xxii. 14, 15; 103.

[41] They are given in full in *Bienvenida, Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 320–33.

[42] It does not appear that either Montejo or his heirs received any immediate benefit from the promised compensation; for in *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 277–85, we learn that the matter was in litigation between 1561 and 1618. In the latter year a decision was rendered in favor of Doña Catalina, Montejo's daughter.

[43] Santillan's instructions were not to investigate matters which had previously been sifted by Herrera. *Puga, Cedulario*, 166. Cogolludo mentions that this third residencia was generally regretted by the settlers, and in *Montejo, Carta, Squier's MSS.*, xxii. 104–5, 127–30, is related the adelantado's plea for quick justice.

while there pleading his cause was summoned to receive his sentence before the great tribunal where all must one day render an account.[44]

In the agreement which Montejo made with the crown before proceeding to Yucatan it was expressly stipulated that missionaries should accompany all his expeditions, and to his failure to fulfil this part of his agreement may be attributed many of his disasters. In 1530 a cédula was forwarded to the audiencia of Mexico, ordering that special efforts be made to supply this omission, and soon afterward Father Jacobo de Testera, with four others, arrived at the Spanish encampment on the Champoton.[45] They met with a friendly reception from the natives, says Cogolludo, "who brought to them their idols to be cast to the flames, and their children to be instructed in the faith." Many of the caciques tendered their allegiance; and but for the misconduct of a band of fugitive criminals, who, passing through the territory laden with idolatrous spoils, attempted to barter them for slaves, thus rousing the anger of the natives, the conquest of Yucatan might have been peaceably effected. Seeing that their lives were in danger the friars made their escape by night, setting their faces toward Mexico; but after proceeding some fifty leagues

[44] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 245, affirms that Montejo died in Spain. The author of *Datos Biog.*, in *Cártas de Indias*, 807, alludes to a mistake made by Gil Gonzalez Dávila who states that his death occurred at Mérida. The latter authority probably confuses the governor's decease with that of his son. In *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 59–60, a work showing great research, it is stated that the former died in Spain. The adelantado married Doña Beatriz de Herrera, a lady of gentle birth. Their daughter Doña Catalina who was his heiress, married the licentiate Alonso de Maldonado, the first president of the audiencia de los confines. His lieutenant Francisco was a natural son; but the stain on his birth was removed by an imperial rescript, dated April 6, 1627. By a royal order dated October 26, 1617, a yearly pension of 3,000 ducados, equal then to about $4,125, was granted to his heir Don Cristóbal Suarez Maldonado y Montejo, payable from the royal treasury of Mérida to himself and to those to whom he might bequeath it in perpetuity. In 1758 the duke of Montellano was the successor and to him was paid the pension in Mexico. *Certificacion de las Mercedes*, MS., 179–80.

[45] Fray Lorenzo de Bienvenida was one of the party. The names of the others are not known. The date of their arrival is uncertain. Cogolludo states that they came in 1531, *Hist. Yucathan*, 102–3, Torquemada in 1534, iii. 335.

they were overtaken by messengers who prevailed on them to return. The gang of miscreants refused, however, to leave the country; and as they did not cease to oppress the natives and vex the souls of the ecclesiastics, Testera[46] and his colleagues were compelled, after a few months, to abandon this field of labor.

In 1537 a second mission, consisting of five friars, was despatched to Yucatan, and though they found the natives tractable and willing to receive the faith, they remained but two years.[47] Not until about 1545, when an evangelical crusade was undertaken in the New World by one hundred and fifty ecclesiastics from Spain, was any permanent mission established on the peninsula. Of this number several[48] of those sent out to Guatemala were detailed for duty in Yucatan. Arriving at San Francisco de Campeche in charge of Father Luis de Villapando, they were warmly welcomed by the adelantado, who had now returned to the province, and the principal caciques being summoned into his presence, Montejo explained to them the purpose for which they had come. A convent, dedicated to Saint Francis, was founded at this settlement on a site which it occupies at the present day, and the doctrines of the faith were translated into the native dialect. The first to be baptized was the cacique of Campeche, to whom was given the name of Diego Ná, with the title of Don. This convert soon acquired the Spanish language, and henceforth acted as the interpreter of the ecclesiastics.

[46] Testera, a native of Bayonne in France, was a man of princely fortune, and though advanced in years was young in enthusiasm. He came to New Spain in 1529 or 1530, and was appointed prelate of the province of the Santo Evangelio. This position he resigned in order to engage in missionary labors in Yucatan. Returning thence in 1533 he was appointed custodian by the chapter general of Mantua held in 1541, and afterward comisario general of all the Indies. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 665–6.

[47] The little that is known about this mission is related in *Torquemada*, iii. 337–8.

[48] According to *Torquemada*, iii. 337, where their names are given. In an extract from a letter addressed by Bishop Marroquin to the emperor from Gracias á Dios, Dec. 1, 1545, mention is made of 'Fray Luis de Villapando and eight religious, who went from Guatemala and are now in Yucatan.' *Squier's MSS.*, xxii. 140.

During the year 1545, Bartolomé de las Casas arrived at San Francisco de Campeche, and claiming that Yucatan was included in his diocese, exhorted the Spaniards to liberate their slaves. "Providence," exclaimed the apostle of the Indies, "only desires to work on misguided souls through the teachings of the gospel; it has a horror of unjust wars undertaken in its name; it wishes neither captives nor slaves to bow before its altars. Persuasion and gentle treatment are enough to win the hearts of the most obdurate to the shrine of God." The colonists answered this appeal with slights and threats. They subjected the bishop to incessant annoyances; they denied his claim to the diocese; they refused him the means of support; and being left to find his way back to Chiapas as best he could, he was compelled to borrow one hundred castellanos from one of the friars to defray expenses. Before his departure, however, many of the vecinos, ashamed of their conduct, besought his forgiveness, and testified their sincerity by presents.

Soon after the pacification of Yucatan, Villapando is invited by the adelantado to settle at Mérida, then the capital of the province. Here he founds a convent, and so successful are his efforts that his proselytes soon number more than one thousand, among them being many of the leading caciques. In company with Father Melchor de Benavente he then sets out for the region south of Mérida, travelling barefooted and staff in hand toward Mani in the fastnesses of the sierra. Here the missionaries meet with marked success, and soon two thousand of their converts are engaged in building for them a church and a dwelling.

For a time they are not molested in their labors; but when they endeavor to procure the release of the natives from the bondage in which they are held by their caciques, the latter resolve to burn them alive, while celebrating worship in the sanctuary. On the 28th of September 1548, the eve of Saint Michael's

day, Villapando is visited by a boy who, as Cogolludo relates, came to him to be catechised. "Father," said the child, "may I ask you a question?" "Ask it, my son," answered the padre. "Tell me then, whether it is better to live or to die?" "To live," responded the priest, "for life is our natural state, while death is inherited by sin." "Then, if you want to live, father," said the boy, "you had better go hence, for this very night our caciques have determined to burn you in the church if you remain there." "Our lives are in God's hands," calmly rejoins the padre, and dismissing him with his blessing bids him return the following day. Villapando then informs his colleague of the danger. There is no escape for them, and they can only resolve to stand firm in the hour of trial. In this mood they repair to the shrine and there spend the evening in prayer.

Toward midnight the distant roar of an approaching multitude is heard. Looking from one of the windows the padres see the Indians coming with lighted torches. They cling to the foot of the cross and pray for strength. Soon the church is surrounded, and yells and foul imprecations are heard, with threats to burn the building. Their flaming brands light up the structure, and they behold the two figures, bowed before the cross in supplication. An hour passes by; and as though held back by some unseen influence, the natives forbear to harm the missionaries. At length they withdraw, purposing to return the following day and fulfil their menace. The priests remain all night at their devotions, and when at dawn a streak of pale light glances athwart the sacred effigy on the cross, they are still kneeling in prayer to Saint Michael.

But what noise is that which breaks on the still morning air, as the two fathers are repeating their matins, expecting every moment the call of martyrdom? Now their time has come, and clinging yet closer to the crucifix, they offer up one last supplication to the virgin, and exhort each other to bear

the dread ordeal with Christian fortitude. The sound grows clearer; but surely it is not like that of the night before. Presently the trampling of hoofs is heard, and now the clang of swords. The padres are rescued! A band of their countrymen, despatched by the adelantado to a point some leagues distant,[49] chanced to pass that way, and Villapando and his colleague, inviting them into the sanctuary, chant a te deum of praise and thankfulness for their deliverance. The church-bell was rung at the usual hour, but there were none to answer save the child who had given the warning. The natives had fled to the mountains. Twenty-seven of the leading conspirators were afterwards captured and taken to Mérida. After confessing their intended crime they were condemned to be burned alive. Bound to the stake, the fire was already kindled when Villapando threw himself on his knees before the governor, and by his entreaties persuaded him to spare their lives and allow them to be committed to the care of the ecclesiastics.

During the years 1548–9 an additional band of missionaries arrived from Spain and Mexico;[50] and in September 1549 the first custodial chapter was held at Mérida, under charge of the comisario general of Mexico, Father Juan de la Puerta. On Villapando was bestowed the office of custodian of the province, and mainly through the efforts of this zealous evangelist a convent was erected near the scene of his adventure at Mani.[51]

[49] They were bound for a place called Petu and appear to have missed their way, for they were now some 14 leagues to the westward of their goal.

[50] In August 1549 six came from Spain in charge of Fray Juan de Abalate. *Cogollvdo, Hist. Yucathan*, 267–8.

[51] The principal authorities consulted on the conquest of Yucatan are *Cogollvdo, Hist. Yucathan; Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.; Oviedo; Herrera;* and *Landa, Rel. Yuc.* Cogolludo takes the lead both as the special chronicler of the peninsula and as one who has consulted most of the material extant in his time concerning it, both in print and manuscript; but he hardly exercises sufficient judgment in sifting and presenting his verbose narrations. The account of Bernal Diaz is doubtless worthy of credit in many matters of detail, as it is derived from eye-witnesses of the incidents which he describes. Oviedo's version has already been mentioned, and on his authority alone rests the story of the expedition to Acalan under command of Avila, from whose

statement this chronicler compiles his narrative. While less satisfactory, Landa presents several points of value. Herrera's chapters on Yucatan are brief, and in relating the usages and modes of life prevalent among the Mayas during the period preceding the conquest he furnishes some very interesting material. The most complete of modern accounts is Ancona's, *Hist. Yuc.*, i., but it lacks in critique. More interesting, if less exhaustive, is that of Fancourt, *Hist. Yuc.*, who accuses Stephens, *Travels in Yuc.*, i., of following too closely the text of Cogolludo, while he himself reveals several shortcomings. The additional authorities which have been consulted in this chapter are the following: *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 84, 88; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 379–82, 398, 665–6; *Squier's MSS.*, xx. 50–1, xxii., passim; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 171; *Puga, Cedulario*, 48–166; *Figueroa, Becerro*, 36, 37, 41, in *Pap. Francisc.*, MS., i. ser. i. No. i.; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 151, 206, 244–56; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 62 et seq.; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teat. Eccles.*, i. 206–7, 245; *Benzoni, Mondo Nuovo*, 98–9; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 111–12; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 463; ii. 195–6; xiii. 85; xiv. 97–128; xxii. 201–23; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 269; *Archivo Mex., Doc.*, ii. 178–83; *Cartas de Indias*, 696, 806–7; *Torquemada*, iii. 335–6, 488–90; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 306–18; série ii. tom. v. 193–4, 202, 253–4; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 233–4; *Id.*, MS., 118–19; *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 129; *Castilla, Dic. Hist. Yuc.*, i. 247; *Concilios, Prov., 1555–65*, 235–6; *Registro Yuc.*, ii. 34–9, 52–9; *S. Miguel, Mex.*, ii. 16; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, iii. 347; *Id.*, 2da ép. iv. 145–50; *Robertson's Mex.*, i. 144; *Gordon's An. Mex.*, ii. 250–1; *March y Labores, Hist. Marina, Esp.*, ii. 169–74; *Malte-Brun, Yuc.*, 25–30; *Morelet, Voy. Am. Cent.*, i. 183–9; *Dic. Univ.*, passim; *Descrip. Am.*, 121; *Blazquez, Cazador*, 363; *Baqueiro, Ensayo Yuc.*, ii. 438–43; *Welina, Hist. de Yuc.*, passim; *Barbachano, Mejoras*, i. 9–10, 37–40.

CHAPTER XXII.

NUEVA GALICIA AND MICHOACAN.

1536–1542.

TORRE APPOINTED JUEZ DE RESIDENCIA—AN UNPLEASANT MEETING—THE VULTURE ENCAGED—GUZMAN'S RELEASE AND DEPARTURE TO SPAIN—CLIPPED WINGS—GUZMAN'S DEATH AND CHARACTER—TORRE'S OFFICIAL INVESTIGATIONS—HIS WISE ADMINISTRATION—INDIAN REVOLT—A CATASTROPHE—TORRE'S LAST HOURS—HIS CHARACTER—CORONADO SUCCEEDS HIM AS GOVERNOR—HIS INCOMPETENCY—DELUSIVE HOPES—A PROFITLESS EXPEDITION—NIZA REVIVES ENTHUSIASM—VISIONS OF CONQUEST AND WEALTH—TROUBLES FORESHADOWED—CORONADO'S EXPEDITION NORTHWARD—HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AND RETURN—CONTEMPORARY PROGRESS IN MICHOACAN—A USEFUL VISITADOR—REFORMS AND PROSPERITY—QUIROGA MADE BISHOP OF MICHOACAN—HIS BENEFICENT RULE.

EVERY one raised to high estate must fall; and little pulling down was left for death to do while Charles ruled the Indies. We have seen the fall of Hernan Cortés and deem it dastardly even though not undeserved; we have seen the fall of Nuño de Guzman, and have shed no tears over it. There is yet even deeper abasement in store for him.

Aroused by tales of Guzman's atrocities, the king by cédula dated the 17th of March 1536, appointed the licentiate Diego Perez de la Torre his juez de residencia and successor of Guzman as governor of Nueva Galicia,[1] with instructions that his examination should be rigid.

Nor was Guzman the only one to be subjected to a

[1] Torre was a native of Almendralejo in the province of Estremadura, of noble parents, learned, virtuous, and upright in the administration of justice. He occupied the position of judge in his native province at the time of his appointment. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 104, 109.

residencia; all public officers in New Galicia were to be called to account; the management of the royal revenues, public funds, and repartimientos was to be closely investigated. The examinations were to be conducted with brevity, and nothing reduced to writing except what was essential. The juez de residencia was required in his reports of the proceedings to give an account of the character of the witnesses and the probable motives which might influence their testimony.[2] Explicit instructions were also given him for his guidance in the treatment and government of the natives.

Hastily arranging his affairs in Spain, Torre sailed with his family, and arrived at Vera Cruz toward the end of the year. Here he learned that Guzman—who, as the reader is aware, had arrived at the capital—was making preparations to escape, having ordered a vessel for his departure. No time was to be lost, and Torre, leaving his family in Vera Cruz, set out secretly for the city with a single attendant.

There was a bond between Guzman and Mendoza, dissimilar as they were in many respects; they both hated Cortés, and there could be little rivalry between them, for Mendoza stood high while Guzman had fallen low. And so the viceroy received the New Galicia governor kindly when he came to Mexico,[3] confident in the measures he had taken for escape both from the country, and from the unpleasantness of a residencia.

But the inexorable judge was nigh. Entering the viceroy's hall of reception one morning Guzman met Torre coming from an audience with Mendoza. The recognition was mutual, and the new governor of the north politely informed Guzman that he was his prisoner. Resistance was useless; escape impossible. The toils were around the wild beast that had so long

[2] *Puga, Cedulario,* 158.

[3] According to Bernal Diaz, Mendoza, having heard of the king's intention to send out a juez de residencia, wrote to Guzman and induced him to come to Mexico—'y le señalò por posada sus Palacios...y el Virrey le hazia mucha honra, y le fauorecia, y comia con èl.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 231.

roamed defiantly. Under conduct of Mendoza's guard, which had often witnessed his honorable entrance, he was marched out of the viceregal palace and lodged in the common prison.[4] Fortune had bestowed upon him her last smile.

His appointed judge lost no time in beginning proceedings, and that there might be no unnecessary protraction of the trial he listened only to the most serious charges. The accusations were the gravest that could be made. The murder of Caltzontzin, the devastations of towns, and the enslavement of natives alike in time of war and peace, were sufficient to condemn a far more popular man. The districts of Pánuco and Nueva Galicia were visited by Torre, and the testimony of witnesses taken relative to Guzman's acts in these regions. Thus time passed by, making the trial long, although it had been so promptly begun.[5] Nor was his life in prison cheered by much

[4] *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 104. Neither the date of Torre's arrival at Vera Cruz nor that of Guzman's arrest can be exactly decided. Herrera, dec. vi. lib. i. cap. ix., states that Torre arrived at Nueva Galicia in 1537, but there is reason to conclude that he reached New Spain near the end of 1536. Guzman while in prison addressed a letter to the India Council, dated February 13, 1537, in which he uses these words: 'y averme tenido en esta cárcel veinte y cinco dias...antes que comience la residencia.' And further on: 'En lo de la residencia que aquí se me tomó.' *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 452-3. As about a month was usually occupied in the preparation of the charge, and three more in conducting it, I am inclined to the opinion that Torre landed at the beginning of November and that Guzman was imprisoned a few days later. Bernal Diaz implies that Mendoza did not display much inclination to assist Torre in the matter, 'y parece ser no hallo'—i. e., Torre—'tanta voluntad para ello como quisiera.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 231.

[5] Mota Padilla states that he was confined 'en las ataraxanas del rey.' *Conq. N. Gal.*, 104. From Guzman's letter, however, already quoted, and from the *Auto de Soltura*, in *Ramirez, Proceso*, 273, 275, it appears that it was the 'cárcel pública' in which he was imprisoned. Bernal Diaz says that Torre 'le lleuò a la carcel publica de aquella Ciudad, y estuvo preso ciertos dias, hasta que rogó por èl el Uirrey, que le sacaron de la carcel.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 231. This same author tells of a practical joke played on Torre. The new governor was addicted to gambling, and in order to bring him into bad repute, Guzman's late supporters contrived to place a pack of cards in the long sleeves of his tabard. As the juez de residencia was crossing the plaza in company with persons of high rank, the cards kept dropping out unperceived by him until his attention was called to the contents of his sleeve. Torre was quite angry and said: 'They do not wish me to do upright justice; but if I die not, it will be done in such a manner that his Majesty shall hear of this outrage.' The historian adds: 'y dende a pocos dias cayó malo, y de pensamiento dello, ó de otras cosas de calenturas que le ocurrieron, murió.' *Id.* Torre was alive when Guzman went to Spain in 1538. *Ramirez, Proceso*, 275.

sympathy; his enemies were many and his friends few. According to Mota Padilla the latter took less interest in him than the former, who did not leave him in ignorance of the joy with which his imprisonment was generally regarded.

An appeal to the India Council[6] brought him a temporary relief. On the 4th of October 1537 a royal cédula was issued, ordering him to surrender himself to the officers of the Casa de Contratacion at Seville,[7] by which body he would be transferred to the India Council. Hence, on the 30th of June 1538, after an incarceration of nearly a year and three quarters, Guzman walked out of his prison and made preparations to return to Spain.

Neither the date of his departure nor that of his arrival in the peninsula is known. Indeed, the last years of his life were passed in obscurity and misery. The king, whose indignation was roused by the report from the audiencia,[8] would have inflicted extreme punishment[9] but for the influence of powerful friends.[10] But the monarch refused to see him, and assigned Torrejon de Velasco as his future abiding-place, where,

[6] Guzman, in this appeal, attempts an explanation in brief of his acts in Pánuco and Nueva Galicia. He charges Cortés with being the prompter of accusations made against him, and complains of unfairness in the manner of conducting the proceedings. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 450–5.

[7] In this *auto de soltura* instructions were also given that he should be provided with 4,000 pesos out of his property which had been sequestrated. Guzman, by this act, was released on his own recognizance. *Ramirez, Proceso*, 272–6.

[8] Guzman was himself the bearer of this report. The instructions to the audiencia were : 'é vos proseguireys la dicha residencia...para que la pueda traer consigo.' *Id.*, 274.

[9] Zamacois assumes that the king had determined to have him executed on his arrival. *Hist. Méj.*, iv. 631–2. But I find no authority to warrant such an assertion.

[10] 'Y como en la Corte no faltã poderosas intercessiones, no pagô sus culpas como merecian.' *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. i. cap. ix. This author, dec. vii. lib. ii. cap. x., intimates that Cortés interested himself in bringing Guzman's trial to a termination. But the expression used by Herrera is of doubtful interpretation. Mota Padilla, however, accepts it as evidence of a noble generosity extended by Cortés to his former foe, besides stating that he liberally aided him in his poverty. Beaumont also takes this view. *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 98–9. Ramirez reasonably concludes that there is no ground for belief in such a story. *Proceso*, 232–3.

neglected and despised, he passed the remaining six years of his life.[11]

The record of Nuño de Guzman is before the reader, who will see in him an able, scheming, and unscrupulous lawyer; a fearless soldier and a skilful though unpopular leader; an unfeeling, tyrannical ruler; a grasping miser; and a hypocritical adherent of royalty and Christianity. True, as certain writers claim in his behalf, his faults were those of his time; but in his character these faults are shown by the chroniclers at their worst, unrelieved by a single one of the generous impulses or noble traits which, notwithstanding their deeds of blood, have given lasting fame and respect to the memory of many of the conquerors. Few of the old chroniclers have anything good to say of him. He had great opportunities, and abused them all. Had he found a Mexico or a Peru in the northwest, his name would not have been so utterly forgotten; his sovereign would not have so abhorred him, and his historians might perhaps have found some one redeeming quality in his character. But he would have been remembered as a Pizarro, not as a Cortés.[12]

As soon as Torre had concluded so much of the residencia of Guzman as pertained to his administration in the capital, and provided for the safe custody of his prisoner, he proceeded to Pánuco, as before mentioned, there to continue his investigations.[13] Having completed his labors in that province he removed with his family in 1537 to Guadalajara.[14]

[11] He died there in 1544 according to *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 105; but Alaman, *Disert.*, i. app. 28, states that he died at his native place, Guadalajara, in Spain, poor and abhorred by everybody.

[12] Ramirez justly remarks: 'El poderoso valimiento de sus enemigos no nos permite hoy fijarles'—that is to say his actions—'cuota ni medida, porque, como ya dije, de él unicamente conocemos todo el mal que hizo.' *Proceso*, 233–58.

[13] Beaumont erroneously says after he had sent Nuño de Guzman to Spain. *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 111–12.

[14] He was accompanied by six Franciscan friars—one of whom was his own son Fray Diego Perez—brought by him from Spain. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 105.

At Tonalá he was received by the provisional governor Cristóbal de Oñate, who recognized his authority and delivered the administration into his hands.[15]

Torre proceeded at once to make his official investigations. A general residencia was proclaimed in the towns of Guadalajara, Compostela, Culiacan, and Purificacion, and the proceedings conducted with energy and prudence. Such cases as he was unable to decide himself were remitted to the India Council. By the close of the year the investigations were so far concluded that the governor was permitted to turn his attention to affairs of state.

The condition in which Guzman had left Nueva Galicia was indeed a deplorable one. His system of enslavement had driven most of the natives to the mountains, thus bringing distress on all who remained, whether Spaniards or Indians. Numbers of settlers were preparing to go to Peru, while others made raids upon the Indians and reduced all they could catch to slavery.[16]

The prudent measures of Torre[17] restored confidence. He was well supported by the viceroy, and the colonists after their long and ineffectual complaints[18] settled down with some degree of content.

[15] Oñate's brother, Juan, was one of the stanchest partisans of Guzman. When the news arrived in Nueva Galicia, where Juan de Oñate had remained, of Guzman's imprisonment, and that Torre was empowered to take the residencia of all subordinate officials, he was advised by Cristóbal to effect his escape. He accordingly fled to Peru, where some assert that he died poor and blind. *Id.*

[16] Mendoza, on the 10th of December 1537, reported to the king that although this province was rich in resources, it would be lost unless his Majesty applied some remedy. The Spaniards maintained that without slaves they could not subsist, and the settlers in Culiacan had represented to the viceroy that under the prohibition of slavery they would be compelled to abandon the town. Mendoza temporarily assisted them by supplying ironware and other necessaries to the value of 1,000 pesos de tepuzque. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 196–7, 209–10.

[17] 'El licenciado de la Torre se entretiene bien harto mejor de lo que todos pensamos,' is the compliment which the viceroy pays the new governor of Nueva Galicia. *Id.*, 209.

[18] The viceroy had proclaimed that no slaves should be made in Nueva Galicia except in accordance with the order issued by the king. He had, moreover, forwarded to his Majesty a copy of the trials of those persons who had committed excesses in branding slaves during Guzman's administration. *Id.*, 180, 196. By cédula of February 3, 1537, the governor and all authorities

Nor did the efforts of Torre in his dealings with the natives meet with less encouragement. He soon saw that if treated well the natives would gladly return to their homes,[19] and with the aid of the friars this was in a measure accomplished.[20] But the bad practices of encomenderos could not immediately be stopped. Excesses in the outlying districts were still committed, and in 1538 in the northern portion of the province the people of Jocolotlan, Guajacatlan, and Ostoticpaquillo, under the leadership of their cacique Guajicar, rose in arms.[21]

The suppression of this revolt was attended with a catastrophe which closed the career of the unfortunate Torre. As soon as news of the outbreak reached Guadalajara, a council was held at which it was decided to send a force under the command of captains Alonso Álvarez, Diego Sigler, and Cristóbal Romero against the disaffected district.[22] The governor, however, in the hope, probably, of effecting a reconciliation without the necessity of bloodshed, resolved to accompany the expedition in person. When the Spaniards arrived in the hostile territory they found the Indians strongly intrenched on a rocky eminence, and though Torre made every endeavor to induce them to submit on general terms,[23] they refused. "Let death come to you or us," they replied.

An appeal to arms was therefore unavoidable. The heights were invested and assailed at different points, and the Indians so harassed that they de-

of New Galicia, judicial, civil, or military, were placed under the jurisdiction of the audiencia of New Spain. *Puga, Cedulario*, 112.

[19] 'Escríbeme'—i. e., Torre to Mendoza—'que con no hacer guerra á los naturales, se vienen muchos á sus casas, aunque en dos ó tres partes han salido á incitalle (para hacer) esclavos.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 209.

[20] *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 107.

[21] *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 114. Mota Padilla assigns the cause of this outbreak to the easy and indolent life which they were leading under the amelioration of their condition! *Conq. N. Gal.*, 107.

[22] It occupied the borders of the present territories of Jalisco and Zacatecas in the neighborhood of Jocotlan. The captains named were regidores of the cabildo. *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 366.

[23] He summoned them to come to a peaceable arrangement, offering in that case to grant them a free pardon for all past offences. *Id.*, 367.

scended to the plain, determined to try a pitched battle, in which of course they were overthrown. Great numbers were slain, and the remainder, among whom was the cacique Guajicar, fled into the neighboring glens for refuge.

Torre, who during the engagement had displayed the usual soldierly qualities of a Spaniard, now rode with his pursuing troops, encouraging them as they toiled over the difficult ground. While so occupied he was thrown from his horse, which falling upon him inflicted a mortal injury.[24] He was carried back to Tonolá,[25] where were his family, and they laid him on his death-bed.

After several days of suffering, and conscious that his end was near, Torre formally appointed Christóbal de Oñate his successor pending instructions from the viceroy,[26] and having given him advice regarding the administration, and commended to his care his bereaved family, he yielded up his spirit and was buried in the convent of San Francisco at Tetlan.[27]

Torre is described as possessing a robust frame, with

[24] 'Tenia lastimadas las entrañas de la caida,' according to Tello, who does not mention that the horse fell upon Torre. *Id.* Mota Padilla says, 'cayó del caballo, el que se echó encima y le lastimó.' *Conq. N. Gal.*, 108. Parra states that Torre, riding at random over the plain, plunged into a swamp, and in his endeavors to get out of it his horse fell upon him, breaking a rib and injuring his spine. *Conq. Xal.*, 230–1.

[25] Mota Padilla says to Tetlan, situated four leagues from the site occupied by Guadalajara in that author's time. Tello, writing in the middle of the 17th century, places this town one league from the Guadalajara of his time. *Hist. N. Gal.*, 369. The site of Guadalajara was changed several times.

[26] According to orders received from the king providing for such emergency the cabildo was consulted with regard to the appointment of a successor. Torre, however, excepted his son, Melchor Perez de la Torre, on the ground of his youth and inexperience, from the number of those whom he considered fit to occupy the position. *Id.*, 368.

[27] Torre was 56 years of age when he died. His remains were afterward removed to Guadalajara when the convent was transferred thither. The date of his death is not known; but it was probably during the latter part of 1538, inferred from an expression of the escribano of the audiencia, that as late as July 30th of that year no news of his death had reached the capital: 'visto que el lisenciado de la Torre juez de residencia de la Nueva Galicia no estaba en esta dicha cibdad.' *Ramirez, Proceso*, 275. Two marriageable daughters were especially intrusted to the protection of Oñate, who did not fail in the discharge of his trust. One was married to Jacinto de Pineda y Ledesma, a person of good birth, and the other to the alférez mayor, Fernando Flores, from whom Mota Padilla claims to be descended. *Conq. N. Gal.*, 109.

a dark sallow complexion. Brave and industrious, prompt and cautious, he was strict, perhaps stern, in the administration of justice. Possessed of a genial and generous disposition, the absence of arrogance won for him much good-will; and though the kindness of his heart ever prompted him to friendly acts, he was guided by discrimination in his benevolence. The satisfactory manner in which he performed his duties in the matter of residencias in Nueva Galicia, and the successful commencement which he made for the establishment of a healthy government, speak loudly in his praise.

When the news of Torre's death reached Mendoza he appointed Luis Galindo chief justice of Nueva Galicia,[28] and shortly afterward Francisco Vazquez de Coronado provisional governor, this latter appointment being confirmed by royal cédula of April 18, 1539.[29]

Vasquez de Coronado was a native of Salamanca, and had married a daughter of Alonso de Estrada, the royal treasurer of New Spain.[30] Mendoza held him in high esteem, but his eyes were perhaps a little blinded by friendship. The viceroy regarded him as a prudent and able man, and gifted with talents above

[28] He also ordered Galindo to remove the Spanish settlers from Tonalá to Guadalajara, which was done and lots assigned to them. *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 369–70. Mota Padilla says the building of Guadalajara was arrested, and Mendoza ordered the Spaniards at Teutlan (Tetlan?) and Tonalá to be removed to that town. *Conq. N. Gal.*, 109.

[29] The same cédula ordered Coronado to take the residencia of the deceased governor. Coronado's salary was fixed at 1,000 ducats, with an additional sum of 500 ducats, to be paid him out of the government revenues of his province. *Id.*, 110. Herrera, dec. vi. lib. v. cap. ix., has here confused events. He leaves it to be inferred that the death of Torre was not known in Mexico at the time of Coronado's appointment by the king: 'y llegado a Guadalajara, hallô que era muerto.'

[30] He had received as his wife's dowry one half of Tlapan, which town had been obtained from the crown by his mother-in-law in compensation for Tepeaca of which the audiencia had deprived her. *Mendoza, Lettre*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 252. Cortés states that Coronado received Jalapa, the tribute from which was over 3,000 ducats, and accuses Mendoza of taking that source of revenue from the crown and granting it to the wife of Estrada with the understanding that it should be given to Coronado. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 337.

the ordinary.[31] But Coronado's ability, either as ruler or military commander, was not of an order that made him fit for the position.[32] This is clearly shown in his Cíbola expedition, wherein he pushed northward with great perseverance; but his want of control over his followers was lamentably evident; and the dissension among them, and the disorderly manner of his return, display weakness as a leader. Of his ability as a ruler, his administration and its results will enable the reader to judge.[33]

At the time of his appointment Coronado held the office of visitador in New Spain. The arrival of Cabeza de Vaca and his report of what the natives had told him of wealthy cities toward the north, hastened his departure to Nueva Galicia. The viceroy was infected with the general excitement, as we have seen, and ordered Coronado to proceed at once to his province. It was arranged that Father Marcos de Niza should accompany him and make a preliminary exploration northward for the purpose of verifying Vaca's statements. Should he be successful in discovering the wonderful cities, it was determined that an expedition on a large scale should be sent to take possession of them.

Coronado departed from the capital during the latter part of 1538, and on the 19th of November, his commission having been recognized, he appointed the alcaldes and regidores of Guadalajara for the ensuing year.[34] He then proceeded to visit various districts of his province, portions of which were in a disturbed

[31] Although nothing is known of Coronado's previous services to the crown, Mendoza, in December 1537, mentions having brought them to the notice of the king, as also 'las calidades que en él hay para poder servirse dél en todo lo demás que en estas partes se ofreciere.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 194–5.

[32] Castañeda, speaking of Coronado, says: 'Ce chef ne sut conserver ni son commandement ni son gouvernement.' *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 18.

[33] Says Oviedo, 'el qual ni los dos enamorados que se dixo de susso no hiçieron daño notable en los indios ni en la tierra, sino á sí mesmos.' iii. 168.

[34] On the following day he delivered to Niza at Tonalá the viceroy's instructions relative to his projected explorations. *Mendoza, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 328.

condition, and having arrived at his border town of San Miguel de Culiacan, he despatched Niza from that place, careful provision having been made for his safe return by procuring native guides and taking other precautions.

On the 7th of March 1539 Niza set out on his search, accompanied by Father Honorato, a negro named Estevanico, and a band of friendly Indians. Coronado a month later invaded a northern territory known by the name of Topiza,[35] of the wealth of which he had received reports. But the expedition met with little success. He failed to discover the people, who decked their persons, as he had been told, with ornaments of gold and precious gems, and who faced the walls of their houses with silver.[36] After a long and wearisome march over mountains he reached a barren land in which he could obtain neither gold nor food; hence he retraced his steps to San Miguel.

Not long afterward Niza returned and brought to Coronado the welcome news of the existence and grandeur of the reported cities, whereupon the governor determined to go with him to Mexico, and with the assistance of the viceroy prepare an expedition for the anticipated conquest of Cíbola. They arrived at the capital at the end of August,[37] and so great was the excitement over the glowing account of Niza that in a few days he had raised a force of three hundred Spaniards with eight hundred native auxiliaries, eager to join in reaping the golden harvest. A reconnoitring party of fifteen men was sent forward under Melchor

[35] Probably identical with the latter Topia. In a letter addressed to Mendoza after the departure of Niza, Coronado stated that he would be ready to start on this expedition the 10th of April following. His force would consist of 150 horsemen, with 12 spare animals, 200 foot-soldiers, cross-bowmen, and arquebusiers, and be provided with hogs and sheep. The distance to Topiza, or Topira as it is written in this letter, he considers to be 80 leagues from San Miguel. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 352–4.

[36] 'Les habitants portent des parures en or, des émeraudes et autres pierres précieuses; ils emploient l'or et l'argent à des usages communs; ils couvrent leurs maisons avec ce dernier métal.' *Id.*, 353.

[37] He was in the city of Mexico on the 2d of September, since he was present on the occasion of Niza presenting to the viceroy a written narrative of his exploration. *Niza, Rel.*, in *Id.*, 282–3.

Diaz and Juan de Saldivar,[38] for the purpose of verifying Niza's account. This party left San Miguel on the 17th of November, and proceeded one hundred leagues northward. The time of the year was, however, unfavorable, and the excessive cold prevented further advance.[39]

In the mean time preparations in the capital were pushed forward as rapidly as possible. Compostela was named as the rendezvous, and so important was the expedition deemed by the viceroy that he proceeded thither to give encouragement by his presence and to superintend final preparations. But the enterprise was not without its opponents, whose principal arguments were that it would deprive Spanish towns of men needful for their protection. Hearing which Coronado took sworn depositions as to the actual number of citizens enrolled. On the 22d of February a review was held, and from the declarations made it appeared that the ranks were mainly composed of poor but well born adventurers, who had not been long in the country and were regarded as dissolute idlers and burdens upon the community.[40]

It was, perhaps, not without some ground that the settlers of Nueva Galicia objected to the departure of their governor with so fine a band of troops. Just apprehensions of a general uprising of the natives were entertained; indeed, in some portions of the province the natives were in open revolt. Indian towns belonging to the Spaniards were attacked, cattle driven off, and converts and negroes massacred. Coronado had been so occupied with schemes of conquest and too frequently absent to attend properly to

[38] Done by the viceroy's special order.

[39] 'Quelques Indiens qu'il emmenait avec lui furent gelés, et deux Espagnols souffrirent beaucoup.' On the 20th of March 1540 Diaz wrote an account of his proceedings to the viceroy.

[40] Only two citizens of the city of Mexico, and two of Guadalajara, were found among the troops. From Compostela not one was going. Among those who examined the men and gave depositions may be mentioned Gonzalo de Salazar, the royal factor, and Pero Almidez Chirinos, the veedor; also Cristóbal de Oñate. *Inform.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 373–84. A certified copy of these depositions was forwarded to the crown.

the affairs of his province, and this neglect sowed the seeds of a revolt which was only suppressed after three years of warfare. Before his departure, so alarming had matters become, that on the 26th of December preceding, the colonists of Guadalajara addressed a petition expressing fear that unless he extended aid the country would be lost.[41]

But the governor was not to be turned from his adventure by trifles. Here was a land where gold was as common as was earthen-ware in Spain, and precious gems could be collected in heaps; time enough to attend to his people after he had gathered wealth. At the end of February,[42] Oñate having been appointed lieutenant-governor, the army marched out of Compostela with banners flying, every man of them having taken an oath, required by the viceroy, to obey the orders of their general and never abandon him.

Day after day and month after month they journeyed northward, robbing and murdering as occasion offered, their eyes like those of hawks ever eager for prey. But gold and jewels were not plentiful there. The seven cities of Cíbola proved but so many empty crocks, and the disappointed booty-hunters cursed the reverend Niza. But there was gold enough beyond, according to the statements of the natives, over toward the north-east, and the Spaniards still pursued. Across rapid rivers and over trackless des-

[41] The colonists requested that the refractory natives should be reduced to slavery. The result of the appeal is not known. *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 374–5. Mota Padilla states that Coronado sent the letter to the viceroy, 'para que providenciase, especialmente sobre los dos puntos de la esclavitud de los rebeldes, y del socorro que se pedia de gente.' On the 8th of January 1540, Coronado set apart lands for the commons of the city of Guadalajara, and on the following day proclaimed the royal cédula of December 20, 1538, commanding houses in the Indies to be constructed of stone, brick, or adobe, to insure their permanency. *Conq. N. Gal.*, 110.

[42] The date of departure must have been some day between the review held on the 22d of February and the last day of that month, since Mendoza writing to the king on the 17th of April following commences his letter thus: 'Le dernier de février passé, j'ai écrit de Campostelle à votre majesté, pour lui rendre compte de mon arrivée dans cette ville et du départ de Francisco Vasquez, avec l'expédition,' etc. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 290. There is an error in the account of Castañeda in *Id.*, 24, where it is stated that the forces arrived at Compostela from Mexico on Shrove-Tuesday, 1541.

erts Coronado pushed westward to the later New Mexico, and with a portion of his followers penetrated perhaps to the territory of Kansas, while detachments of his forces prosecuted explorations in other directions. Still gloomy disappointment was ever at his side, and at last he rode back to Tiguex in the Rio Grande Valley. His soldiers were heart-sick and impudent. Coronado's control over them was lost, and in April 1542 he commenced the homeward march. On the way his authority was little heeded. Sick in mind and body,[43] he proceeded to Mexico, where he arrived with a remnant of his force, shortly after the middle of the year, there to be greeted by the frigid features of his friend the viceroy.

While the progress of affairs in New Galicia was thus retarded by the loss of the able Torre and the weak administration of Coronado, the adjacent province of Michoacan was gradually advancing under the benignant rule of Quiroga. After the march of Guzman through the district, it seemed to have been struck by the flail of the evil one. The treatment of the natives by their oppressors became more brutal; the outrages perpetrated by the encomenderos became more violent, and the scourges in their hands fell heavier, as more labor and still more tribute was exacted from the hapless Tarascans. The missionaries labored hard to mitigate their wrongs, and preached to them the patience and sufferings of the saviour; but even their sympathy and kindly teachings had lost half their power. Horrified at the cruel murder of their much loved king, the Tarascans regarded Christianity as a mockery. Those who, with the unfortunate Caltzontzin, had embraced the religion, lost their faith in it, and all who could betook themselves to the mountains, or to the depths and twilight shelter of the forests on the western lowlands.

[43] He had received a severe injury on the head from the kick of a horse, while engaged in equestrian games at Tiguex. For a detailed account of his expedition see *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., and *Hist. New Mex. and Ariz.*, this series.

In 1532 the audiencia, in accordance with general instructions issued by the king, sent Juan de Villaseñor to Michoacan[44] in the capacity of visitador. Having made official visits to various districts he sent his report of the condition in which he found it; but his presence there does not seem to have ameliorated matters, since in October of the same year delegates of the native lords went to Mexico and formally complained of the intolerable proceedings of the encomenderos. To remedy the lamentable state of affairs the audiencia in 1533[45] sent the oidor Quiroga as visitador into that region, in the hope that a man of his ability, high character, and well known zeal for the welfare of the Indians would be able to effect some beneficial change.

Quiroga well responded to the expectations of the audiencia. With untiring ardor, supported by prudence, good judgment, and kindness of temper, he carried on the work of reformation. The Tarascans, exasperated as they were, listened to his words and recognized in him a friend, while he sternly imposed restrictions upon the encomenderos by reorganizing the repartimientos in a manner advantageous to the natives. Thus both the ecclesiastical and secular condition of affairs was improved. The natives were gradually induced to abandon their idolatrous and polygamous practices[46] and the Spaniards made to

[44] Villaseñor was one of the conquerors and a citizen of Mexico. He was empowered to investigate matters connected with the inquisition and proceed against guilty persons of whatever class or condition. A few years later, by order of Mendoza, he established himself at Guango to oppose the inroads of the Chichimecs, and had assigned to him and his family for four lives that town and those of Numarán, Penjamillo, Conguripo, Puruándiro, and some others, as encomiendas. His descendants figure among the most prominent of the country. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 413–19.

[45] Both Herrera, dec. vi. lib. i. cap. x., and Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 3, are in error as to the date of Quiroga's official visit to Michoacan, stating it to have taken place in 1536. Depositions taken in Quiroga's residencia in that year prove that he had visited Michoacan two and a half years before. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 11–12.

[46] The governor of Michoacan during this period was the native lord Pedro Ganca, or Cuirananguari. Quiroga persuaded him to put aside polygamy and be legally married to a concubine who had informed Quiroga of the governor's taste for a plurality of wives. *Moreno, Frag. Quiroga*, 35.

recognize that there was a controlling power in the land.[47]

Among other important results of his labors was the founding of the hospital of Santa Fé, two leagues from the capital town, Tzintzuntzan. From this institution, which was intended by the founder to be a centre for the propagation of Christianity[48] as well as an asylum for the sick, the natives derived great benefit. When Quiroga's residencia as oidor was taken in 1536 the erection of this establishment constituted the ground of a charge of oppression against him, but he was honorably acquitted.

After Quiroga's official visit the prospects of Michoacan were brighter. The establishment of a bishopric in the province and the election of this worthy man as prelate have already been mentioned. In 1537 or 1538 he returned to the scene of his previous labors and applied himself with unflagging zeal to the good government of his diocese. In order to inform himself of the condition and requirements of the different districts in his extensive see, he visited every portion of it in person, travelling on muleback for more than six hundred and fifty leagues, with no other company than his secretary and a page.

The success of his administration both as visitador and prelate was signally marked. The influx of friars was maintained with regularity, and convents and educational and charitable institutions were rapidly multiplied in Michoacan during this period. His powerful influence in the political government of the province is evidenced by the amelioration noticeable in the condition of the Tarascans. The wanderers in the mountains were won from their wild retreats, and settled in

[47] An oppressive encomendero had imposed exorbitant tribute upon the inhabitants of the town of Michoacan. Quiroga intervened and freed them from the exaction.

[48] 'Llamòlos de *Santa Fé*, porque en ellos se avia de propagar la Fé Catholica.' This hospital was, like the one in Mexico, placed under the charge of a rector with a stipend of 150 pesos de oro de minas. Such superintendent could only hold the incumbency for a term of three years, not '*in vim beneficij*, sino como en encomienda.' *Id.*, 14, 15.

pleasant towns and villages, where they were taught manufacturing and agriculture. Prosperity followed, and the strong contrast presented between the happy progression under Quiroga and the misery of the few preceding years proclaims his rule a righteous one.[49]

[49] Among his historians there are not wanting those who call his administration 'gobierno de oro, porque no se volvieron á oir los clamores de los indios agraviados, ni el estruendo de las armas de los ciudadanos inquietos, ni la violencia de las vírgenes, ni los robos, ni las muertes lastimosas.' *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, i. 227.

The following additional authorities have been consulted for this chapter: *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 305, 337; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 71–6; lib. i. cap. ix.; lib. v. cap. ix.; *Puga, Cedulario*, 78, 80–4, 112–13, 158–9; *Cartas de Indias*, 254–5, 859; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 210; vi. 498; xiii. 193; xiv. 373–84; xvi. 5–39; xxiii. 410–14; *Ramirez, Proceso*, 231–76; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 27–472, passim; *Id.*, MS., 283–625, passim; *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 119; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 203; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix., passim; *Id.*, tom. x. 259–68; série ii. tom. v. 252; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. app. i. 28; *Jalisco, Mem. Hist.*, 34–7, 96; *Dic. Univ.*, passim; *Buelna, Compend.*, 11; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, vii. 55–6; *Parra, Conq. Xal.*, MS., 242; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 380; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, iv. 543–703, passim; v. 7; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 182–4; cxxxi. 245; *Bussiere, L'Empire Mex.*, 355; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 166–8, 184–7.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DEATH OF CORTÉS.

1540-1547.

DEPARTURE OF CORTÉS FOR SPAIN—HIS ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION—HOLLOW SHOW—VAIN HOPES—HE JOINS THE EXPEDITION TO ALGIERS—AND SUFFERS SHIPWRECK—LOSS OF THE FAMOUS EMERALDS—HE IS SLIGHTED AT A COUNCIL OF WAR—RETURN TO MADRID—A FRUITLESS PETITION—MORE INDIGNITIES—LAST TOUCHING APPEAL—DETERMINATION TO RETURN TO MEXICO—LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF THE CONQUEROR—DISPOSITION OF THE REMAINS—HIS LAST WILL—THE ESTATE—THE DESCENDANTS OF CORTÉS—RÉSUMÉ OF HIS CHARACTER.

WE have seen as the settled policy of Spain that the greatest discoverers and conquerors must not be allowed permanent or hereditary rule. The viler sort, like Pedrarias and Velazquez, were the safer instruments of royalty; while the claims of the noble and chivalrous, Columbus, Balboa, and Cortés, whose services were too great for convenient recompense, it was usually found easier to repudiate. It is true they asked much, for they had given much; they asked long and persistently, for the sovereign promised with little thought of performing; in due time it was the king's pleasure not to know them.

The viceroy Mendoza was not naturally a bad man. He was only carrying out the policy of his master Charles when he so irritated and persecuted Cortés as to drive him from Mexico in 1540. It was in January of that year that he embarked for Spain, accompanied by his son Martin, then eight years of age, by the chronicler Bernal Diaz, and a retinue of nobles and partisans. On his arrival he learned that the

emperor was at Ghent, the court remaining at Madrid. When approaching the capital, the members of the India Council and other dignitaries, with an outward show of great respect, came forward in gorgeous array to welcome him. The palace of the comendador Juan de Castilla was prepared as the residence of the illustrious guest, and no lack of attention revealed the insincerity of superficial show. Not long, however, was Cortés allowed to cherish the flattering hope of eventually making effective, not only in name, the honors and titles which had been showered upon him years before. The enthusiasm of the first reception passed, and cold politeness was gradually observed by the members of the council, though Cortés was always courteously received, and even with apparent friendship, by the president, Cardinal Loaisa. But when he came to ask a settlement of his affairs, he found that the great conqueror had become but an ordinary litigant.

A year passed by, and, though influential persons interceded, nothing was done in his behalf, except in the claim against Guzman, which was decided in his favor. His proud soul rebelled against such treatment; he asked permission to return to Mexico, but was refused. Still, he never faltered in his loyalty toward his sovereign master. In 1541 Charles prepared an expedition against Algiers, for the purpose of releasing a number of Spanish captives; and Cortés joined it voluntarily, accompanied by his son Martin.[1] The fleet was dispersed by a storm, and the admiral's ship *Esperanza*, on which Cortés embarked, was driven upon the rocks. He and his son, with most of the cavaliers, saved their lives by swimming ashore. But the inestimable treasure, the five famous emeralds which the conqueror always carried on his person, were lost in the flood. The fates

[1] Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 347, says with his two sons, Martin and Luis; other authors maintain that the latter remained at Madrid in the service of the prince.

seemed to have united at this juncture to wrench from his grasp little by little what they had so lavishly bestowed; prestige, honors, wealth, and royal favor, all seemed vanishing. Was there nothing to be left him for all his toils, all his successes, but a hollow title? Was implacable Nemesis always to pursue him? The loss of the baubles, however much they represented in money, could not cause such heart-ache as did ingratitude, slight, and insult.

A council of war was called, and the greatest soldier of the day was not summoned to it; his very presence was ignored. In regard to the situation, he had expressed an opinion in favor of an immediate attack; but the courtiers were anxious to raise the siege: the formidable ramparts of the Moslem made the peaceful walls of Madrid seem far away, and it was decided to abandon the enterprise. Stung by the manifest insult, and indignant at the effeminate resolution, Cortés exclaimed: "Had I but a handful of my veterans from New Spain, not long would they remain outside of yonder fortresses!" "Indeed, señor," was the reply; "no doubt you would do wonderful things; but you would find the Moors quite a different foe from your naked savages."

After his return home Cortés again began to press his suit. He presented a memorial to the emperor, recounting the services which he had rendered to the crown; the losses, grievances, and persecutions he had suffered; the wrongs inflicted by the audiencia and viceroy, and praying that justice might be done; that his honors and titles might be made available, and in a manner commensurate to his services and sacrifices, so that he might with dignity maintain the rank and position to which he had been raised. What kind of play was this? He had achieved, and had been rewarded; then he was robbed and humiliated, and without cause. Cortés handed in the petition and never afterwards heard of it.

Bowed down by disappointment, wounded in his

most sensitive part, his heart-felt loyalty and love for his sovereign spurned, his influence and popularity gone, what had he to live for? Then, too, he began to suffer the infirmities of age; his constitution was shattered, and his sight and hearing were growing dull. The hardships of so many rough campaigns, the wounds received, the fevers, and the long exposures, all had left their impress. If one wishes to see glorious recompense, let one look at Peru, which has done even more than Mexico to fill the royal coffers. Perhaps the turbulence there has taught the monarch prudence. Go further then, and compare the conduct of Cortés with that of Pizarro after their respective conquests: the one is gentle, obedient; the other arrogant and blood-bespilling. Yet wherever it is most politic that it should be inflicted, there will the punishment be felt. When the monarch has no further need of the man, it is well the man should die.

But the life of Cortés was destined to be spared for a few more indignities. He had sent to Mexico for his daughter Doña María, to be married to Álvaro Perez de Osorio, heir to the estates and titles of the marqués de Astorga. The engagement was cancelled by Osorio for pecuniary and prudential motives.[2] The humiliation, the insult, which struck at once the pride of the conqueror and the heart of the father, affected him to such a degree that for a time he was prostrated by a dangerous fever.

Before this, namely on February 3, 1544, Cortés had made a touching and dignified appeal to the monarch for redress, praying for a final settlement of his affairs. To this as in the other instance no reply was made. It has even been stated that after Charles refused to see Cortés the latter on one occasion forced

[2] The dowry of Doña María was to have been 100,000 ducats in gold, which under the present circumstances could probably not be raised at the time. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 237. This occurred subsequently to the making of his will, from which it appears that 20,000 ducats had already been paid to Marqués Astorga on account of the dowry, and Cortés provided that the remainder be paid, to fulfil the contract.

his way to the royal carriage and placed his foot upon the step. "Who is this man?" demanded the king. "One who has given your Majesty more kingdoms than you had cities before!" was the reply.[3] This was the last time that Cortés ever asked aught of his sovereign.[4] Three years passed in further waiting, and then the conqueror, his patience exhausted, determined to return to New Spain, to leave his native soil forever.

Having previously obtained permission to depart, he proceeded to Seville and was received with honors by the nobility, the last to be tendered him in this life. They bid him farewell, asking God's blessing on his departure. But these manifestations, hollow or sincere, could not revive his broken spirit, nor dispel his bitterness of heart; his health declined, and it was soon apparent that his last hour was drawing near. The strain upon his faculties had been severe, and death came at last to his relief. To escape visitors, he was conveyed to the village Castillejo de la Cuesta, about two leagues from Seville, accompanied by Martin, who would not leave his father; and on December 2, 1547, then in his sixty-second year,

[3] This incident is not well authenticated, as it rests mainly on *Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs.*

[4] In this last appeal to the emperor, he begins: 'Pensé que haber trabajado en la juventud me aprovechara para que en la vejez tubiera descanso, y así á cuarenta años que me he ocupado en no dormir, mal comer, y á las veces ni bien ni mal, traer las armas á cuestas, poner la persona en peligro, gastar mi hacienda y edad todo en servicio de Dios, trayendo obejas á su corral'... to extend the power and fame of his sovereign, and to increase his domain, by the conquest of many large kingdoms, and lordships of barbarous nations. All of which he had accomplished in person and at his own cost, without aid from the government; on the contrary, he had been hindered by 'muchos émulos é invidiosos que como sanguijuelas han rebentado de hartos de mi sangre.' He could not conceive why the royal promises were not fulfilled, and why he was again deprived of the favors once granted. It was more difficult, he said, to defend himself against his Majesty's fiscal, than to conquer the enemy's country. Cortés concludes this long and interesting appeal 'trusting there will be no unnecessary delay in the decision, otherwise he prefers to lose all and return to his home, 'porque no tengo ya edad para andar por mesones, sino para recogerme á aclarar mi cuenta con Dios, pues la tengo larga, y poca vida para dar los descargos, y será mejor perder la hacienda quel ánima.' *Cortés, Carta al Emperador,* in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 41–6. On the back of the original document is the laconic indorsement: *No hay que responder:* Needs no reply!

Hernan Cortés expired. Two days afterward his remains were deposited with due solemnity and pomp in the monastery of San Isidro, on the outskirts of Seville, the sepulchre of the dukes of Medina Sidonia. The bearer of that title and guardian of young Cortés, second marqués del Valle, and many other distinguished personages from Seville and the neighboring country were present at the obsequies.

The remains of Cortés rested at San Isidro until 1562, when they were removed by order of Martin Cortés to New Spain, to the city of Tezcuco. Pursuant to a provision of the will they were to have been deposited in his favorite city, Coyuhuacan, within ten years after his death. This, however, was never done. They were destined to wander from place to place, till in 1823 they disappeared altogether from the city of Mexico.[5]

[5] It was provided in the will that in whatever place in Spain Cortés died his remains were to be deposited, to be transferred within 10 years to Coyuhuacan in New Spain. The remains of his mother and of his son Luis, at Cuernavaca, were to be transferred to the same place at that time. Concerning the funeral services, it was provided that all curates and friars of the place in which he died, should attend at the obsequies; 50 poor people were to receive new suits of clothes and one real to attend with torches; new clothes for mourning being given also to all his servants and his son's, and 5,000 masses were to be read: 1,000 for the souls in purgatory; 2,000 for those who died in his service in New Spain, and the remainder for those he had wronged unknowingly and whose names he could not remember. *Cortés, Testamento*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 239–77. In the year 1629, on the death of Pedro Cortés, fourth marqués del Valle, the bones of the conqueror were removed from Tezcuco and deposited in the Franciscan church in Mexico, with great pomp; and in 1794 the relics were transferred to the hospital of Jesus Nazareno. This new sepulchre, surmounted by a chaste monument adorned with the arms and the bust of Cortés, the work of the celebrated sculptor Tolsa, had been erected through the exertions of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo and the assistance of representatives of the Cortés family. The ceremonies observed on the occasion of this last transfer eclipsed in grandeur anything heretofore witnessed in the city of Mexico. But scarcely 30 years elapsed before the relics were again disturbed. When in 1823 the remains of the patriots who proclaimed the independence of Mexico in 1810 were to be transported to the capital, pamphlets appeared exciting the populace to reduce to ashes the remains of Cortés. The outrage was however prevented by the friends of the family, who obtained an order from the government to remove the casket to a secure place. The order was made effective by Alaman, then a member of the cabinet, who says in connection with the event in his *Disert.*, ii. 60: 'Habiendo yo intervenido en la pronta egecucion de estas órdenes, en virtud de las funciones públicas que desempeñaba.' During the night of September 15th the chaplain of the hospital, Dr Joaquin Canales, removed the remains, and by disposition of Count Lucchesi, acting for the family, they were provisionally deposited under the platform of the altar of Jesus. The excite-

Since that time a deep mystery has hung over the final resting-place of the conqueror's remains. Though it is generally believed that they were secretly shipped to the family, and are now deposited at Palermo in Italy, there is a possibility that they never left Mexico, but occupy some hidden spot known to few.[6] Perhaps it was befitting that the great chieftain who had known no rest in life, should not find it in death.

The day after his death the will of Cortés was opened.[7] It is a voluminous document and throws some additional light upon the character of its author, but most of the details are not now of interest to the reader. As guardians of the legitimate children, administrators of the estate, and executors of the will, in Spain, were appointed Juan Alonso de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia; Pedro Álvarez Osorio, marquis of Astorga, and Pedro Arellano, count of Aguilar; and for New Spain the marchioness, wife of Cortés; Bishop Zumárraga; Friar Domingo de Betanzos, and Licenciate Juan de Altamirano. The principal heir, succeeding to the estate and title, was his legitimate son, Martin, who after his twentieth year

ment of the populace continued, and it was found expedient to remove the bust and arms from the monument, and to ship them to the duke of Terranova at Palermo. The marble obelisk and sepulchre disappeared after the hospital and church property was sequestered by the government in 1833. Mora, *Mej. Rev.*, iii. 188, says in connection herewith: 'And they would have profaned even the ashes of the hero but for the precautions taken by some unprejudiced persons who, wishing to save their country the dishonor of such reprehensible and rash procedure, managed at first to conceal, and then to ship them to his family in Italy.'

[6] Icazbalceta, in a letter to Henry Harrisse on the subject, says: 'The place of the present sepulture of Cortés is wrapped in mystery. Don Lúcas Alaman has told the history of the remains of this great man. Without positively saying so, he lets it be understood that they were taken to Italy... It is generally believed that the bones of Cortés are at Palermo. But some persons insist that they are still in Mexico, hidden in some place absolutely unknown. Notwithstanding the friendship with which Mr Alaman has honored me, I never could obtain from him a definite explanation in the matter; he would always find some pretext to change the conversation.' *Harrisse*, 217–20. There was certainly something strange in the reticence of Alaman.

[7] It was executed October 11, 1547, before the notary Melchor de Portes. The text is printed in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 348–92; *Cortés, Testamento*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 239–77; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. app. 98–138; *Mora, Mej. Rev.*, iii. 379–423, and others. The will was admitted to probate August 16, 1548.

was to enjoy the full income of the inheritance, though his majority was fixed at twenty-five. All the other children, legitimate and natural, were well provided with an adequate income, and appropriate dowries for the daughters. None of the many male and female relatives seem to have been forgotten, and all the servants, even the lady's-maids to the marchioness, were liberally remembered. Endowments for the erection and support of religious, charitable, and educational institutions were made with princely generosity. A college for theology and canon law, and a convent, the latter to serve as the Cortés family sepulchre, were to be founded at Coyuhuacan; neither of these institutions were built, however, for want of funds. A third, the celebrated hospital de la Concepcion, afterward known as Jesus, was erected. The manner in which the testator dwells upon the Indian question forms a striking feature of the will, and reveals the fact that he entertained great scruples concerning the legality of holding Indian slaves, and of exacting tributes.[8]

[8] Concerning the Indian vassals of Cortés, he enjoined his successor to ascertain whether these had paid him more tribute than the amount formerly paid to their native chiefs; if so, the full sum so overpaid should be returned, including also all tributes collected unjustly; the same was to be done with all lands unjustly seized from the natives. Should the question of slavery be decided in the future, the successor must act accordingly, and pay particular attention to the instruction and education of the natives. Besides ordering his mother's remains to be transferred to his own future burial-place, Cortés further signified his filial love by founding certain services at the sepulchre of his father, at Medellin. To his wife he gave 10,000 ducats, being the dower received from her; the dower of his daughter María he fixed at 100,000 ducats, 20,000 already paid, and the balance to be paid over to conclude the marriage with Osorio. This, as mentioned in the text, never took place. The dowry of the other legitimate daughters, Catalina and Juana, was 50,000 ducats each. The natural sons, Martin and Luis, received a life-rent of 1,000 ducats, and were enjoined to acknowledge and obey their brother, Don Martin, as the head of the family. The natural daughter Catalina Pizarro, whose mother was Leonor Pizarro, afterward married to Juan de Salcedo, was to enjoy all the rents, tributes, and other income from the village of Chinantla, besides receiving other grants of lands and cattle. Leonor and María had a dowry of 10,000 ducats bestowed. Those who had served under Cortés were to be paid according to their contracts; all he had expended in the service of the crown should be computed and collected from the royal treasury, and all his debts, of whatever nature, should be paid. *Cortés, Testamento*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 239–77. The provisions of the will are very minute and concise, showing that great care was bestowed by the testator in its preparation.

The assertions of Cortés concerning his poverty, which we observe in his memorials to the emperor, must not be taken literally, but rather in a comparative sense. From the provisions of his will it is manifest that at the time of his death he deemed himself possessed of vast estates. These, however, or the greater portion of them, were the object of litigation with the crown and prominent individuals in New Spain, and were otherwise embarrassed. His last unsuccessful expeditions had swallowed up immense sums, and the loss of the emeralds was also an important item. After his death, when the litigations came to a close, the verdict was against the heirs, and few of the provisions of the will could be carried out. The original grants to Cortés, with a few exceptions, were confirmed to his son Martin in 1565 by Philip II., in recognition of the father's services to the crown, and in consideration of the son's gallant conduct at the battle of St Quentin. Tehuantepec was the only portion retained by the crown, for which the heirs were compensated in a sum equal to the amount of tributes collected. But the magnanimity of the king lasted only two short years. In 1567, after the alleged conspiracy of Martin Cortés, the estate was sequestrated by the crown; it was returned in 1574, greatly reduced, and injured by neglect and the rapacity of royal officials. After that other sequestrations and changes occurred.[9]

[9] The original grant to Cortés of July 6, 1629, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 291–7, comprised 22 towns with dependencies, and 23,000 vassals. In 1805, according to *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 265, the marquisate contained 4 villas, 49 villages, and 17,700 inhabitants. This is refuted by Navarro y Noriega, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 83, who claims there were 7 judicial districts, 33 curacies, 1 city, 15 villas, 157 pueblos, 89 haciendas, 119 ranchos, and 5 estancias, with 150,000 inhabitants all told. This was not so bad after all. The income from the houses in Mexico was applied, pursuant to the will of Cortés, to the erection and maintenance of the hospital of Jesus. According to *Terranova y Monteleone, Esposicion*, 29–30, in 1828 this income amounted to 28,000 pesos. In the course of time the estate greatly diminished, and in the year mentioned the duke of Terranova retained only the 'haciendas marquesanas,' some lands in Tuxtla, and the property in Mexico city; and the income had greatly decreased by the abolition of tributes. The sugar plantation of Atlacomulco was not a part of the original grant; it was bought by Martin Cortés in 1553. *Terranova y*

Cortés was first married, as we well know, in Cuba, to Catalina Juarez, a native of Granada, in Andalusia, whose death occurred in October 1522. It is supposed that by her he had a child, but nothing definite can be ascertained on the subject. A natural daughter by a Cuban Indian is also mentioned at that time. The issue of his second marriage, with Doña Juana de Zúñiga, was one son, Martin, and three daughters: María, married to Luis Vigil de Quiñones, conde de Luna; Catalina, who died single at Seville, and Juana married to Hernando Enriquez de Rivera, duke of Alcalá and marqués de Tarifa. Beside these there were several natural children: Martin Cortés, son of the devoted Marina; Catalina Pizarro, daughter of Leonor Pizarro; Luis, son of Antonia Hermosilla;[10] Leonor and María, daughters of noble Indian women; Leonor was married to Juan de Tolosa, one of the founders of Zacatecas; and finally another son Luis, who died before his father.

With Pedro Cortés, the fourth marqués del Valle and great grandson of the conqueror, the direct line became extinct. The estates and title passed to his niece, Doña Estefania, married to Diego de Aragon, duke of Terranova, descendant of one of the most distinguished families of Sicily. This union remaining without male issue, by the marriage of their daughter Juana with Hector, duke of Monteleone, the line became united with the Piñatelli family, Neapolitan nobles of the first rank. Thus the descendants and present representatives of the great adventurer's family are the dukes of Terranova y Monteleone, in Sicily, one of the proudest families of Italy.[11]

Monteleone, Esposicion, 23–31, 60–62. More particulars concerning the estate may be found in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 330–8; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 19; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 126; *Villa Señor, Theatro*, i. 269–70; ii. 118–23; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. i. 4, 415, 461.

[10] Martin, Luis, and Catalina were legitimized by papal bull of April 16, 1529, which is given in *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 2d app. 32–6. The former were made knights of Santiago and Calatrava, respectively.

[11] The statement in *Prescott*, iii. 351, that by the marriage of a female into the house of Terranova, the Cortés family was united with the descendants of the 'gran capitan' Gonzalo de Córdoba, is erroneous. The house of Ter-

In finally reviewing the character of Hernan Cortés, after our long acquaintance, and comparing him with his contemporaries, we find conspicuous a supreme worldly ambition, love of power, of wealth, of fame, united to intense religious zeal and loyalty to the king. In the combination there was much that might be called remarkable. This union of the spiritual and the sensual, a selfishness as broad and deep in heavenly as in earthly affairs, an all-abiding, heart-felt loyalty to the sovereign of Spain, paramount even to self-love or to church devotion, seems here more evenly balanced than in any person of note among those who came early to the Indies. Though his religious zeal was so fervid, he seldom permitted it to stand in the way of worldly advancement; but there was ever present a fighting piety which might have adorned a member of the house of Hapsburg. Love of gold was usually subordinate to love of glory; and yet we have seen him decline a coveted title because of a real or pretended lack of means to support it. Further, after having had set apart for him lands, and vassals, and revenues befitting a king, he rendered the latter part of his life miserable by reason of vain importunities to his sovereign for more. A tithe of what he possessed he might with contentment have enjoyed, but in his later mood half the planet would have been too small for him while the other half remained to be coveted.

But in this it was more what he considered his due that he desired, than the gratification of an all-absorbing avarice, such as that which possessed Nuño de Guzman, and men of similar stamp. When an humble navigator discovered a new world, or a nameless cavalier conquered a considerable portion of it at his own

ranova united with the Cortés family received its title from Philip II. in 1565, and is distinct from that of Terranova in Calabria. The genealogy of Cortés may be found in *Claviyero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 236–7. See, also, *Carriedo, Estudios*, ii. 7; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 13–14; *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 70, 79; *Lebron, Apolog. Jurid.*, in *Pap. Derecho, No. 4*, 58–61; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 48–52, 1st app. 4–6; 2d app. 32–6; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 111; *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 279–80.

cost and in the name of the king, laying it at the sovereign's feet, with all its wealth of gold and pearls, and land and vassals, it was an undetermined question how much of it belonged to the monarch and how much to the discoverer and conqueror, and it is not at all strange that opinion should be divided on the subject. But in every emergency, whatsoever the monarch said or did, whether he granted lands and honors or withheld them, Cortés was bound to believe all as right. He might sometimes sacrifice wealth and power to religion; more frequently he would sacrifice religion to wealth and power, but never would he abate one jot of his devoted obedience to the king, unless it was clearly to the king's interest that he should be slightly disobeyed.

From the time of the Honduras expedition, and his separation from the faithful Marina, the star of the conqueror declined. From that day care fast engraved wrinkles on his forehead. The hardships and disappointments experienced on the march had broken his spirits and lowered his strength of mind, and they never recovered. In the mean time he had reached the summit of fame; he was captain general and governor of the country he had conquered, and was made a marquis with vast grants. Nevertheless his soul was embittered by the fact that the gifts of his royal master were benefits only in name, that real honors were withheld, that he was no longer supreme in the land of his achievement, but must be ruled like any other by an audiencia and subsequently by a viceroy. Still, his restless impulse carries him forward to new and exciting scenes. New Spain is conquered, and he would penetrate beyond. The California and Spice Island expeditions fail; he wrangles with the viceroy over the right of further discoveries, of which he is finally and effectually deprived.

Nowhere is the presence of noble character more visibly displayed than when taunted, maligned, and robbed by the royal officials. While possessing ample

power to sweep them from his path, he endured in angry patience every indignity and wrong rather than place himself on record as other than law-abiding and a lover of good conduct. His domestic life during his second marriage seems to have been one of great felicity; we find him the kindest of parents and a devoted husband, though from his earlier libertinisms the contrary might have been expected. We have seen that till his last moments he showed the greatest solicitude for the welfare of his entire family.

In mind and manners, in adventure, war, diplomacy, he everywhere displayed great versatility. There was little that he could not do; there was little he could not do better than another. Were ships required, he would make them; were they in the way, he would burn them. Did he want powder, there was the sulphur of the volcano; did he lack iron for guns, he used silver or copper. Were the hosts of Anáhuac too many for him, he turned against them other hosts before whom he was likewise in point of numbers an insignificant enemy. But though his feats as an Indian-fighter were wonderful, it is not in these that we find him at his best. A stupid slur was that made during the Algiers expedition by the king's courtier, who said that Cortés would find the Moors a very different enemy from naked Americans. Cortés was a match for any Moor, or any Spaniard; indeed his most brilliant exploits were achieved when he found himself opposed by his own countrymen; and he was scarcely less successful as a ruler than as a military leader.

His nature, as we everywhere have seen, was one of emphasis and intensity. Affairs of gallantry he conducted with as much skill and persistency as were required to win a battle. The grave and courtly manners by which the Spaniard commonly veils his real character were in Cortés modified by a freeness and vivacity due in a great measure to New World influences.

We cannot condemn simply because one has faults; we cannot wholly condemn if one has many and glaring faults. It is only when one displays that most offensive of faults, an unconsciousness of having any, that we may regard the case as entitled to sweeping condemnation.

The leading biographer of Cortés is Gomara, on whose works bibliographical notes will be found in my *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 314–16. With regard to his *Historia de Mexico*, which in reality may be looked upon as a biography of Cortés, he has met with supporters and detractors. Las Casas is scathing in his criticisms of the earlier portions of his work, asserting that his information being derived from the representations of Cortés is warped. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11–12, 448 et seq. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 11, also considered that Gomara's statements are not consistent with the facts, and Muñoz charges him with accepting the accounts of previous writers without due examination, and of being credulous and deficient in discernment. *Hist. Nuev. Mund.*, i. p. xviii. On the other hand Gomara is followed by numerous writers, ancient and modern. Herrera draws largely upon him, while at the same time he was enabled to consult documents which this father of American history never saw. Gomara obtained his materials from important sources, such as letters, reports, and other documents to which he had access; but, chaplain as he was to Cortés, it was but natural that he should be prejudiced in favor of his patron, and be disposed to somewhat color his great deeds, without chronicling those which might detract from his renown. Oviedo supplies information relative to Cortés which no one else gives. In his *Hist. Gen. de Indias* he reproduces the conqueror's first letters, slightly adapted to his own language. Having met him in Spain he had frequent opportunities of conversing with him. He received occasional letters from Cortés, and his mention of these and quotations from them assist in proving facts and fixing dates. Bernal Diaz detracts somewhat from the credit of his great commander by exalting that of his companions. Pizarro, *Varones Ilust.*, gives a glowing eulogy of Cortés, but it is non-critical and partial. He enlarges on the importance of omens and natural phenomena which presented themselves at the birth and during the eventful periods of the life of the hero. He ranks him naturally enough second to his relative Pizarro. Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, has made a few valuable investigations, and produced Cortés' family tree. This author's usual perspicacity is displayed in his researches and conclusions relative thereto. The *Residencia* of Cortés, as containing the testimony of his foes, is full of dark pictures, most of which are exaggerated and many of them false. Nevertheless the student receives much aid from the statements of opposing witnesses, and particularly from such corroborative evidence as appears. From the *Escritos Sueltos*, the *Cartas* of Cortés, from letters, memorials, and other papers, in *Col. Doc. Ind.*, and *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. xxvi.–xxx., and other volumes, much fresh information may be gathered as regards his actions, motives, and character. The notes

of Lorenzana in *Cortés, Nueva Esp.*, Mexico, 1770, supply many important particulars, and may be consulted with interest. The researches of Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, Paris, 1811, have revealed many facts which may be considered as historical discoveries. Among the modern biographers of Cortés Arthur Helps occupies a prominent position. Born about 1817 he began to figure as a writer, anonymously, as early as 1835, and continued to furnish the press at frequent intervals with productions covering a wide range of literature, as essays, dramas, biographies, and histories. He also assisted Queen Victoria in preparing her *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands.* For these and other efforts he was in 1872 honored with knighthood. As an essayist he has been compared to Lamb for good-natured satire and deep feeling, and his treatises generally indicate also the observer and thinker. The first notable work on America, *The Conquerors of the New World*, London, 1848–52, two volumes, a speculative and semi-historic account of the settlement of America, chiefly with reference to the race mixture, is not a work of much merit. It is now rarely met with, owing perhaps to Helps' own efforts to withdraw it from circulation. Yet the book served a good purpose in inciting him to further researches for the more thorough and elaborate *History of the Spanish Conquest in America*, London, 1858–61, four volumes, followed in 1868 by *Life of Las Casas*, *Life of Pizarro*, 1869, *Life of Cortés*, 1871. In the former work an excellent treatise on encomiendas is offered by Sir Arthur, who has in a measure competed with Prescott, while covering ground not embraced by him. But the main object of the former work is still the race mixture, or rather the origin of negro slavery and its effect on America, and this accounts for the less thorough treatment of the regular history, and for the lengthy deviations from its natural course. Treating rather of the result than the progress of conquest, and inclining greatly to ethnologic and social data, the book is apt to disappoint those who take the title as an index. Although showing an admirable grasp of subject and philosophic treatment the historian is not unfrequently found to yield to the essayist, and at times poetic feeling and fancy take the place of facts. Free from affectation the language deserves the compliment of 'beautiful, quiet English,' bestowed by Ruskin, but as finished work it cannot compare with Robertson, Prescott, or even Irving. His *Life of Cortés* forms a slightly elaborated gleaning on this topic from the preceding volumes, and forms as a natural result not a thorough history of his conquests, but rather an attractive biography, which at times dwells too much on trifles, and incorporates idle statements; yet displays in other respects a clear perception of traits and incidents, frequently manifested in profound observations and adorned with brilliant sentences. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, Paris, 1857, four volumes, scarcely does Cortés justice. The abbé, though a fascinating writer, regarded the Conquest from a native stand-point, and consequently his views and descriptions are tinged with a corresponding coloring. Preeminent, however, among modern writers of this period of Mexican history stands Prescott, whom I have already considered in the first volume of my *History of Mexico.* In addition to what has been already said about his *Conquest of Mexico* it may be remarked that after the fall of the city his work is for the most part confined to the biography of Cortés, whose bright achieve-

ments and good qualities are prominently and brilliantly set forth, but whose imperfections are not impartially portrayed. Alaman's *Disert.*, Mexico, 1844, may be regarded as a complement to Prescott. Although he gives but a biographical outline of the career of Cortés as an individual, Alaman nevertheless displays great research on certain points upon which he throws much light. Armin, *Alte Mex.*, Leipsic, 1865, supplies some additional information to that found in Prescott. This work is well written. The following additional authorities may be mentioned: *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 8–13; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 274–7; *Benzoni, Mondo Nuovo*, 51; *Torquemada*, i. 540; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 7, 15–25, 209, 215–20; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 136–70; *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, v. 158; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, 167–8; *Monumentos Domín. Esp.*, MS., 70, 79; *Herrera*, dec. vii. lib. ii. cap. 10; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oajaca*, ii. 361–6; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 454; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 132–7; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, iii. 454; iv. 307–28; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 90–1; *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 406; *Sammlung aller Reisebesch.*, xiii. 265–6; *Voyages, New Col.*, i. 348; *World Displayed*, ii. 252; *Certificacion de Mercedes*, MS., 11–12; *Villa Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, i. 69–73, 269–70; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 6, 149–51; *Dillon, Beautés*, 55–8; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 61; *Raynal, Hist. Phil.*, iii. 247–8; *Pelaez, Mem. Guat.*, i. 128–9; *Pap. Varios*, tom. cliii. pt. iii. 55–80; *Dubois, Mexique*, 88–93; *Dufey, Résumé*, i. 213–14; *Calderon de la Barca*, 34; *Castillo, Dicc. Hist.*, 187–92; *Chevalier, Mexique*, 63–4; *Salmon's Modern Hist.*, iii. 197; *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, ii. 635; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 145–6, 340; *Salazar, Conq. Mex.*, 462–74; *Société Américaine*, i. 296; *Pimentel, Sit. Actual*, 110–11; *Conder's Mex. and Guat.*, 81–3; *Bussierre, L'Emp. Mex.*, 370, 377–9; *Arroniz, Hist. y Cron.*, 31–2, 54–7; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, 12–13, 18; *Campbell, Span. Am.*, 43; *Southern Quart. Rev.*, new series, vi. 120–1; *Cavanilles, Hist. España*, v. 177–89; *Rivero, Mex. en 1842*, 7-11; *Revilla*, notes in *Solis, Hist. Conq. Mej.* (Madrid, 1843), 485–6; *Gordon's Anc. Mex.*, 236–40; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, No. v., 259–61; *Liceo Mex.*, i. 91–109; *Mora, Rev. Mex.*, iii. 187–8, 379–423; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Church*, i. 36; *Lacunza, Disc. Hist.*, No. xxxiii. 462; *Nouv. Bib. des Voy.*, 127–30; *Robles, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. ii. 202–19; *Mayer's Mex. Atz.*, i. 76–9, 89–91; *Wilson's Mex.*, 279, 417–18; *Zamacois, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 265; iv. 238–660, passim; v. 5–18; xi. 530–1; *Mayor's Univ. Hist.*, xxiv. 147–8; *Roche, Fernand Cortez*, 136–8; *Portilla, España en Mex.*, 118–29; *N. Am. Rev.*, lviii. 197; *Edinburgh Rev.*, April, 1845, 469, 472–3; *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, 1844, 146, 417; *Carriedo, Estud. Hist.*, ii. 7, 8; *Mexico*, 200–4; *Lebron y Cuervo, Apolog. Jurid.*, in *Papeles de Derecho*, No. 4, 58–61.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MIXTON WAR.

1541–1542.

Rule of Oñate in Nueva Galicia—His Difficult Position—Rebellion Rife—Departure of Coronado—Causes of Dissatisfaction—Beginning of Hostilities—Defeat of Ibarra—Alvarado Arrives at Navidad—And is Appealed to for Aid—He Receives a Summons from Mendoza, and Departs for Tiripitío—Agreement between Them—Alvarado Returns to Oñate's Relief—Precipitous Attack on Nochistlan—Defeat of the Spaniards—And Death of Alvarado—Arrival of Mendoza with Reënforcements—His Successful Campaign—End of the Mixton War—Expeditions of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and Ruy Lopez de Villalobos—The Survivors of Soto's Florida Expedition Arrive at Pánuco.

By the departure of Francisco Vazquez de Coronado from Nueva Galicia, Cristóbal de Oñate, as lieutenant-governor, occupied no enviable position; nevertheless he behaved with prudence and circumspection. He was respected without being hated, and he united justice with clemency as far as he was able. In war he seldom shared in the reckless confidence of his fellow-conquerors, and never appeared over-hasty to attack; but once engaged, he was wanting in neither skill nor bravery.

From the revolt of 1538, in which Governor Torre lost his life, to the departure of Coronado, there seems to have been no open hostilities on the part of the natives. Yet there was observed a growing spirit of discontent, and of disregard for the authority of the encomenderos which foreboded trouble; and here and there outrages began to be committed, until finally open insurrection was at hand. Certain ruling spirits among the conquered race were plotting mischief, and

sounding the minds of the several nations through secret agencies. Sorcerers from the mountains of Zacatecas, messengers of Satan the pious chroniclers called them, appeared in the northern towns of Tlaltenango, Juchipila, Jalpa, and elsewhere, inciting the inhabitants to rise and exterminate the oppressors. They refused to pay tribute, and abandoned their houses and lands.

In some parts the Indians killed the missionaries who tried to persuade them to return in peace and submit to Spanish rule; in other places they killed their encomenderos, abandoned their towns, and retired to the mountains. Fortified camps were established in the mountains where the chieftains and warriors gathered to meet the unconquered Chichimecs. Upon their ancient altars again appeared the bloody sacrifice; promise of supernatural aid through omens was made by the sorcerers; and the effects of Christian baptism were removed by washing of heads and other acts of penance. Few, indeed, were the towns in New Galicia, from Colima to Culiacan, not represented at these mysterious conclaves. But while the conspiracy was thus wide-spread, active operations were confined for the most part to the region north of the Rio Grande, and east of the mountains about Nochistlan. Mixton, Nochistlan, Acatic, and Cuinao were the principal strongholds, and were under the command of Tenamaxtli. In other parts of the country the warriors were also on the alert, but seemed in most cases to have awaited the results in the north. Their peñoles and fortified cliffs, almost impregnable, were strengthened by walls supplied with trunks of trees and stones to be rolled or thrown down upon the assailants; they had been well provided with food and water, though the prophetic words of the magicians led the natives to expect that food would be miraculously bestowed; they even reckoned on the annihilation of the Spaniards by the deities without human instrumentality.

We are not accustomed to seek long for the reason of insurrection and revolt among conquered nations. In this instance we need only call to mind that Nuño de Guzman had been there. As to more recent causes we have the testimony of Cortés that the trouble was due to Coronado's departure,[1] and Mendoza's extortion of men and provisions for that

Mixton War.

expedition. Beaumont declares it certain that the insurrection originated in the brutality of the encomenderos.[2]

[1] *Peticion al Emperador*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 63–4. Cortés had complained as early as June 1540 that Coronado was leaving the country unprotected. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 214; see also *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 79.

[2] And in the face of such evidence, together with assertions to the same effect by nearly all the old chroniclers, and the appalling expositions of Las Casas, Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, iv. 669–72, stubbornly defends the Spaniards. He slurs Las Casas and the writers who credit such statements, and in a verbose and fallacious argument seeks to prove that the uprising took place because the natives would not accept the rites and customs of the Catholic

Before open hostilities began, Oñate had gone to Compostela to make provision for the safety of the Tepic region and the coast. Here he left Juan de Villalba as governor, and returned to Guadalajara, where he learned that the Guaynamota and Guasamota Indians had killed the encomendero Juan de Arce. The viceroy was notified of the outbreak, and all available measures were adopted for defence.[3] And thus began the last desperate struggle of the natives of New Galicia to regain their ancient liberty.

Realizing his precarious position, Oñate made an attempt at reconciliation. In April 1541 he sent Captain Miguel de Ibarra, with some twenty-five Spaniards and a considerable force of friendly Tlajomulco and Tonalá Indians, up the Juchipila River to reconnoitre. The inhabitants had destroyed their fields, deserted their towns, burned the church, thrown down the crosses, and retired to the mountain fastness, or peñol, of Mixton.

Ibarra arrived, and through friars and interpreters the natives were exhorted to lay down their arms, whereupon full pardon would be granted. The answer was a shower of arrows and stones, in which one of the Franciscan mediators was killed. The Spaniards fell back to consult respecting future movements. Shortly afterward they were visited by embassadors pretending peace, and who desired the next day, palm Sunday, April 10th, to be set apart for a formal conference. Ibarra was thus thrown off his guard, and retired to rest. Early next morning, during an eclipse of the sun as some say, the Spanish camp was attacked

faith; they refused above all to discard polygamy. He quotes from Beaumont to sustain his view, but the citation has no bearing on the revolt whatever, merely on the zeal of the missionaries to induce the reluctant neophytes to leave their wives. On the contrary, Beaumont affirms positively 'que el motivo principal que movió á estos indios á rebelarse fué la dureza de algunos encomenderos.' *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 236. An occurrence during one of their savage feasts, interpreted as a good omen by their sorcerers, strengthened the belief of the natives in success, and probably hastened the outbreak.

[3] It seems that during his visit to Compostela, Oñate changed the site of the place from near Tepic to the Cactlan Valley, for greater safety. *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 112; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 235.

by overwhelming numbers. Ibarra was defeated and put to flight; ten Spaniards were killed, including Captain Francisco de la Mota, and over two hundred of the native allies.[4] It was through the valor of Captain Diego Vazquez that Ibarra's party escaped utter destruction.

When the first among the wounded arrived at Guadalajara, Oñate set out with his force, except twelve whom he left to guard the city. He had not gone a league before he learned that the most gallant of Ibarra's companions were killed or captured, and that the whole province was in arms; whereupon he deemed it more prudent to return and defend the town. Fifteen days later friendly Indians confirmed the alarming news of a general uprising in the regions of Culiacan, Compostela, and Purificacion, where the small Spanish garrisons were continually harassed; it was also said that the enemy intended to march against Guadalajara. Oñate immediately sent Diego Vazquez to the city of Mexico with urgent appeals for aid.

During the month of August 1540, Pedro de Alvarado had put into the port of Navidad, for water and provisions, with the formidable fleet prepared in Guatemala to discover the Spice Islands,[5] though now diverted to explore the newly found regions of Cibola, for which were so many claimants. While

[4] In the *Mendoza, Visita*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 106–8, it is stated that Ibarra was sent out with the friar Coruña, who heard of the revolt at Purificacion and came in person to Guadalajara. The same document mentions an expedition prior to that of Alvarado, in which Oñate with 50 Spaniards was defeated after a battle of four hours. Herrera, dec. vii. lib. ii. cap. x., also makes Oñate command the defeated party, consisting of 40 horse and as many foot, and a few Indian allies. A note by Muñoz in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 377, also states that Mendoza was in Guadalajara in the early part of 1541.

[5] According to a contract made with the crown. See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. this series. Alvarado landed at Navidad for water and provisions. *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 382; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa.*, 161; *Torquemada*, i. 323. At Purificacion, *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 236; *Vazquez, Chron. Gvat.*, i. 159. Most authors agree that he came to Navidad direct, though it appears he touched at several ports south before his arrival at this place.

there word reached him from Juan Fernandez de Híjar, commanding at Purificacion, concerning the critical state of affairs. Híjar explained their forlorn condition, and begged the adelantado not to depart without coming to their aid.

The prospect of an encounter with so formidable a foe appealed at once to Alvarado's chivalry, to his devotedness to the interest of the crown, and to his love of great and perilous undertakings. He landed his force, consisting of about four hundred Spaniards and some Indians,[6] who all agreed to render the required assistance before proceeding on their voyage of discovery. At this juncture couriers arrived from Mendoza, summoning Alvarado to Mexico, to arrange necessary matters concerning his expedition. The order frustrated his plans; but though he had determined to go at once to the relief of Guadalajara, he could not disregard the request of the viceroy. He marched his forces to Zapotlan, there to pass the rainy season; and after some discussion with Mendoza's messengers, Luis de Castilla and Agustin Guerrero, Alvarado agreed to meet the viceroy at Tiripitío in Michoacan, where Juan de Alvarado, his relative, had an encomienda.

It appears that Mendoza had received from the crown an interest in Alvarado's contract, which the latter was reluctant to concede. Difficulties arose between them on this point at Tiripitío, but were fortunately removed by the good offices of Bishop Marroquin of Guatemala, who was present. Mendoza's plan to unite with Alvarado and exclude Cortés from further discoveries northward and in the South Sea was accomplished, as much to his own as to Alvarado's satisfaction. The latter was severely censured at the time for thus conniving against the interests of his benefactor.[7]

[6] The forces of Alvarado are variously given as from 300 to 600.

[7] Cortés never resented this ingratitude, but complained of Mendoza's conduct in the matter, and the cunning and avarice he displayed toward Alvarado. According to his testimony the adelantado anchored his magnificent

The contract concluded, Alvarado accompanied the viceroy to the city of Mexico, to attend to the final preparations for the two expeditions agreed upon: one along the northern coast and the other to the Spice Islands, after which Alvarado returned to New Galicia to join his troops and the fleet. When Cristóbal de Oñate, who was now sorely pressed by the savages, learned of Alvarado's return to Zapotlan, he despatched Juan de Villareal to notify him of the Mixton disaster, and to ask for early assistance. It was necessary to Alvarado's enterprise to leave the ports of New Galicia secure as a base for operations, so that there was inducement for him to hasten to Oñate's relief. He sent fifty men to protect Autlan and Purificacion; fifty remained at Zapotlan to guard the districts of Colima and Ávalos; at Etzatlan and Lake Chapala garrisons of twenty-five men each were stationed, and Alvarado himself with a hundred horse and as many foot pushed on to Guadalajara. Tonalá and Tlacomulco had been kept faithful by Friar Antonio de Segovia, and reënforced Alvarado on the way; he seems also to have been joined by a native force from Michoacan. Such was the rapidity of his march to Guadalajara, that the passage of the barranca of Tonalá, which, owing to the river and the roughness of the country ordinarily required three days, was accomplished in a day and a night.

Just before the arrival of Alvarado, which occurred June 12, 1541, Ibarra had returned from a new reconnoissance, during which he had met nothing but scorn

fleet, composed of 12 or 13 ships, at Huatulco in Tehuantepec, to take in provisions. He was prevented, however, by the viceroy's agents, who in their turn offered him provisions in the name of their master, demanding in exchange an interest in the fleet and in the enterprise. Alvarado refused, and sailed for Navidad. But the viceroy's emissaries had foreseen this and arrived there soon after the fleet. Alvarado had no alternative now but to submit to the viceroy's conditions, lest his starving forces should desert him; and thus it came about that Mendoza obtained a half ownership in the fleet. After the death of Alvarado the viceroy seized all the ships and even then claimed that Alvarado was still his debtor. *Cortés, Memorial*, in *Escritos Sueltos*, 134–5. Bishop Marroquin, writing to the emperor in 1545, refers to his services in arranging the difficulties which had existed between Mendoza and Alvarado. *Squier's MSS.*, xxii. 139.

from the natives at Nochistlan. A council of war was held, and the fiery adelantado declined to await the coming of reënforcements from Mexico; nor would he accept the aid of Oñate's brave little band in the attack he had decided upon. The lieutenant-governor, better acquainted with the enemy's strength and desperate valor, counselled prudence and delay. He called to mind the rugged nature of the country, and the recent rains which rendered operations of cavalry difficult. Other prominent persons joined Oñate in his endeavor to dissuade the adelantado from so perilous an undertaking until troops should arrive from Mexico, but no reason could prevail, and he scoffed at their fears.

The conqueror had been summoned from weighty matters for this petty strife. He would show Oñate a thing or two, and teach him how to quell his own disturbances. "By Santiago!" he exclaimed, "there are not Indians enough in the country to withstand my attack, and a disgrace would it be to Spanish valor to employ more men. God has guided me hither and I shall vanquish the rebels alone. With a smaller force than this I have discomfited greater hosts. It is disgraceful that the barking of such a pack should suffice to alarm the country. I shall leave this city on the day of St John[9] with my own force, and not a citizen or soldier from Guadalajara shall follow. Let them remain; the victory will be mine alone." And somewhat sneeringly he added, "Because of an insignificant advantage gained by the natives, the Spaniards have lost their valor!"

Now Oñate was every whit as brave as Alvarado, but he was more prudent; the lives of the settlers, of their wives and little ones, depended on his judicious conduct. The taunt of the adelantado stung, but he would not treat the illustrious conqueror with disre-

[9] Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 389, and other authors here say 'St James,' which would be July 25th; Alvarado's disastrous defeat occurred June 24th, or on St. John's day.

spect. It pained him to see bravery becoming bravado; Alvarado's men were but lately enlisted, and could not be compared with those so recently defeated at the Mixton. "I am sorry to see you depart alone," he said, "for I assure your worship there will be trouble. Had you but awaited the viceroy's reënforcements, we might have jointly pacified the country without much risk." More determined than ever, Alvarado replied: "The die is cast; I trust in God!" Thereupon he set out from Guadalajara with his forces, horse, foot, and Indians, toward Nochistlan. He stirred within his men their vanity and their valor; it was absurd to think of waiting for more men; the fewer the number the greater the share of plunder. Thus was opened the last campaign of the dashing adelantado, one of the most reckless, and one of the most cruel.

Unable to remain inactive, Oñate followed with twenty-five horsemen. Should his fears be realized, he would be near to render aid; and in case of a hopeless rout he might return in time for the protection of Guadalajara. He crossed the Rio Grande and marching through the mountains of Nochistlan toward Juchipila stationed himself on a height from which he could witness the attack.

On the 24th of June Alvarado arrived at the peñol of Nochistlan, which was protected by seven walls of stone, earth, and trees, and defended by a multitude of warriors. After a short and fruitless parley he pushed forward to take the breastworks by assault. A human flood opposed his progress. Ten thousand Indians, men and women, poured down upon the aggressor like a torrent. The sky was dark with arrows, darts, and stones, and at the first shock twenty Spaniards fell dead. The ferocity of the enemy was such that they tore the bodies of the slain to pieces, threw them into the air, and then devoured them. Consternation seized the Spaniards. Nevertheless Alvarado rallied, and in a second onslaught ten more

horsemen bit the dust. Thirty out of a hundred, slain in a trice! It was a result unparalleled in the history of Indian warfare. It was indeed a perilous situation, yet they rallied again. The natives encouraged by their victory, and aware of the determination of the assailants, were ready; they even came forth from their intrenchment and seemed desirous of taking the open field.[9]

Alvarado now ordered to the assault the Spanish foot, Captain Falcon, one hundred strong, with five thousand Michoacan allies under Antonio, son of Caltzontzin, the late king of that country, all to be supported by the cavalry. Disregarding his orders, Falcon attacked too soon, and without awaiting the support, pressed on toward the summit of the hill. Perceiving that the horsemen were not present the Indians offered little resistance until he had reached a point near the top of the peñol, then, suddenly closing in upon his front and rear, they prevented the cavalry from coming to his aid. With great difficulty the assailants extricated themselves from their desperate situation, during which Captain Falcon with seven or eight Spaniards, and many allies, were killed. The enemy pursued the retreating Spaniards into the plain below, where bogs prevented the cavalry from effective action. The people of the peñol were masters of the field, and the Spaniards were fairly put to rout. The rain fell in torrents; the roads became impassable.

For a distance of three leagues the elated Indians pursued, and another Spaniard was killed. Alvarado had dismounted to fight on foot, to cover the retreat in person. At last the Spanish forces were driven into a ravine between Yahualica and Acatic, when the fury of the pursuers began to abate, and they turned

[9] According to Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 391, who has left us the most accurate account of the Mixton war. A somewhat different version of Alvarado's attack is given by Herrera, dec. vii. lib. ii. cap. xi., who says that the combined forces of Oñate and the adelantado marched on Nochistlan. See also *Vega, Crón. Mich.*, MS., lib. iv. cap. vii.

back toward Nochistlan. Alvarado endeavored to check the flight of his men, to rally and rest them; but they were terror-stricken and paid no heed to the orders of the commander. To save their lives they were now even willing the enemy should live; so onward they swept over the rugged ground, caring little for captain or country. Alvarado's secretary, Baltasar de Montoya, whose horse was much fatigued, was particularly anxious to widen the distance between himself and the enemy.

Montoya rode in front of his master, who repeatedly told him to slacken his pace, or the horse would fall with him. But the scribe was beside himself with fear; so much so that on coming to a broken embankment, instead of economizing his fast failing resources he spurred the jaded animal toward the steep. When about half way up the horse lost its footing and fell, throwing likewise Alvarado and his horse to the ground, whereupon all were precipitated into a ravine below. Montoya was not much injured,[10] but the gallant conqueror lay crushed, his fair form broken and mutilated.

Alas! Tonatiuh, the sun, had set; the immortal one was clay. Slain by no enemy, he was none the less a victim to his own rashness. He was the last of the famous four, and his death was as might have been expected. Cortés and Sandoval, though no less familiar with danger than Olid and Alvarado, were less the slaves of reckless impulse. Ever holding passion subservient to reason, and feeling to common-sense, they escaped violent death. Not that death by violence, quick deliverance, is necessarily worse or more appalling than the long-drawn agony attending bodily disease or a broken heart. Alvarado's was not a glorious death, but neither was that of Cortés or Columbus, whose last hours were made miserable by slights and insults, by foiled ambition and a princely pauperism.

[10] The clumsy coward lived to the age of 105 years. *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 392.

Few of the New World conquerors perished in battle; and yet it was not altogether on account of the superior prowess of the European. Surely the danger was apparently greater during the Noche Triste than in this retreat of Alvarado's, or in the captivity of Olid in Honduras. Look at the fate of Diego de Nicuesa, of Alonso de Ojeda, of Vasco Nuñez, Pizarro, and the long list of captains who came to the Indies, and behold the irony of ambition! And even worse, perhaps, was the end of those of yet more exalted ideas and successes, whose souls, no matter how high the achievement, or how great the reward, were racked with disappointment, envy, and hatred as the aching body was descending to the grave. Reverse the proverb "Per aspera ad astra," and see what toils and sufferings spring from renown!

Alvarado did not immediately expire. Upon a hastily prepared litter he was borne, in great suffering, to Atenguillo, four leagues from where the fatal fall occurred.[11] Oñate having witnessed the rout of the Spanish forces from his position, hastened to his relief; but the flight of Alvarado's party was so rapid that it was impossible to overtake them. At Yahualica, too late, he came up with stragglers from whom he learned the particulars of Alvarado's fate.

At nightfall the lieutenant-governor arrived at Atenguillo, and the meeting of the commanders was touching in the extreme. "He who will not listen to good counsel, must be content to suffer," said Alvarado. "I was wrong, I see it now; yet most of all it was my misfortune to have with me so vile a coward as Montoya, whom I have rescued these many times from death." He was conveyed to the city of Guadalajara to the house of Juan de Camino, who was married to Magdalena de Alvarado, his relative; and

[11] The first words Alvarado spoke after recovering his senses were: 'Esto merece quien trae consigo tales hombres como Montoya.' *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 392.

after attending to his worldly affairs he expired, July 4, 1541.[12]

With few exceptions, Alvarado's men left Guadalajara after their leader's death. But the garrisons posted at different points remained for some time at Oñate's request; and at last a detachment of troops arrived from Mexico. Fifty men, sent by Mendoza, under Captain Juan de Muncibay came late in July and increased the number of defenders to eighty-five. And the revolted natives, elated at their recent victory, redoubled their efforts to enlist in the struggle for freedom those who had heretofore held aloof.

Many native chiefs, however, remained faithful to the Spaniards. One of these, Francisco Ganguillos of Ixcatlan, distinguished himself by arresting thirty of the rebel emissaries from Matlatlan, sending them to Guadalajara where they were put to death[13] after having revealed a plan to attack the city in September, the intention being to annihilate the Spaniards before Mendoza could arrive with succor. At a council of war it was resolved to defend the city to the last, though some of the officers were in favor of abandoning the country, or at least of retreating to Tonalá. Oñate, however, objected, maintaining that the Indians there were as treacherous as elsewhere.

The strongest buildings about the plaza were fortified, the rest being abandoned and torn to pieces for material to strengthen the defences. In the mean time Captain Muncibay and Juan de Alvarado made a reconnoissance, during which they had a sharp fight, and a thousand natives are said to have been slain.

[12] His remains were deposited in the chapel of Our Lady in Guadalajara; subsequently transferred to Tiripitío, thence to Mexico, and finally to Guatemala. Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 395–6, rightly remarks: 'Torquemada and Remesal erred when, speaking of Alvarado's death, they say it occurred at Etzatlan, or on the height of Mochitiltic, between Guadalajara and Compostela, and that the adelantado was buried at Etzatlan; and that Bernal Diaz errs still more, saying that it happened on some peñoles called Cochitlan, near Purificacion.' The sad fate which overtook Alvarado's wife, Doña Beatriz de la Cueva, during the destruction of the city of Guatemala, and the biographical sketch of Alvarado is given in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii., this series.

[13] Sept. 6, 1541. *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 399.

When the fortifications were completed, news came by the natives who supplied the city with food and water, that the friendly people of Tlacotlan, a town of three thousand inhabitants, one league from Guadalajara, had also rebelled.

Captain Pedro de Placencia was sent to protect the carriers, but the enemy advanced upon him in such force that he was obliged to return headlong into the city, with the pursuers upon his heels. On the 28th of September the assailants appeared in the vicinity, fifty thousand strong, blackening the plain for half a league about the town. The following morning, St Michael's day, they entered Guadalajara, set fire to the abandoned houses, destroyed the church, desecrated the images, and desperately assaulted the fortified buildings. The protected position of the Spaniards and the skilful use of a few pieces of artillery alone enabled them to withstand the shock. The entrances to the plaza were bravely defended; only one Indian entered, and he was killed by Beatriz Hernandez, wife of Captain Olea, who distinguished herself throughout the war by comforting the women and children and aiding the soldiers.

At one time the enemy were on the point of success. The powder had became wet and the cannon useless, and an explosion occurred during an attempt at drying. Meanwhile the adobe wall was undermined and fell; but the guns were brought to bear in time and the foe fell by hundreds. The Indians ceased their assaults, resolved to starve the besieged; they retired behind the buildings where they were sheltered from the guns, and poured in upon the garrison volley after volley of taunts and threats, promising to kill all the men and make concubines of the women. The virago Beatriz Hernandez, enraged by these insults, would have sprung from a window upon the savages to tear their tongues out, but was prevented by the men.[14] The soldiers in time became

[14] Whereupon 'de pura rabia volvió la trasera y alzó las faldas, diciendo:

discouraged, and it was only by great coolness and presence of mind that Oñate was able to prevent their spirits from sinking; he threatened finally to open the gates and allow all of them to be butchered in cold blood if they continued to display such pusillanimity.

A series of sorties was now resolved on, and proved successful. During a conflict of several hours in which only one Spaniard fell, the hosts of the enemy were routed, leaving fifteen thousand dead in and about the town. The Spaniards themselves were astonished at their victory over such vast numbers; but the secret of their success was soon revealed. Many of the idolatrous Indians were found hidden in the town, blinded and maimed, but not by hand of man. Santiago on his white horse had issued from the burning church, at the head of an army of angels, and had fought for the Christians throughout the battle. Due honors were paid to this saint for his timely interposition; also to St Michael, on whose day the battle was fought. Many captives were put to death, and others enslaved; those blinded by the hand of God were set at liberty; and many more were sent to rejoin their tribes after being deprived of their sight, or otherwise mutilated, and having their wounds bathed in boiling oil. It is hardly to be expected that when the heavenly powers set such an example, their earthly followers should be slow to imitate. This battle was regarded as one of the most hotly contested in the annals of the conquest, and a chapter might be filled with incidents of individual prowess.

In October, in consequence of this siege, and the Spaniards fearing another attack, it was determined to transfer the city to its modern site south of the Rio Grande.[15]

Perros, besadme aquí, que no os veréis en ese espejo, sino en este y cuando lo estaba diciendo se arrojaron una flecha que le clavó las faldas con el tejado, en las vigas del techo, por estar baja.' *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 406.

[15] Here again Beatriz Hernandez displayed her strength of mind. It was through her resolute and determined decision that the new site of the city was agreed upon. *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 415–16.

The viceroy and other authorities in Mexico had now become thoroughly aroused. The situation was critical. The rebels were sending messengers in all directions, and aimed at nothing less than the extermination of the foreigners throughout America. Their superstitious fear of the Spaniards, of their powder and of their horses, which had rendered conquest possible, had to a great extent disappeared. It was now well understood by the native leaders that they had to deal with men, not gods; united action might throw off the yoke. This unity of action it seemed well-nigh impossible to attain. In the region about Mexico a successful rebellion could not be set on foot; the only hope for the natives and danger to the Spaniards lay in the frontier provinces. Let two or three of these expel the intruders, regain their independence, establish fortified camps in naturally strong positions, offer an asylum and rallying-point to the disaffected everywhere, divide the forces of the Spaniards and thus gain time to arouse the native patriotism, and perfect a general plan of action: the result would be a desperate struggle from which the Spaniards had everything to fear. The Indian chiefs of New Galicia had hit upon the only plan which offered any chance of success; the hated invaders must be crushed wholly and immediately.

Mendoza raised a force of about four hundred and fifty Spaniards, and some thirty thousand Tlascaltec and Aztec warriors, whose fidelity was assured by promises of honors and wealth to their leaders. And not without misgivings and opposition they were intrusted by the viceroy with horses and fire-arms, being authorized for the first time to manufacture and to carry Spanish weapons. The army set out from Mexico on the day of the battle at Guadalajara, and marched through Michoacan by nearly the same route as that followed by Nuño de Guzman in 1529.[16]

[16] There was some evidence of a plot for revolt between the natives of Michoacan and the Tlascaltecs, as explained by Lopez in a letter to the em-

While Mendoza was marching to the valley of Cuiná, Oñate was preparing for the removal of Guadalajara, and had for that purpose sent Juan del Camino with twenty horsemen toward Tlacotlan, Contla, and Mesticacan, to reconnoitre. The Spaniards were surprised to find as many Indians here as formerly, who had all been frightened into submission. These natives advised Camino, however, to proceed no farther, as the fierce Cascanes were preparing for another attack o. Guadalajara. He thereupon returned, bringing w h him to the city a troop of natives with a large quantity of provisions.

Meanwhile Mendoza arrived at the peñol of Cuiná, the first stronghold of the Indians attacked. It was defended by ten thousand warriors, who scornfully refused offers of peace, withstood a siege of ten or fifteen days, and were finally conquered by stratagem. A party of Mexicans disguised themselves as Cuiná warriors bearing water-jars, and gained access to the fortress, after a sham fight in which other auxiliaries of Mendoza pretended to prevent the succor. The army followed; and in the hand-to-hand struggle which ensued, a large part of the defenders of the peñol, with their wives and children, were slaughtered. In their fright and confusion many threw themselves down the precipice. Over two thousand are said to have been captured and enslaved.[17]

peror. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 141–7. He gives this plot as a reason for the opposition to arming the Indians, while Herrera, dec. vii. lib. ii. cap. xii., and others regard it as one of the incentives to Mendoza's campaign. Lopez says Mendoza's army included one half the citizens of Mexico and from 40,000 to 50,000 natives; Herrera, 450 Spaniards and same number of Indians, dec. vii. lib. ii. cap. v.; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 387–8; Tello, 10,000 Indians, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 396–8, 417–19; Mendoza, *Visita*, 180 horsemen and a number of Indian volunteers, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, 110–12. The date of departure was Sept. 22d, according to Lopez, and Sept. 29th, according to *Acazitli, Rel.*, in *Id.*, 307. Tello says Mendoza left Mexico 'á los principios de Enero 1542,' having prepared the expedition 'á los fines de 1541.'

[17] Navarrete, *Hist. Jal.*, 75–7, mentions four other places in this region, one of them on the author's own estate, where bones and blood-stained stones showed battles to have taken place. Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 142, implies that there was no assault until after the stratagem. According to Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 390–1, 4,000 Indians killed themselves and 10,000 were slain. Herrera, dec. vii. lib. ii. cap. v., tells us the place fell easily and no

Mendoza then pushed forward over the Cerro Gordo. The natives of Acatic and of the valley of Zapotlan having surrendered without serious resistance, the forces of Oñate and Mendoza effected a junction and marched against Nochistlan. The place was defended by a large army under Tenamaxtli, whose Christian name was Don Diego Zacatecas. In the first attack two of the seven lines of defensive works were carried, and the rest, except the last and strongest, were battered down by the artillery after a siege of several days. The besieged at last proposed a suspension of hostilities and an attack on Mixton, promising to surrender when that fortress should fall. These terms were of course refused, and by a final assault the last defences were carried. The Spanish flag was planted by Captain Muncibay on the summit, and those of the defenders who had not escaped with their leader to Mixton, yielded. The prisoners were condemned to slavery by Mendoza; but Ibarra, who was the encomendero of the district, fearing its depopulation and the ruin of his property interests, allowed them to escape.[18]

The Spanish forces then marched to Juchipila and found that all the natives had taken refuge on the Mixton, which was the strongest of all the rebel

slaves were made. In *Mendoza, Visita, Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 112–14, it appears that 248 slaves were made and distributed among the auxiliaries. Tello affirms that 4,000, besides women and children, killed themselves; 2,000 were killed by Spaniards, and 2,000 slaves taken. Acazitli calls this the battle of Totoltlan, and represents it as having been fought Oct. 26, 1541.

[18] The Spaniards were 15 days bombarding the place without results. The population was 60,000; 2,000 were killed and 1,000 enslaved. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 146–7; *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, i. 422–5. They fought from eight A. M. to four P. M., when the place was taken after considerable loss. The battle occurred November 12th, and four Spaniards were killed. *Acazitli, Rel.*, 312; *Mendoza, Visita*, 114. Number of Spaniards 1,000; auxiliaries 60,000 to 70,000. *Navarrete, Hist. Jal.*, 80–2. There were 6,000 killed, and 10,000 enslaved, but subsequently released by Ibarra. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 398. Frejes, *Hist. Breve.*, 154, speaks of a twenty days' siege; 6,000 killed; 1,000 slaves; the natives surrendered for want of water and owing to the defection of a cacique. The Spanish soldiers were exceedingly loath to relinquish the slaves, but Mendoza seems to have approved of Ibarra's act. Tello and Mota Padilla say the people of Nochistlan were allowed to escape before the final surrender and not after their capture.

fortresses.[19] There were still assembled under Tenamaxtli a hundred thousand warriors. So strong was the position, and so bravely were the few accessible passes guarded, that after a siege of about three weeks, with continuous assaults, little progress had been made. But thousands of the patriotic defenders of their native soil had perished, swept down by Spanish cannon, and great suffering began to be experienced. Many of the christianized natives, and others who had joined in the rebellion on the sorcerer's assurances of an easy victory and abundant spoils, were tired of the hardships and slaughter, and leaving the peñol by secret passes they returned to their homes. The warriors of Teul openly declared they had come to the Mixton only to prove that they were no cowards, and proposed a sortie by the whole force. This being declined, they marched out alone against the Spaniards; but, traitors as they were, they shot their arrows into the air and allowed themselves to be easily captured. They were pardoned and accepted as auxiliaries or sent home, after having revealed a secret pass by which the viceroy's forces might reach the top of the peñol.

The disclosing of this pass was attributed by some to St James, who appeared to Father Segovia and led the Christians to the attack. Accounts of the final victory are conflicting; but it seems that one or two assaults, accompanied by great slaughter during which thousands cast themselves down the cliff, were made and repulsed; and that finally such survivors as could not escape or had not the courage to destroy themselves, surrendered to an embassy of friars who went unarmed among them. These friars permitted many of the Christian Indians to retire to their towns before the surrender, on promise of good behavior. The captives taken numbered over ten thousand. A large proportion of the force at Mixton was

[19] *Mixton*, 'subida de gatos' or 'cats' ascent;' thus named because of the difficult access to the summit.

composed of Chichimec tribes, and of these such as escaped slavery fled with their leader toward the mountains of Zacatecas and Nayarit.[20]

There were some further military movements, but apparently no serious resistance north of the river Tololotlan. From Juchipila the Spaniards marched down the river of that name to San Cristóbal, at the junction with the former. Thirty thousand native warriors had fortified themselves near Tepeaca, but on the approach of the Spaniards they were persuaded by Romero, the encomendero of the place, to scatter and abandon the idea of further resistance. In thus looking out for his own interests, he had but followed the example of Ibarra; but he had allowed the escape of the fierce Cascanes, one of the leaders of the rebellion. He was condemned to death by Mendoza, but afterward pardoned in consideration of past services. The viceroy next marched toward the peñol of Ahuacatlan, where all the natives of the province of Compostela were understood to be fortified. Passing with his army south of the Rio Grande, probably in January 1542,[21] visiting many of the disaffected towns in that region, he extended his operations to Etzatlan and Tequila, where two friars had been murdered during the year.[22]

The inhabitants now seemed ready to submit without further resistance. After several days at Etzatlan, and when about to march on Ahuacatlan, the viceroy learned that Juan de Villalba had taken that peñol

[20] Just before the attack on Mixton there was a day's discussion between the leaders and the friars about the justice of the war. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 149. According to Herrera, dec. vii. lib. v. cap. ii., Mixton surrendered without a struggle. The statements in regard to the number of killed and captured vary greatly.

[21] After the fall of Mixton, during Christmas festivities, they were near Jalpa. At Ahuacatlan, February 2d. *Acazitli, Rel.*, 318–27. At Tequila January 23d. *Hernandez y Dávalos*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép. ii. 481–2.

[22] According to *Torquemada*, iii. 607–9, the friar Calero was killed June 10, 1541, and was the first martyr of Nueva Galicia; Father Cuellar perished at the hands of the savages in the following August. Fernandez, *Hist. Eccles.*, 158, mentions another, Fray Juan Padilla, as having been killed here about that time.

and dispersed the natives, and in the regions of Purificacion quiet was also restored. Here the viceroy was apprised of Coronado's return from Cíbola, where he had found nothing worthy of note. Though Mendoza wished to proceed north to meet Coronado, he was prevailed upon by Oñate to return to Mexico. From every part of New Galicia the news came that the bloody arbitrament at Nochistlan and Mixton was accepted as final, save in the mountains of Nayarit, where the fierce inhabitants had never been conquered, and were not to be so for nearly two hundred years; and in the Culiacan region, where it was left to the army of Coronado to suppress such remnants of revolt as might there be found. The total number of slaves made during this campaign is estimated at over five thousand. Some say that Mendoza made no slaves. But even had his heart prompted so humane an idea, the army would not have consented. For what but the spoils do men endure the pangs of war?[23] Alvarado's forces were subsequently relieved of their garrison duty and allowed to depart at their pleasure, and Mendoza returned to the city of Mexico.

I have thus given in brief the events connected with the great revolt in New Galicia, known as the Mixton war. The records are voluminous, but fragmentary and contradictory, bearing for the most part on petty details of military operations; of dealings between encomenderos and their subjects; of purely local events in hundreds of villages long passed out of existence; of tribal names and those of native

[23] See *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 154. Says Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 420: 'Llevando en trofeo y en señal de triunfo como unos cinco mil indios cautivos.' See also *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 433–6. This campaign cost Mendoza over 30,000 pesos; the loss and suffering among the auxiliaries was slight; the slaves were branded and distributed by Oñate after deducting the royal fifth, but they were so few that the soldiers did not receive one fourth of what would have been their regular pay. *Mendoza, Visita*, 115–18. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 136, dates this campaign in 1543, and says no slaves or spoils were taken. Cortés charged that the cost and losses of Mendoza's campaign were greater than those of the conquest of New Spain, and that after all Nueva Galicia was not subdued. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 63–4. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 236, disposed of this final campaign by stating that Maldonado was sent out, and subdued the rebels.

chieftains, and of Spanish leaders and their individual achievements.[24]

The threatened perils of a general uprising of the American nations having thus been averted, the viceroy was again at liberty to turn his attention northward. Coronado had abandoned the conquest of Cíbola and Quivira, and was returning homeward with the remnants of his army. By the voyages of Ulloa and Alarcon the gulf coasts had been explored, and California proved to be a peninsula. Such results had evidently done much to cool Mendoza's ardor for northern enterprise. Yet, he had a fleet on his hands, and one route for exploration still remained open—the continuation of that followed by Ulloa, up the outer coast beyond Cedros Island. Two vessels of Alvarado's former fleet, the *San Salvador* and *Victoria*, were made ready and despatched June 27, 1542, under the

[24] For most of the events of this rebellion we are indebted to the three early chroniclers, Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 362–438; Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 111–54, and Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 59–66, 235–9, 386–421; MS., 300–3, 422–5, 550–80. Herrera, dec. vii. lib. ii. cap. xii., lib. v. cap. ii., also speaks of these events at some length. From these authorities Navarrete, *Hist. Jal.*, 64–85; Frejes, *Hist. Breve*, 78–97, and Bustamante, in *Gomara, Hist. Mex.* (ed. 1826), ii. supl., 1–38, have prepared somewhat extended sketches. Original documents on the subject are few. The *Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 307–32, was written by Gabriel Castañeda at the order of Acazitli, a native chieftain who with his subjects accompanied Mendoza. It is a diary purporting to record the events of the march from day to day; however, it throws but little light on the subject, even in respect to dates, its statements being contradictory among themselves. The *Mendoza, Visita*, in *Id.*, 102–18, contains what may be regarded as Mendoza's statements about many points, especially the treatment of Indian captives and auxiliaries. A *Peticion Contra Mendoza*, in *Id.*, 63–4, gives Cortés' views of the causes which led to the revolt. The *Carta de Gerónimo López al Emperador, Oct. 20, 1541*, in *Id.*, 141–54, speaks of Mendoza's start and of the evidence of intended revolt near Mexico. The *Requerimiento* made to the rebels by the friars sent out by the viceroy, is given in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 369–77. Other references are, *Oviedo*, iv. 26; *Torquemada*, iii. 604–9; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 106–7; *Salazar y Olarte, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, 455–7; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 236; *Ramirez, Proceso*, pp. xix.–xxiii., 278–82; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 132–3, 136; *Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 478; *Hernandez y Dávalos*, in *Id.*, 2ª ép. ii. 481–2, iii. 188; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 173–4, x. 1039; *West- und Ost-Ind. Lustgart*, i. 391–2; *Gottfriedt, Newe Welt*, 285–6; *Burney's Hist. Discov. South Sea*, i. 220; *Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios Reales*, ii. 80–1. *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 242–3. Parra, *Conq. Xalisco*, MS., 433–47, written in verse, is correct in some parts as to dates and events; but as for the poetry, the less said of it the better.

command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. After touching at several points along the coast and passing through the Santa Bárbara Channel, he died, and his successor, Ferelo, advanced in March 1543 past snow-capped mountains to what he called latitude 44°, but found the cold so excessive that he turned back.[25]

During Cabrillo's absence two ships and three smaller craft, also remnants of Alvarado's fleet, were despatched by order of Mendoza from the western coast, probably from Navidad. These vessels sailing in November 1542[26] in command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, carried three hundred and seventy men, including several Austin friars destined for the islands of the Pacific.[27]

The original object of the expedition seems to have been to found a colony on Zebú, and Villalobos was particularly enjoined not to touch at the islands whereof the Portuguese held possession. This command, however, was disregarded, either from necessity on account of stress of weather, or by miscalculations of the course, after many other islands had been sighted or touched. The expedition is but a continuous record of troubles in which the Spaniards became involved, largely by their own fault, with each other, with the natives, and especially with the Portuguese. It was at this time that the Philippines were named,[28] and more than one effort was made to send a vessel

[25] For full particulars of this expedition see *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., and *Hist. Cal.*, i., this series.

[26] Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero declared in 1574 that he and a company were in California until called back to join the expedition of Villalobos. *Sutil y Mex., Viaje*, pp. xlii.–iv. This, if not pure invention, may allude vaguely to Ulloa or Alarcon.

[27] With details of the route followed and the discoveries made on this expedition I have little to do, and therefore make but a slight mention in the text. The original authorities on the matter are vague and confusing. The best authorities are *Grijalua, Cron. S. August.*, 51–60; *Gaetan, Relatione*, in *Ramusio*, i. 416 et seq.; *Galvano's Discov.*, 231–9; *Herrera*, dec. vii. lib. v. The best English authority is *Burney's Hist. Discov. South Sea*, i. 226–43. Two original reports of the expedition, more or less full, but everywhere conflicting, are *Villalobos, Viaje*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, v. 118 et seq., and *Santisteban, Carta*, in *Id.*, xiv. 151–65. Other authorities are *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 259–65; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 135; *Torquemada*, i. 608; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 135.

[28] In honor of the prince of Asturias. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 135.

back to New Spain, but contrary winds always prevented it. Most of the survivors of the expedition returned by way of Cape Good Hope to Europe in 1547 and the following years; but the leader died on the way, and Spain had as yet no foothold in that quarter. Mendoza was prevented from entering upon further expeditions of discovery by a new law which forbade viceroys and governors henceforth to engage in any such enterprise.[29]

Into this period also falls the memorable and disastrous expedition of Fernando de Soto to Florida and the Mississippi Valley. Though not belonging to my province, a slight allusion to the subject may not be out of place, as the remnant of Soto's force landed on the shores of Pánuco soon after Mendoza's return to the city of Mexico.

After departing from Cuba in 1539 with a formidable force and well appointed fleet, four years were spent in endless marches and countermarches through the regions east and west of the Mississippi, where the cruel barbarities which characterized the earlier conquests were repeated. Gold was the watchword of Soto's band, and where it was not obtained blood must flow. Even the poor and destitute savages they plundered of their little property, and then tortured them because there was no more. The natives, at first friendly and hospitable, were finally compelled by exactions and cruelty to make common cause against the invaders. Driven down the Mississippi after Soto's death, the remnant of the unfortunate band arrived at the town of Pánuco, after a most dangerous voyage of fifty-two days from the mouth of the river. The magnificent company of three hundred and fifty horse and nine hundred foot had in a measure met

[29] Mendoza complained that after spending all his patrimony and running in debt to carry out his projects of discovery and conquest for his sovereign, he found himself estopped by the new law and by the acts of a visitador, which had alienated from him the credit and reputation he had formerly enjoyed for the execution of those plans. *Mendoza, Carta,* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 510–11.

their deserts, being now reduced to some three hundred men, haggard and worn, clad in tatters and the skins of animals. They were kindly received by the Spanish settlers and natives, and the viceroy invited them to Mexico, where they were properly cared for.[30]

[30] Full particulars of the expedition may be found in *Garcilaso de la Vega, La Florida*, 255 et seq.; *Robertson's Hist. Am.* ii. 1005; *Monette's Hist. Discov. Miss.*, i. 63–4: *Biedma, Narr.*, in *French's Hist. Louisiana*, 97–220.

Not only this episode, but the early history of New Galicia, depends chiefly on Fray Antonio Tello, *Fragmentos de la Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 343–438. The author was a learned Franciscan and a native of Guadalajara, who occupied positions of honor and trust in his order during his long life and service in Mexico, being also one of the religious who accompanied Sebastian Vizcaino in his expedition for the discovery of the 'Island of California' in 1596. He wrote or at least revised his work between 1650 and 1652, when he must have been about 86 years of age. Mota Padilla, and Beaumont, author of the *Crónica de Michoacan*, made frequent use of Tello's manuscript. The former speaks of it as the *Cronicon del Padre Tello*, and it seems then to have been complete. Beaumont, who wrote about 1780, said that he had seen the manuscript long before, and that it had been lost, which implies that the loss occurred between the date of his seeing it and that of his writing. Beristain, *Biblioteca*, refers to him as the author of the *Historia de Xalisco y de la Nueva Vizcaya*, MS., adding that an extract existed in the archives of the province of the Santo Evangelio of Mexico. Icazbalceta was not allowed access to those archives while the Santo Evangelio existed, and after the closing of the convents he could not find the manuscript. The title of the book has reached us, thanks to Icazbalceta's efforts: *Libro Segundo de la Crónica Miscelánea en que se trata de la Conquista espiritual y temporal de la Santa Provincia de Santiago de Jalisco y Nueva Vizcaya, y descubrimiento del Nuevo México.* The two fragments being a copy in the possession of Hilariano Romero Gil, of Guadalajara, were presented to and published by Icazbalceta, with the valuable literary assistance of Romero Gil himself, as the editor informs us, and were preceded by remarks on what he had ascertained about Tello's manuscript, particularly chapters viii. to xiii., the last apparently incomplete, and chapters xxvi. to xxxix., probably of the second book, which chapters give a portion of the expeditions of Nuño de Guzman, the conquest of territories and founding of towns, an extensive account of the great uprising of the Indians in Nueva Galicia, and the campaign for their subjugation, to the capture of the Mixton in 1542 by Viceroy Mendoza. The style is pure and even elegant as compared with contemporary writings, clear and to the point, and the writer evidently availed himself judiciously of the labor of others to obtain information.

A later and complete book on the same region is that by Mota Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva Galicia*, Mex., 1870,

folio, 523 pages, and index. It contains a detailed historical and physical account of northern Mexico, New Mexico, and Texas, from the conquest till 1742. The author, born in Guadalajara October 6, 1688, was the second son of Matías Lopez, an hidalgo from Estremadura, and Ana de la Mota, a lineal descendant of the conquerors, and of illustrious family, who for all that at her marriage could not, it is said, sign the papers because she did not know how to write. From 1713 to 1746, and even later, he filled several municipal and judicial offices, namely, those of district judge, attorney general, and associate justice of the audiencia of Guadalajara. His character as a man, lawyer, and public officer stands high.

Matías de la Mota Padilla, as he preferred to call himself, having become a widower was ordained a priest. The audiencia asked the crown to grant him a benefice, but it was deaf to all solicitations in his favor. Icazbalceta, to whose investigations we owe what is known of that writer, declares Beristain mistaken in saying that he was a prebendary. Mota Padilla left no property at his death, which occurred in July 1766, at the age of 68. All his services might perhaps not have saved his name from oblivion, but his history preserved it with its honorable record. For writing this work he had a double object in view, namely, obedience to the king's command, and saving from oblivion the deeds of the conquerors of the country, among whom had been his own maternal ancestors. In the preparation of his work he was painstaking; he searched the public archives, examined private papers, consulted many persons, and used the writings of the Franciscan friar Antonio Tello. The history was finished in 1742. It was sent by the author to the king through the governor of Nueva Galicia in August of that year. The copy did not for some reason reach the court, and the king on hearing of the existence of such a work in 1747 directed that two copies should be sent him, the expense to be paid out of the judiciary fund; but there being no available sum in that fund, the author had them prepared at his own expense. The original writing had cost him over 1000 pesos, paper being worth then, in 1741–2, from one to two reals per sheet, and 50 pesos a ream. Toward the end of 1753 he transmitted the work again; and the receipt not having been acknowledged, the author asked a friend who was going to Spain to solicit for him from the king a copyright that he might print and publish it, and thus be possibly enabled to recover the cost. All his efforts and expenditures were in vain. It seems that the copies forwarded the second time did not reach the court, for the king on the 21st of February 1790 asked for a copy. Still another was made and forwarded. Of the history there are several manuscript copies, of which I know four: that of the archivo general, Ramirez', and Andrade's, now my own. The division of the work varies in the several copies; mine has two parts, each of 48 chapters. It was published in the feuilleton of the newspaper *El Pais*, full of gross errors, and should be left unnoticed. The better edition mentioned at the head was published under the auspices of the 'Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística.' I also possess a manuscript copy, 1 vol. folio, 832 pages, with an index in 17 pages, taken from volumes v. and vi. of the collection of *Memorias Históricas*, which exist in 32 volumes, except vol. i. in the general archives of Mexico.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE NEW LAWS.

1543–1546.

CAUSES FOR ENACTMENT OF NEW LAWS—SUCCESS OF LAS CASAS—PROVISIONS OF THE NEW CODE—THEY CAUSE EXCITEMENT AMONG THE COLONISTS—EFFORT TO INTRODUCE THEM IN NEW SPAIN—VISITADOR FRANCISCO TELLO DE SANDOVAL—HE PUBLISHES THE NEW LAWS IN MEXICO—INDIGNATION OF THE ENCOMENDEROS—THEY SEND PROCURADORS TO SPAIN—WHO OBTAIN THE REVOCATION OF A PORTION OF THE NEW LAWS—THE EMPEROR'S VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT—RAVAGES OF PESTILENCE—ERUPTIONS OF VOLCANOES—REDUCTION OF TRIBUTE—SMALL COINS—INTERESTEDNESS OF THE CLERGY—LAND GRANTS—AMBIGUOUS ATTITUDE OF MENDOZA—CONVENTION OF BISHOPS—ARRIVAL OF LAS CASAS—MENDOZA PROHIBITS DISCUSSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS—DECISION OF ECCLESIASTICS DECLARING SLAVERY UNLAWFUL—RETURN OF THE VISITADOR TO SPAIN.

WHILE Mendoza and Oñate were engaged in the wars of New Galicia, matters of equal import concerning Indian affairs were undergoing animated discussion in Spain. A new code of laws was to be framed, designed to check the gross abuses which openly and in secret were committed in the New World. A long controversy between the most brilliant legal and ecclesiastical lights resulted in the passage of those celebrated ordinances of 1542 and 1543, known in the early history of America as the New Laws. The spirit pervading them was indeed most favorable to the aborigines; but as they were in antagonism with old abuses which had in time assumed the character of rights and privileges inconsiderately conceded from the beginning, they were destined to meet the fate, in a greater or less degree, of all other measures hereto-

fore devised for the benefit of the natives. The conqueror of that period was of different material from the soldier of the present day. He was not a mere machine; he was a great dealer in destiny. He would willingly adventure his life. If he lost, it was well; if he won, it was better. A hundred did lose where one gained, and this each might have known to be the risk had he taken the trouble to make a computation. His life was but one continuous game of hazard; but, if successful, he expected wealth and glory as a just reward.

The king would seldom lend a helping hand in making discoveries and conquests, still, the pacified territory would belong to him. The successful conqueror having surmounted incredible difficulties, having braved dangers and vanquished hostile armies, was nevertheless debarred from claiming actual possession of his conquest; and it was natural he should strive for recompense by some means. Gold was the first prize; but that was soon exhausted; then there were lands and laborers. Slavery was not only unchristian and barbarous, but insufficient; the war or conquest over, there was no further opportunity to make slaves. It was then that the system of repartimientos was resorted to, which, if not slavery in name, was such in fact.[1]

Though harmless enough in theory, the system soon degenerated into one of shameful oppression, the defenceless condition of the natives inciting the adventurers to increased exactions and brutality. Few of the royal cédulas issued since the discovery of the New World failed to contain some clause providing for the better treatment of the Indians. Their inefficiency was proved by the contempt with which the colonists regarded them, and more stringent measures must be taken.

In vain the settlers were offered vast tracts of terri-

[1] For explanation of repartimientos or the encomienda system, see this vol., 145–52, and *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 262–4, this series.

tory on condition that they should release their slaves. Of what use to them, they replied, is an entire province, if there are none to build the towns, to till the ground, or work the mines? And of what benefit to his Majesty the discovery and conquest of a hemisphere without labor to develop its resources?

Las Casas was ever the great advocate of a radical change in the Indian policy, and on his return to Spain in 1539 he laid before the emperor and council the result of his life-long labors on behalf of the natives, and urged the adoption of measures for their relief. No matter of graver import had for years engaged the attention of the court, and so impressive were the apostle's words that when about to set forth again for Guatemala, in 1541, he was ordered to remain at court[2] until the new measures should be fully discussed and determined. And his efforts were supported by the eloquent and passionate arguments of his friend, Cardinal Loaisa, then at the head of Indian affairs.[3]

A royal junta composed of eminent jurists and ecclesiastics was held during the same year, for the purpose of framing ordinances for the better government of the Indies. Hoping at last to see his life-labor crowned with success, Las Casas pleaded his favorite cause with all the fire of younger days. A remarkable circumstance indeed, that in those dark ages when the inquisition, founded by the Dominicans, was the bane of christendom, a leading genius of that order should with such pertinacity and heroism defend the natural rights and liberties of millions of human beings, and those idolatrous heathen.

Las Casas advocated the immediate and uncon-

[2] By Cardinal Loaisa, president of the council of the Indies, 'por ser necesarias sus luces y su asistencia en el despacho de ciertos negocios graves que pendian entonces en el consejo.' 'Las Casas,' in *Quintana, Vidas*, 179–80.

[3] During the interval Las Casas had perfected, and in 1542 he presented to the court his well known work *Breuissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*.' This book was not printed till 1552, at Seville. Before the end of the century it was translated into and printed in several of the languages of Europe.

ditional liberation of the natives, for whatever cause enslaved. And great must have been his exertions to obtain the final passage of the ordinances, for we find that many powerful holders of slaves and repartimientos opposed; and indeed Cortés, then in Spain, did not support him. On the contrary, he presented a memorial to the emperor in which the encomienda system, with some modifications, was recommended as of transcendent importance to New Spain.[4]

The deliberations of the junta finally resulted in a code of laws, which received the emperor's sanction in Barcelona, November 20, 1542. After mature consideration, however, it was found that some of the provisions were deficient, and on June 4, 1543, the code was accordingly amplified; on the 26th of the same month its immediate publication and enforcement in New Spain were decreed. The new code referred in a great measure to the treatment of the Indians, particularly in regard to their enslavement. The remedies were by no means so radical as Las Casas had desired. The granting of his principal request, that the enslaved Indians should be set free, was rendered of little avail by permitting owners who could establish a legal title to their possession to retain them. No natives were henceforth to be enslaved under any pretext, not even that of rebellion. It will be remembered that before the enactment of these laws, Indians captured in war, or guilty of certain crimes, could be legally enslaved; and it never had been difficult for holders to prove that one offence or another had been committed.

Those to whom the repartimientos had given too many serfs, must surrender a portion of them; and on

[4] *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 270–8. To make the natives obey the laws, more Spaniards should reside in the country and means be provided for their support; not in money, but by granting mines; above all, the indignation must be avoided which would be caused by liberating the Indians. Not possessing them, the Spaniards would not remain in the country, as had been proved on the Islands when the Indians disappeared. And in this same strain Cortés goes on, recommending the judicious apportionment of Indians among the conquerors and Spanish settlers.

the death of the present encomenderos, their Indians were to revert to the crown, the heirs to be provided for from the royal treasury. New encomiendas were not to be granted under any circumstances, and those who maltreated their vassals should be deprived of them forthwith. All ecclesiastics, religious societies, and all officers under the crown must deliver up their serfs at once, and never after hold any, even though they should resign their office; and inspectors were to be appointed to watch over the interests of the natives, to be paid for their services out of the fines levied on transgressors. It was further ordered that no relative or servant of any member of the council of the Indies should henceforth act as solicitor or procurador in any matter touching the Indies; the residencias of oidores or governors were to be sent to Spain; all others were to be determined in the Indies, and the audiencia was empowered to take a residencia at any time; persons henceforth asking for royal favors must be recommended by that body to show that they are worthy.

Except by special permission from the crown further discoveries were restricted, so that Spaniards should have no further control over the Indians, their personal services or tributes. And finally the natives were to be converted to the Catholic faith, and be otherwise treated as "free vassals of the king, for such they are."[5] In addition to this the priests were requested to instruct their new charge, and tell them how the heart of his Majesty the emperor, and of his

[5] The additional articles of June 4, 1543, relate mainly to the first conquerors or their descendants, living in New Spain without sufficient means of support. They were to be preferred in public positions, or otherwise provided for; and again reiterating the diminution of tributes, and a general protective policy in favor of the natives so as to preclude all chances or attempts at oppression or extortion. Slaves should not be employed in the pearl-fisheries against their will, under penalty of death to the party so using them; nor when used as carriers was such a load to be laid on their backs as might endanger their lives. Questions concerning the possession or ownership of Indians must be transmitted for decision direct to the crown. The full text, reprinted from an original manuscript, may be found in *Leyes y Ordenanzas, Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 204–27. Remesal, Herrera, Torquemada, and others give more or less extensive extracts.

holiness the pope, yearned for their welfare, and desired but to make them acquainted with the easy yoke and light burden of their divine master.

But there were other clauses in the new laws hardly less distasteful to the Spanish settlers than those relating to the treatment of the natives. Among these were the provisions that the audiencia at Panamá was abolished and two new tribunals were to be established, one in Peru, and the other, termed the Audiencia de los Confines, at Comayagua in Honduras.[6] In connection therewith the law provided that henceforth the provinces should not be ruled by governors, but in their stead should be the audiencias, with authority to use the the royal seal. In order to insure a greater obedience of the law, and that the natives might be fully apprised of their newly conceded rights, it was decreed that the new code should be translated into the principal native tongues, and published throughout the Indies.

Later, in the year 1550, a royal order was issued to the effect that neither viceroy nor members of the audiencia should transact any other than their official business; they must not own any estate in city, town, or country, nor cattle, nor any interest in mines. If they considered their salaries insufficient they might resign, as the monarch wanted nobody to serve against his will.[7] But this decree was no more heeded than the many others which from time to time had appeared, demonstrating the laudable intention of the crown to improve the government of the colonies.

[6] This audiencia was, however, first established at Gracias á Dios. See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. this series.

[7] The oidores were to reside in the audiencia building and do no trading whatever; nor to engage in any agricultural pursuits, not even for their own use; and the same prohibition extended to their unmarried sons and daughters. Cloth, silk, wine, and other needful articles were to be imported for them from Spain. The holding of property in other people's names was also strictly forbidden under penalty of loss of office and a fine of 1,000 ducats. Other persons who dealt with them were to lose their property. The order was reiterated by the king, June 18, 1564. *Memorial*, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xviii. 42–7. The pay of royal treasury officials was increased Jan. 24, 1545, but they had difficulty in obtaining it. *Puga*, *Cedulario*, 171–2.

The important task of introducing the new régime in New Spain was confided by the crown to Licenciado Francisco Tello de Sandoval, of the council of the Indies. It was feared at first that the great authority with which he must necessarily be vested might create unpleasant feelings or jealousy with Viceroy Mendoza. After mature consideration, however, it was decided to trust in the loyalty and recognized discretion of both these high functionaries. But this was expecting too much of human nature, at least of Spanish nature; for not only was the visitador instructed to take the residencia of all the royal officials, including the members of the audiencia, but also that of the viceroy. He was further authorized to exercise the functions of an oidor, entitled to a seat and vote in the tribunal.[8]

Was it surprising that a cry of alarm was heard when these portentous tidings reached the colonists? There was a storm of excitement and indignation, and of resentment against the crown, such as subjects of Spain seldom dared to breathe before; execrations were hurled against the India Council, and, above all, against the unflinching Las Casas. It was known that no less a personage than a member of the India Council would be sent to publish and enforce the odious laws. In a single day the fruits of incessant toil and dangers, the result of all their labor, were to be taken from them; life after all was to end in poverty and want.

While the encomenderos, who had been notified by their friends in Spain of what they might expect at the hands of Tello, were devising means to impede if

[8] Besides the general instructions concerning the new laws, Tello de Sandoval was authorized to exercise the functions of inquisitor, which office he held in Spain; and by a papal bull to extend or restrict bishoprics; to call a meeting of the bishops of New Spain for the purpose of determining what measures should be convenient for the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants; to improve colleges, hospitals, and churches, and encourage the erection of new ones; and, in fine, to attend to all matters of import to the colonies and the crown. *Herrera*, dec. vii. lib. vi. cap. vii.; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 138–9; *Puga, Cedulario*, 94–8.

possible the execution of the new ordinances, and retain their encomiendas, the visitador landed at Vera Cruz and reached the city of Mexico March 8, 1544.[9] On the morning of the third day a number of representative encomenderos, and a notary, presented themselves with a petition praying for the non-publication of the new code; but they met with a severe reprimand for their temerity in taking such a step before the visitador had delivered his credentials to the audiencia. That same day Tello gave them a hearing, however, and fearing evil consequences from sudden and decisive action, quieted them with ambiguous promises.

Nevertheless, on the 13th, Tello presented the ordinances to the viceroy and the audiencia, and notwithstanding all the remonstrances on the part of interested colonists, the new laws were published in the city of Mexico, March 24, 1544.[10] This unexpected proceeding on the part of the authorities caused much indignation among the encomenderos, and a tumultuous demonstration headed by the chief proctor,[11] Antonio Carbajal, was about to be made; but the people were diverted from their purpose by a call to a meeting at the cathedral for the following day by Bishop Zumárraga. There, in a lengthy discourse, the prelate led the Spanish settlers to hope that the new laws would not be enforced where found to be detrimental to their interests. This partially quieted them. On questioning the religious orders as to their opinions regarding the expediency of continuing the system of encomiendas, Tello was surprised to find that they all sided with the encomenderos.[12]

[9] The encomenderos intended to receive him clad in mourning, to show their disapproval of the new laws, but were prevented by the viceroy. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 139–40.

[10] They were read in the plaza by the public crier in the presence of the viceroy, the visitador, the oidores, the notary Antonio de Turcios, and the other royal officials. *Leyes y Ordenanzas, Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 226–7; reprint from the original certificate of the notary. Torquemada, i. 615, and others, give the publication on the 28th.

[11] Procurador mayor.

[12] On May 4, 1544, the Dominicans, and on the 15th the Franciscans decided and reported to Tello in favor of repartimientos. *Betanzos, Parecer*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vii. 526–41.

The reason is readily understood. There were many advantages to the church connected with the encomienda system; besides, Bishop Zumárraga was the owner of the important town and encomienda of Ocuituco, and the Austin friars controlled Tezcuco, at the time the largest encomienda in New Spain.[13]

So the religious orders at this time were solidly opposed to the liberation of the natives.[14] The plea set up by them, and taken for truth by the older, and more particularly by the religious chroniclers, was that by such means alone they were enabled successfully to prosecute conversion and give instruction in the Christian faith. And yet it would seem that had the natives all been gathered in corregimientos, in the name of the crown, and free, subject only to the payment of the tribute, the task of the friars so far as instruction and the cure of souls were concerned could scarcely have been more arduous; for there the Indian was comparatively master of his time, and not subject to continuous labor and the caprice of a taskmaster. In that case, however, the income of the church as well as that of many of its ministers, would have been materially diminished.

Further than this, according to the new code, the church and convents were among the first to be deprived of their native vassals. Under the circumstances it was to be expected that the friars as a rule would unite with the encomenderos to defeat the new laws. The Dominicans did not hesitate to declare that the Indians in charge of the Spaniards were treated with great kindness, more like children than servants; while on the other hand those under the

[13] Grijalva, *Crón. S. August.*, 66, assumes 'que el señor Obispo Zumarraga perdió por aquella ley al pueblo de Occuituco, que lo tenia en encomienda, y nosotros'—the Austin friars—'al pueblo de Tezcuco, q̄ era la mayor encomienda que auia entonces." There is no evidence, however, that such was the case.

[14] Mendoza himself, in a letter to the emperor, affirms that 'the clergymen who come to these countries "son ruines y todos se fundan sobre interes".. their salaries must be fixed, and an account taken of what the Indians give them...their dealings with them must be looked into.' *Mendoza, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 485–6.

crown in corregimientos suffered greatly from the harshness of the corregidores.[15]

Bishop Zárate of Oajaca took the same ground and maintained that one small town, having a variety of occupations for the Indians, would support a Spanish family; but it took four of them to pay the salary of a corregidor. Even so; the inhabitants of that one town were rarely at liberty to work for themselves, nearly all their time and labor being claimed by their master. This was not the case in corregimientos, where nothing was required but the payment of the royal tribute. The worthy bishop, in his zeal to convince the visitador that new laws were needless, went so far as to accuse the Indians of ill-treating their masters, and that sometimes native alguaciles would arrest Spaniards and bring them bound to the audiencia.[16]

Bishop Maraver of New Galicia called his native flock "a beastly, ungrateful, lying set, audacious and insolent;" but reflecting on the causes of the Mixton war, he approved of the laws prohibiting the enslaving of Indians, and of reducing them to captivity or servitude, unless for rebellion; otherwise they might be emboldened to revolt. He further recommended that, except the cities and some principal towns, all the rest of the land should be divided among Spanish conquerors and settlers,[17] a measure no less impolitic than unjust.

Indeed, there were many among the clergy opposed

[15] Where the encomenderos were said to be lenient in the collection of the tribute, the corregidores were charged with imprisoning the natives in default of prompt payment. The Dominicans also decided that Indians were unfit for the Catholic priesthood. *Betanzos, Parecer*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vii. 535–42.

[16] This could certainly have happened only in case where such alguaciles were ordered by some corregidor to arrest a vagabond or criminal. The bishop further states that the Indians would not serve unless well paid, and then only with reluctance. *Zárate, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vii. 550–1.

[17] The bishop claimed that thus the Spaniards would feel inclined to take the best care of the Indians placed under their charge, protecting them from the extortions and villainies of their own chiefs. *Maraver, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 208–9.

to encomiendas, and in favor of the new laws, prominent among whom, it is claimed, was the provincial Francisco de Soto.[18] Among the many representations to the crown concerning the Indian policy there was one which came neither from the religious orders nor from any government official.[19] It was proposed to abolish the system of personal taxation, and let public tributary lands be granted to Indians and Spaniards alike, subject to the payment of a tax assessed according to the value of the land; these assessments to be made by competent Indian commissioners not residing in the towns or near vicinity of such grants. To successfully carry out this plan the titles to all lands hitherto sold by Indians to Spaniards, including friars, should be carefully examined, and annulled if found to be defective. This latter request was made because it was known that great frauds had been committed in obtaining possession of large tracts of the best lands.[20] These suggestions were, of course, too radical to be acted upon by the government, as the majority of the colonists, and particularly the religious orders, would oppose a project to despoil them of their possessions.

In the mean time Mendoza and Tello reflected seriously over the inconveniences which might attend

[18] Several conquistadores, under some pretence, induced him to sign a paper. After the act Soto recognized it to contain an affirmative opinion on the advisability of making Indians slaves. He snatched the paper and swallowed it. The Spaniards afterward refused to support his friars, remarking, they should eat paper like their superior. *Vetancvrt, Menologia*, 92. This may be doubted, however, as Soto was one of the procuradors who asked for the repeal of the new laws.

[19] *Relacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 169–72. This evidently came from some well meaning Spanish settlers who dared not publish their names for fear of offending either the clergy or the official authorities.

[20] The friars were opposed to any land grants to Indians by which the latter would be relieved from personal tribute. The project, therefore, should be kept secret from them until put into practice, otherwise they would prevent it. The decree forbidding the friars to own lands obtained from Indians should be strictly enforced, for if not they would soon possess themselves of all the best lands in the country. Nor was there any necessity for their owning any, as the crown supported them, and the Indians provided all their wants. *Relacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 170, 172–3.

precipitous action. They were aware that many families would be impoverished should the law be vigorously applied, and they decided to be lenient. To gain time, the municipality was requested to send procuradores to present the grievances of the colonists to the king, and to ask the revocation of that portion of the new code which particularly affected the interests of the encomenderos. Alonso Villanuevo, Gerónimo Lopez, and Peralmindez Chirinos, of the city council, and the provincials of the Dominican, Franciscan, and Austin orders[21] were thus appointed, and set out for Spain, accompanied by other influential Spaniards. They were successful even beyond expectation, and by royal decree of October 20, 1545, the obnoxious provisions in the code were revoked,[22] notwithstanding the earnest protestations of Las Casas. The encomenderos and Spanish settlers celebrated their success with feasts and rejoicing, while the poor natives, in whose heart had arisen the hope of deliverance, crept wearily to the task which death alone would terminate.

According to some writers, during the absence of the procuradores, Tello and Mendoza endeavored to enforce some of the less offensive portions of the new code; but, as we have seen, the most important part was abrogated. And in all the other provinces these much feared new laws were for the most part also disregarded, though they caused vexation and trouble to the governors and the governed. In Nicaragua they were the direct cause of the bloody Contreras revolt,

[21] Francisco de la Cruz, Francisco de Soto, and Francisco de San Roman. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 502.

[22] 'Auemos acordado á reuocar la dícha ley y dar sobre ello esta nña carta, ẽ la dicha razõ: por la qual reuocamos y damos por ninguna y de ningun valor y efeto el dícho capitulo y ley.' *Royal Cédula*, in *Puga, Cedulario*, 100–1. To give due force to and prevent any misinterpretation of this decree, it was republished by order of the king, and embodied in a new decree of Jan. 16, 1546. *Id.* The procuradors not having found the emperor in Spain, followed him to Ratisbon, where according to *Torquemada*, i. 615, he granted them all they asked. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 141–2, has it that when Tello first heard of the revocation he made haste at least to deprive the royal officials of their repartimientos. This was done in pursuance of the royal cédula of Dec. 1, 1544. *Puga, Cedulario*, 172.

and in Peru, where Viceroy Vasco Nuñez Vela would not recede, they produced the great rebellion resulting in that official's death, and which might have caused the loss to the Spanish crown of the country, but for the prudence and energy of Pedro de la Gasca.[23]

But how stood the Spanish government at the time in relation to the colonies, if impotent to enforce laws dictated by an impulse humane and Christian? The representations of Las Casas and others had convinced the monarch of the necessity of taking steps for the relief of the natives; for soon after having sanctioned the new laws, he confessed[24] that "the character of the Indians is now well known; they are children; they are so intimidated and dependent that it would be vain to tarry until they arouse themselves, for they cannot speak though they be slaughtered like so many sheep." At the same time he knew his Spanish subjects well, and acknowledged that "the covetousness of our Spaniards is manifest to the whole world; they want all; however much they may obtain, it will not satisfy them." Then fearful of the result to himself the perplexed emperor cried out: "If the poor Indians should suffer by reason of any negligence of mine, it will be at the risk of my soul."

We have seen before this that a decline in the revenues might be expected should the system of encomiendas be abolished; this economic reason was of weight, and it was by no means difficult for the avarice of Charles to overrule his religious scruples. The safety of the colonies he had at heart; could he risk an uprising among his Spanish colonists by depriving them of their conquered spoil? Being so far from the Indies, he might easily see and hear only that which was to his interest.[25] "A good governor

[23] For particulars of these events see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii., this series.

[24] In a letter to Friar Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, whom he requested to see that the laws were complied with, and to report any contravention. *Torquemada*, iii. 258.

[25] 'Yo estoi tan lexos, que no puedo vér, ni entender, sino solo lo que me dixeren.' *Torquemada*, iii. 259.

I have in Mendoza," he used to say, "a good Christian, a prudent person, and of excellent qualities; but after all he is human, and a man of the century; wealth he covets, and has need of it, for many are the relatives, friends, and servants for whom he must provide."

The great calamity which had thus befallen the natives of New Spain, the restitution of a measure which had wrought them such injustice was not their sole affliction at this juncture. The epidemics which had now and then appeared in various parts of the country broke out again in 1545 and spread with rapidity. The disease, hitherto unknown, was called by the natives *matlazahuatl.* Six months this terrible scourge lasted, during which time, it is alleged, some eight hundred thousand natives perished.[26]

Mendoza, the royal officials, and the friars of the different orders did their utmost to alleviate suffering. It was said that the pestilence was caused by supernatural phenomena; and according to Cavo it was allayed by the prayers and religious exercises of Bishop Zumárraga.[27]

Father Domingo de Betanzos had predicted the total destruction of the native races of New Spain, within a comparatively short period, notwithstanding the wholesome laws enacted by the crown. Indeed, it was at no time difficult to predict that what disease failed to do, forced labor in the mines, on farms, and

[26] The daily mortality in Tlascala was from 1,000 upward; in Cholula sometimes 900, ordinarily from 400 to 700; in Guaxocingo and other places the same in proportion. *Betanzos, Carta,* in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.,* ii. 198–201.

[27] Grijalva, *Crón. S. August.,* 67–8, says five sixths of the native population of New Spain perished. The disease, which was not known before, was caused by a comet, eruption of volcanoes, and other supernatural phenomena. Others are not less credulous. In 1540 Lake Chapala overflowed its banks and the waters became green. A sword-shaped comet preceded the pestilence of 1542, which was a bleeding from the nose. An eruption of Popocatepetl occurred in 1540, when much damage was done; the ashes reached Cholula and burned part of the town. The Orizaba emitted lava in 1545. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.,* v. 55–6, 220; *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.,* 156–7; *Ogilby's Am.,* 266–7; *Cavo, Tres Siglos,* i. 142–3; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.,* 515; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fund. Mex.,* 117–18.

other unaccustomed tasks, accompanied by continuous and persistent bad treatment, might easily accomplish.[28] Before the great epidemic, that is to say on the 8th of August 1544, a royal decree was issued on the recommendation of the viceroy and the ecclesiastical cabildo, which commanded the natives to pay tithes of cattle, grain, and silk. It becoming now impossible to collect these tithes, and even the ordinary tribute, it was ordered April 10, 1546, that a reduction be allowed. But the amount was not fixed, the royal officials being requested to use their judgment, and not demand more than the natives could pay.

As time passed by the business and social relations of the viceroy and visitador were becoming somewhat unpleasant. It was generally conceded that Mendoza represented his Majesty well—though we might catalogue a few crimes against him without searching far—and to have present a superior to interfere in his affairs, even though temporarily and for form's sake, was not desirable.

On the whole Mendoza was well enough fitted for the office he held and was deserving of credit in the conscientious discharge of his duties, though often at the cost of the natives. The course taken in connection with Visitador Tello and the new laws had the effect of preserving peace. But the ends of justice were not served, and the proceedings were not in accordance with the wishes of the crown. Many a law in its first application is like the surgeon's knife, wounding deeply to make the cure more complete; and though these new laws were humane and just, their ultimate good effect was lost sight of in the present inconveniences which an immediate enforcement would have caused. But though a just man and a good officer, it was not possible for the viceroy to avoid

[28] For causes of decrease in the native population see *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 66 et seq.; *Arlegui, Chrón. Zacatecas*, 342; *Pimentel, Mem. Sobre la Raza Indígena*, 97–188.

hating another just man and good officer. While it was Mendoza's policy to outwardly remain on a good footing with the visitador, aware of the great authority with which that official was clothed, he hurled bitter epithets against him in his letters to the court.[29] And being aware that the interests of the clergy were identical with his own, he took care to insure their support, knowing that against the two Tello could accomplish little. A representation to Prince Philip made in 1545 by Bishop Zumárraga and Father Domingo de Betanzos, then prior of the Dominican convent, in favor of the viceroy, certainly has all the appearance of having been dictated by Mendoza himself. There may have been fears of removal, as they took occasion to say that it would be a serious loss to the country. His services "to which are due the peace, security, and advancement, both spiritual and temporal, of the country," were not what they might have been had not his powers been curtailed.[30]

During the nine years of his government before the arrival of Tello, Mendoza had doubled the royal revenue, established justice and a stable government, and the progress of the country on every hand was marked. His appreciation of himself, however, seemed to have kept pace with progress.[31] While the procuradores of the encomenderos sojourned in Spain, the members of the audiencia and other royal officials

[29] Mendoza manifested his jealousy by complaining that Tello would virtually be governor of New Spain during the time he should take the residencia of himself and the oidores. He was also embittered because of the disrespect shown him by the visitador after his arrival at Vera Cruz. Tello there made known that he had superior authority over the whole country, and being asked, 'What of the viceroy?' he answered: 'Ship him to Spain when I deem it proper.' Arriving in Mexico he published the viceroy's residencia twice throughout the land, as if he were the lowest corregidor or alcalde in the country. *Mendoza, Carta*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxvi. 326, and *Id.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 509.

[30] The natives looked upon him as a father, and all the people had felt painful anxiety during the serious illness from which he had lately recovered. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 534–6. The Indians mentioned were certainly not of New Galicia!

[31] His letter of June 20, 1544, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxvi. 325–7. He also reminds the emperor not to believe any reports against him, by his enemies, as he had been promised before coming out to New Spain.

were called to account, and their residencias and that of the viceroy were published with great ostentation in 1545. The earlier writers make light of this affair, assuming it to have been a mere matter of form to call to account a man of Mendoza's character, who, it was universally acknowledged, had discharged his duties faithfully. It appears, indeed, that no charges were sustained against him, and he continued in the undisturbed possession of his office. There may have been some truth in the remarks of Cortés, that he kept the Spaniards in such subjection and fear that they dared not report the abuses he committed.[32]

Nevertheless, the fact of his having taken and caused to be branded over five thousand slaves during the Mixton war, and his allowing the most cruel punishments and mutilations to be inflicted, does not speak much in favor of the humane feelings with which he is accredited by most writers, however necessary he may have thought such action to be for the pacification of the country.[33]

The purifying presence in New Spain of the visitador, the licenciado Tello de Sandoval, was undoubtedly

[32] When in 1543 Cortés, then in Spain, learned that Tello de Sandoval was to be despatched as visitador, he presented a memorial to the crown praying that the residencia of Mendoza be taken, against whom he had many causes of complaint. The charges he there enumerates dwell on the viceroy's conduct in the Mixton war; on his engaging in prohibited expeditions; selling of Indian towns; permitting venality of his servants; appropriating the royal funds to his own use; engaging in illegal traffic with the connivance of agents at Vera Cruz, and many more abuses of a similar nature. Cortés offered in proof of all he alleged some letters from New Spain, which he would only confide to the personal inspection of the emperor, for should Mendoza know their authors he would not fail to take revenge. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 325–41. Allowance must be made, however, for the enmity existing between these two eminent rivals. At any rate the residencia excited very little attention at the time.

[33] I will give one instance. When in the vicinity of Jalpa, he despatched Maldonado, captain of an advance guard, to ask the natives to surrender. That officer discharged his duty by cutting off the hands of two Chichimecs, and the breasts of two women, sending them in this pitiable condition to their lord, with a message to come to the Spaniards. Some days after this 12 Chichimecs were placed before a cannon and torn to pieces; 23 were hanged, and 17 killed with darts. *Acazitli, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 316–17. All this happened in the presence of the viceroy, and it appears somewhat like a sarcasm when we read of his 'moderacion y humanidad' in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 5.

beneficial. It was a comfort to his master Charles to know that his interests in that quarter were watched, and that the official cruelties and robberies were not greater than usual. Nevertheless he had not accomplished much, and yet it was time for him to return to Spain. One more duty devolved upon him, however, before his departure from the country.

In 1546 he convened all the bishops of New Spain at Mexico for the purpose of deciding what was best for the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants. Even here arose complications. All the bishops were assembled except Las Casas, now bishop of Chiapas, who was known to be on his way to the capital. A nervous excitement prevailed upon the approach of the champion of Indian rights and liberty. Mendoza, fearing disturbances on the part of the encomenderos should Las Casas enter Mexico at that time, ordered him to be detained at a certain distance from the city. Of course it was universally known that he had been the main-spring in the efforts to deprive the colonists of their repartimientos. After some time the prohibition to continue his journey was removed, and entering Mexico Las Casas took up his abode in the Dominican convent. Mendoza and the oidores, not to appear lacking in the respect due a prelate, sent him a greeting of welcome. Imagine their surprise when they received word in return, "Do not find it strange," said Las Casas, "that I come not to you in person, to thank you for the favor extended to me; I have excommunicated the viceroy and members of the audiencia for having given sentence to cut off the hands of a clergyman in Oajaca!"[34]

After the discussion of general ecclesiastical matters, the assembled prelates attempted to enter upon the important topic of Indians and encomenderos, by the

[34] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 144; *Icazbalceta*, i. pp. xci.–ii. According to *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 411–14, Las Casas arrived at Mexico before the other bishops. In attendance were those of Guatemala, Oajaca, Michoacan, Chiapas, and Mexico; it is not certain that the bishop of Puebla was present.

earnest solicitation of the indefatigable Las Casas. Mendoza peremptorily forbade them to discuss the question, as it was a matter of state and not of the church. Subsequently, however, a meeting of ecclesiastics, not of the bishops, was held in the Dominican convent, presided over by Las Casas, in which it was finally decided that the enslaving of Indians was unlawful. The decision was translated into the native languages and published throughout New Spain. But this action was without significance, except as giving the thrice worthy apostle, for himself and his order, the opportunity of publicly washing his hands of the foul sin of human slavery.

CHAPTER XXVI.

END OF MENDOZA'S RULE.

1547–1550.

General Improvements—Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce—Encouragement of Marriages—Aid to Peru—Conspiracy and Revolt—Chichimecs and Otomís—Conquest of Querétaro—Removal of Guadalajara—Coronado Returns—His Resignation—Audiencia at Compostela—Removal to Guadalajara—Discovery of Mines—Settlement of Zacatecas—The Archdiocese of Mexico—Death of Bishop Zumárraga—His Last Will—Character of the Prelate and the Man—A False Visitador's Audacity—Last Acts of the Viceroy—He is Appointed to Peru and is Superseded by Luis de Velasco—Mendoza's Departure for Peru—And his Death.

When the unwelcome visitador, Francisco Tello de Sandoval, had left the shores of New Spain, the colonists began to breathe more freely, feeling again somewhat secure concerning their encomiendas, and affairs fell into the old way. Viceroy Mendoza, notwithstanding his ambiguous Indian policy, showed a characteristic energy in other measures, such as the improvement of the capital, particularly in the way of water supply and macadamizing streets. Pursuant to royal orders, surveys were made along the Atlantic coast with the view of discovering a better harbor, but none being found, the one at old Vera Cruz was improved to some extent; a light-house on Pulpos Island was determined upon, and a tower begun. It was also contemplated for purposes of defence against the frequent uprising of the natives to erect fortresses in all the Spanish towns and settlements, but nothing seems to have been done in that

direction at the time, except here and there to establish a frontier garrison.[1]

The want of some of the necessaries of life had been felt for some time, and there were abuses to be corrected.[2] The epidemic had wrought sad havoc among the natives. With praiseworthy zeal the viceroy sought to improve the condition of the people. He gave attention to the production and quality of wool, and aided in the importation of a better breed of sheep; he promoted manufactures, believing that the lasting prosperity of a country was to be found in its agriculture, and in the developments of arts and commerce.[3] The learning of trades by the natives was encouraged, and when able to work as journeymen, or to keep shop, they were granted certificates to that effect.

To improve the moral condition of the natives, it was thought expedient to strictly enforce a decree prohibiting the adulteration of pulque,[4] and to restrict the number of places where it was sold. It had been the custom for some time to add to the pure juice of the maguey obnoxious ingredients, ostensibly for the purpose of better preservation. This gave the liquor stronger intoxicating properties, and the natives became more addicted to its use. When under its influence they would commit heinous offences. As there were many marriageable girls belonging to hon-

[1] Fray Domingo de Betanzos urged that to promote peace and contentment among the natives the Spaniards should live in the cities and keep no garrisons in the country. He suggestively added that the settlers would thus have less opportunity to rob and destroy at their pleasure. *Parecer*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, vii. 538.

[2] For years past forests had been wantonly cut down, and wood for fuel became scarce. The strict execution of the viceregal ordinances for the preservation of trees, and of the roads over which the natives had to travel with wood and charcoal, were recommended. There was a great want of food for horses and cattle; to supply this demand Mendoza caused a large portion of the dry lake-bottom to be successfully sown in grass. *Mendoza, Relacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, vi. 487, 493–4; *Florida*, *Col. Doc.*, 137.

[3] The manufacture of woollen goods was introduced as early as 1543. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 488.

[4] Royal cédula of Jan. 24, 1545, of similar import as that of August 24, 1529. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 197–8. It was also prohibited to sell to the natives, negroes, Indian slaves, and Spanish miners. Cédula of same date in *Puga, Cedulario*, 169.

orable families without sufficient means to endow them,[5] the monarch enjoined that every encouragement and facility should be offered by the government toward their marriage. In some instances corregimientos and other means of support were given to men willing to enter wedded life. Such a policy was deemed necessary in order to increase the Spanish population, and so promote the better security of the country. With this patronage and the stimulus of such an example, the people began to prosper, and to add to the wealth of the community, rich mines with which the aborigines appear to have been familiar were rediscovered in different localities.

About this time a call by Pedro de la Gasca came from Peru for patriotic men,[6] and a force of six hundred were soon under arms and ready to march under the viceroy's son, Francisco, with Cristóbal de Oñate as maestro de campo. But when equipped and on the eve of departure word arrived that they would not be needed. The city of Mexico was rewarded by the crown with new honors and titles for this zeal, and the municipality was vested with power to make ordinances for the city, which, if approved by the viceroy, became law.

The peaceful course of events, however, was again marred by revolt and conspiracy, not alone among the subjugated tribes and negro slaves, but in the ranks of discontented Spaniards. When the virulence of the epidemic of 1546 had subsided, a conspiracy among the negroes distributed about Tenocha and Tlatelulco came to light, through the weakness or cupidity of one of their number, and the instigators were summarily dealt with. But for this a massacre

[5] This was notably the case with the oidor Ceynos who was in delicate health and had eight daughters whom he was unable to marry for want of endowments. *Zumárraga, Carta,* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.,* xiii. 534–7.

[6] See details of his successful expedition to Peru, in *Hist. Cent. Am.,* ii., this series.

of the Spaniards would probably have occurred. A more alarming conspiracy was one planned against the magistrates during the same year. It was betrayed, however, and the instigators were executed; some of the accomplices who had fled toward Peru were overtaken and punished.[7]

During the year 1548 there was an uprising in Oajaca among the Tequipans, who felt secure by reason of the mountainous nature of their retreats; but the ever-watchful Mendoza sent against them a force under Tristan de Arellano, who quelled the revolt before it had made much progress.[8] In 1550 the province of Zapotecas rebelled against the Spanish yoke under circumstances which gave the revolt a more than passing interest. The traditional Quetzalcoatl was said to have reappeared. The old men of the tribe excited the young to take up arms. One of the caciques assumed the role of the ancient chieftain, but unfortunately for the natives, with none of his expected power. The success of this general uprising was but momentary; it was but another fiasco, and collapsed before a few vigorous blows of the viceroy.[9]

These occurrences were but an indication of the unrest and dissatisfaction that pervaded the colonists. The victors of the Mixton war clamored for their reward, and it must come largely from the enforced labor of the natives. War, pestilence, and conscription had wrought havoc, and perplexed the labor question until its solution became the paramount difficulty of the day. All the labor of mining, of tillage, of stock-raising, and of household drudgery was performed by the natives. There is no evidence that any Spaniard during that or the following century

[7] Sebastian Lazo de la Vega and Gaspar Tapia revealed the secret. The chief of the conspirators was an Italian. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 152.

[8] According to *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 454–5, the friars of the convent at Oajaca quieted the natives without the assistance of troops. This convent was a vicarage until 1549, when it was made a priory. *Id.*, i. 714.

[9] The harsh treatment of the corregidores caused the revolt. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 155–6. See also *Brasseur de Bourboury, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 824–5.

made a nearer approach to manual labor than superintending from his saddle the movements of native workmen. The slaves taken in New Galicia were no longer enough to supply the demand, as most of them had perished during war and epidemic. Unable to resist the power of the intruders, or too wise to risk their liberties on the issue of a doubtful contest, multitudes withdrew into out-of-the-way places. Those who clung to their homes in the different provinces were subjected to increased exactions, till roused by repeated injuries they broke into open revolt. Indeed submission profited little. Notwithstanding the prohibition to engage in new discoveries and the consequent new enslavement of the natives, the Spaniards asked license, ostensibly for the purpose of pacification, to enter the mountain regions and capture the inhabitants.

Before accounting for the subjugation of the wild tribes in the mountains near Querétaro, it will be well to notice some facts touching this region prior to the conquest by Cortés.

The whole country lying to the north of Mexico was at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards almost unknown to the Mexicans. The northern confines of the Aztec empire extended but little beyond the valley, and there Aztec civilization terminated. The mountainous regions beyond were inhabited by various tribes of wild savages, known by the general name of Chichimecs.[10] Dependent on the chase for their subsistence, these people had no settled dwelling-place, but roamed over a vast unknown territory, from time to time making inroads into the rich districts of the south. It does not appear that the empire ever seriously attempted their conquest; it was content to protect the frontier against them. Shortly after the conquest, however, expeditions

[10] The term Chichimec being general, was applied to all wild tribes, and, according to Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 163, the district now known as Querétaro, and where the battle of pacification was fought, was principally inhabited by Otomís.

began to be undertaken by the Spaniards into regions west and north of the valley of Mexico never penetrated by the Aztec armies, and the Chichimecs, now reënforced by many Otomís who had refused to accept the conqueror's rule, were in course of time compelled to submit.

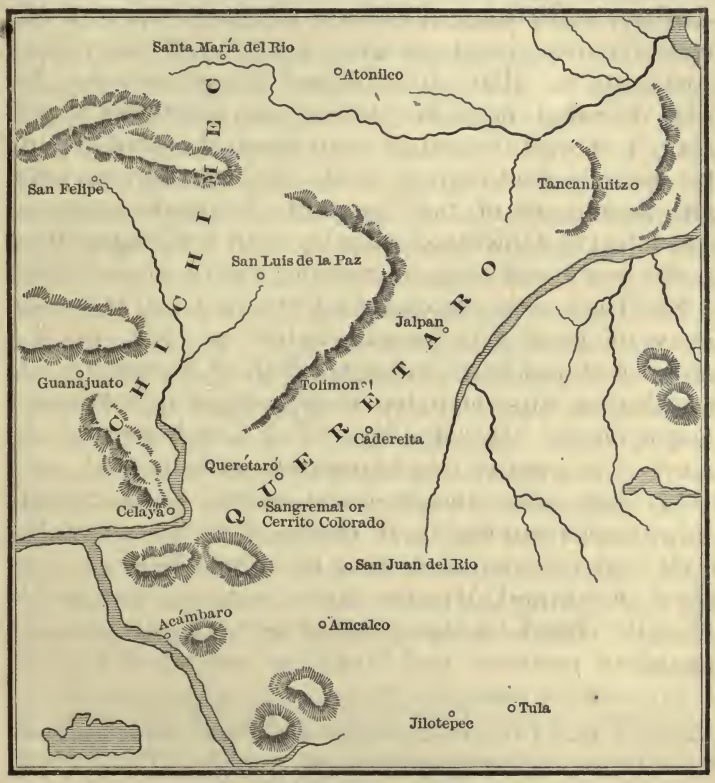
The first expedition against them was not undertaken by the Spaniards themselves, but by their Mexican and Otomí allies, and the pacification of the hostile tribes extended over a period of more than thirty years. The christianized Otomí cacique, Nicolás de San Luis de Montañez,[11] has given us a sketch of their subjection and his own share in accomplishing it. From his account we learn that as early as 1522, with permission of the Spaniards, he made an incursion into the Chichimec country, and was engaged for thirty years and more in making war on those tribes.

San Luis with the cacique Fernando de Tapia[12] and many relatives and friendly nobles in 1522 raised a large force and marched against the Chichimecs. It was during this incursion that a singular battle was fought on the 25th of July. The Chichimecs to the number of twenty-five thousand were posted on a hill, which later received the name of Sangremal. Conspicuous among their chiefs were Lobo, or the Wolf, and Coyote, as cunning as he was strong. The allied Otomí and Mexican forces entirely surrounded the hill. The Chichimecs possessed the advantage in regard to position; the Mexicans and Otomís in re-

[11] According to Father Vega in his *Memorias de la Nacion Indiana*, San Luis was a native of Tula, lineally descended from one of the Toltec kings, and a near relative of Montezuma. He became an early ally of the Spaniards, and assisted them against the Mexicans, being also christianized among the first. Charles V. made him cacique of Tula, a knight of Santiago, and captain general. *Zerecero, Rev. Mex.*, 510. The narrative is exceedingly confused with respect to events, and contains errors as to dates and persons, besides useless repetitions. *San Luis, Rel.*, in *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 551–63.

[12] One of the highest chiefs among the Otomís. Upon receiving baptism he took Cortés' Christian name, and the patronymic of two celebrated conquerors who went with the former to Mexico. The chief was a supporter of the Spaniards. San Luis gives the names of the captains who served under him in the Chichimec campaign.

gard to weapons. "O you brave men, perched upon a hill," cried San Luis; "come down and fight if you are not afraid!" "Very fair, no doubt, you renegades, and dogs of the Spaniards," returned Coyote; "lay aside your borrowed weapons and we will come down." "Wild, and uncouth, and beastly as you are," said San Luis, "we are a match for you with no weapons



CHICHIMEC WAR.

at all. See! we will lay them all aside, and you can heap yours beside them and place a guard over both. Come on!" And so it was agreed. Civilization calls it progress as more effective death-dealing implements are invented; may it not as truthfully be called

progress when all weapons for the butchery of human beings are laid aside?

At it they went with hands, feet, and teeth, only with the understanding that the conquered should remain subject to the victors.[13] The struggle which followed was as savage and sanguinary as the nature of it was exceptional, and lasted from early dawn till sunset. As exhausted combatants sank to the ground, others pressed fiercely forward. Among the mutilated forms and blood-covered faces it was often impossible to distinguish friend from foe. Among these ferocious fighters the two leaders of the Chichimecs, Lobo and Coyote, were conspicuous for their strength; and when late in the day victory was with the invaders, they alone escaped, shouting their defiance with threats to return in half a moon with a fresh force.[14] The chief of the Chichimecs and many of his people were baptized by Padre Juan Bautista, who had accompanied the army.[15] Such is the account of the Indian chronicler, San Luis, who states furthermore that the city of Querétaro was founded at that time. But the narrative is full of obvious errors; the author's confusion of thought is evidenced by his confusion of words; so that after all we cannot learn much from him, save that from 1522 to 1531 he made various incursions into the Chichimec regions, and that during the latter part of the war he and his principal officers were provided with arquebuses and horses.[16]

An account given by Espinosa is as follows: When Fuenleal was president of the audiencia he sought to extend conquest and promote conversion. The cacique

[13] 'Miéntras se hizo la guerra á puñetes y patadas y á mordidas como gallos.' *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 559.

[14] Alegre, on the authority of Father Vega's MS. existing then in the Franciscan convent at Mexico, places this event in 1531, when, as he states, the site of the city of Querétaro was conquered by Fernando de Tapia with a force of Mexicans. Espinosa's account is similar. *Chrón. Apost.*, i. 1.

[15] The Chichimec chief received the name of the Priest, who is mentioned by San Luis as the bachiller Don Juan Bautista.

[16] *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 560. 'Dispararon los Cazíques Christianos armas de fuego.' *Espinosa, Chron. Apost.*, i. 3.

Tapia offered to undertake the conquest of Querétaro. Collecting a large force in Jilotepec and Tula, in conjunction with other caciques, and provided with a number of arquebuses, they marched to the town now called San Juan del Rio, the inhabitants of which they induced to accept Christianity without bloodshed. Proceeding thence toward Querétaro, when within three leagues of the town, they arrived at a hill called, in the time of Espinosa, Cerrito Colorado. Here was made the agreement to fight without weapons, owing to the fear of the Chichimecs of fire-arms. The conflict was similar to that described by San Luis, and the date assigned to it is the 25th of July 1531. In the account given by San Luis it is stated that the sun stood still, and that the apostle Saint James, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Francis appeared. Espinosa's version is that, through the dense cloud of smoke caused by firing the arquebuses, a bright light broke, in which was seen a brilliant cross of white and red, and by its side the figure of Saint James. This miraculous interposition put a termination to the contest.[17] On the spot above which the figure of Saint James was seen, a cross was erected, which became celebrated for its miracles. San Luis had ordered it to be made of wood, but the Chichimecs objected, saying they wanted "una cruz en forma para siempre jamás," or be it an indestructible cross to serve as a boundary monument. They likewise objected to a common stone cross, insisting upon one like that seen in the clouds. In this dilemma the architect and stone-cutter, Juan de la Cruz, was despatched with fifty caciques for material to build a cross which would satisfy the new converts.

After journeying half a league, praying to God to

[17] With regard to the respective claims of San Luis and Tapia for the leadership, I see no reason to doubt that the former had the chief command, though the latter also bore the title of captain general, which may have been conferred on him years later. San Luis positively asserts that he was the leader and directed the operations in the region of Querétaro, both before and after its conquest. Tapia is mentioned by him as one of his captains in the campaign.

enlighten them, Cruz and his companions reached a spot where were stones of three colors, white, red, and violet, quarried stone of vitreous appearance. With them Cruz shaped a cross three varas in height, and had it ready before the expiration of twenty-four hours.[18] Then he laid it under a rose-bush, and made his report. At the sound of drums and clarions the captain general with his army and the friendly Chichimecs marched away to bring the cross. On arriving at the spot where it lay under the rose-bush all knelt and offered thanksgiving to God and the blessed virgin for giving them such a beautiful cross. And thereupon followed miracles.[19] The cross was carried in procession and raised with much ceremony and rejoicing upon the mount. The Chichimecs and their wise men, after examining it and witnessing its miracles, declared themselves satisfied, and celebrated the occasion with their usual dances; their captain, Juan Bautista Criado, and his wife kissed it, and their example was followed by their subjects. A whole week was thus occupied. The captain general then had the ground measured around the cross for a chapel, after which he began to make land grants.[20]

Little came of this conquest, for no settlement seems to have been founded till about 1550, or later. The viceroy gave lands to the two caciques, San Luis, and others, and grants were made to the settlers of the town of Querétaro for lots and orchards in 1551

[18] One account has it, 'se formó de cinco piedras blancas, y roxas milagrosamente halladas.' *Gaz. de Mex., 1730*, in *Arévalo, Compend.*, 237.

[19] 'Parece que estábamos en la gloria, se apareció allí una nube blanca, tan hermosa, sombreando á la santa cruz y teniéndola cuatro ángeles; luego el olor que olia tan hermoso, que todos lo vimos que luego hizo milagro la santa cruz.' *San Luis, Relacion*, in *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 150.

[20] This cross from the beginning was a celebrated wonder. On several occasions it moved of itself, and so as to cause admiration and awe; it visibly grew one full vara in size. In 1639 'tenia tres varas, y al presente tiene cuatro cabales.' *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 154; *Gaz. de Mex.*, in *Arévalo, Compend.*, 237. The first Franciscans in Querétaro lived in the small straw convent where the holy cross was subsequently kept; afterward they moved to the principal convent, which about 1566 was placed by the Santo Evangelio under the province of Michoacan. *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 351; *Iglesias y Conventos*, 153–4.

and 1552. The date and particulars of the founding are alike puzzling to the chroniclers; but from documentary evidence cited by Espinosa and Beaumont it would appear conclusive that the cacique Fernando de Tapia was its founder.[21]

Captain-general San Luis in 1552 continued the campaign against the hostile Chichimecs of Zacatecas. In 1552 he marched with the small army he had raised and organized in Tula against a famous captain named Maxorro,[22] routed him in every encounter, and finally took him prisoner. The end of this campaign was that Maxorro and his principal chiefs embraced Christianity, being baptized by Fray Juan de la Quemada, chaplain of the army. For the protection of travellers San Felipe Iztlahuaca, and San Miguel el Grande, later named Allende, were founded, and garrisons stationed in both places.

San Luis held his command till 1559, when he resigned,[23] and was succeeded by the famous chief of Jilotepec, Don Juan Bautista Valerio de la Cruz, whose appointment was made on May 12, 1559, with powers to wage war upon and punish all that should disregard his authority. It was approved later by Prince Philip in a letter highly commendatory of Valerio's services. The old chief continued

[21] Reference is made to the government books, i., ii., and iii., for Viceroy Velasco's period. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 154–5. The parish books of Querétaro city were opened later. *Bustamante*, in *Soc. Méx. Geog., Boletin*, vii. 535. Espinosa states that the origin of the city of Querétaro was a fortification which Montezuma I. established on the northern frontier of his empire as a protection against the inroads of the Chichimecs. When the Spaniards came, some of the Otomís took refuge in Querétaro and entered into a defensive alliance with the Chichimecs. In an official document of the first viceroy it is called Taxco, which corrupted into Tlacho, in Mexican, means a game at ball, or the place where the game is played. The Tarascan word Querétaro has the same signification. *Chrón. Apost.*, i. 1, 2, 10.

[22] A chief well informed on military tactics. He advised his followers not to attempt coping with the Spaniards in the open field; to concentrate in the fastnesses of the mountains near the passes, and thence harass the Spanish towns, and waylay travellers as opportunity offered. His advice was followed. *Herrera*, dec. viii. lib. x. cap. xxi.; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 316; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 163–4; *Panes*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 82.

[23] He died in Mexico some years later, and was interred in the Dominican convent. *Zerecero, Mem. Hist. Rev.*, 511.

his labors till his death, which occurred in 1572 in Mexico.[24]

The memorable history of old Guadalajara has been already told in connection with Francisco Vazquez de Coronado and the Mixton war. In pursuance of the resolution during the siege to transfer the city to another place, on October 6, 1541, all the Spaniards, soldiers as well as settlers, accompanied by many friendly Indians, set out for the chosen site of Analco in the Atemajac Valley.[25] The movement attracted settlers who had been formerly scattered at or near to Tlacotlan, Tonalá, Tlajomulco, and Tetlan. The missionaries who had been laboring at the last-named place also removed to the new site, and on February 11, 1542, municipal officers were appointed.[26] The land around the new city was fertile in the extreme, and promised abundant supplies for a large population. It was in fact considered one of the most favorable spots in New Spain, being traversed by the River Tololotlan, which communicates with Lake Chapala,

[24] His funeral by the viceroy's order was a magnificent one, and the remains were interred in the Saint Francis convent of Santiago Tlaltelulco, as he had made many generous donations to the Franciscan missionaries. To him Tula owed its famous bridge, which he caused to be built, employing 150 men. In Oct. 1559 he was granted a coat of arms as a descendant of the kings of Tezcuco, and created a knight of Santiago. The next year he was authorized to use another coat of arms, which he had before becoming a Christian, and which is described by Padre Vega, *Memorias piadosas de la nacion Indiana*, as being in two parts; in one was a fig-tree with a crowned eagle standing on it; in the other a fortified house with a viper upon it; the king added in the centre of the coat of arms the insignia of the order of Santiago with the motto 'Sodata regia magna operata tua.' The old captain seemed to have been forgotten till 1699, when the learned Tezcucan Indian, Francisco Isla, wrote a fine narrative in Aztec of his life, conquests, foundations, and feats of arms. *Zerecero, Mem. Hist. Rev.*, 478–82; *Valerio, Despacho*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 356. Alonso de Sosa is also mentioned as a general of Chichimecs who greatly coöperated to the pacification of the country, particularly in the region of Guanajuato. He was born in Yuririapúndaro and died in 1561. He gave large sums for building the church, and endowed the convent in his native town. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin.*, ix. 167.

[25] The colony consisted of 58 Europeans. They tarried some time at Tetlan, where Fray Antonio Segovia had founded a small convent of Franciscans, the first in the province of Nueva Galicia. *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 263–4.

[26] The first alcaldes were Fernando Flores and Pedro Placencia; regidores, Miguel Ibarra, Diego Orozco, and Juan Zubía. *Jal., Not. Geog.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, vi. 277.

and possessing a fine, temperate climate. Hence Guadalajara became from the first a place of importance, and grew in size and influence until it ranked as one of the great centres of civilization in New Spain.

In 1543, soon after his return to Mexico, Vazquez de Coronado so far recovered his health as to resume the duties of office. He was the last military governor of Nueva Galicia, and resigned in 1545. Baltasar Gallegos then ruled in the capacity of alcalde mayor for several years,[27] until indeed, in 1548, a new form of government—an audiencia subordinate to that of Mexico—was installed at Compostela.[28] The powers of that body included those of governor and judiciary.

The jurisdiction of the audiencia included the whole of New Galicia, with all the known territory toward the north and north-east, and also a strip of coast southward, embracing Colima, Zacatula, and the towns

[27] See *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 6. In *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq*, ii. sup., 38, it is implied that Gallegos succeeded Oñate in 1542.

[28] Pursuant to royal decree of Feb. 13, 1548, *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 326. Calle, *Mem. y Not.*, 89, Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, v. 94–5, Herrera, dec. viii. lib. iv. cap. xii., and Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 148, erroneously give the year 1547, and Frejes, *Hist. Breve*, 1549. In the *Decades*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 30, July 13, 1548, is mentioned. This is probably the date of instalment at Compostela, as Oviedo, iii. 578, names the three oidores, Quiñones, Sepúlveda, and Contreras, who were sent from Spain in May 1548. Sepúlveda died on the voyage. Under date of November 2, 1548, Quiñones makes recommendations to the emperor as to the proper course to pursue in the administration of justice in New Galicia. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, x. 52–6. The decree issued at Valladolid, December 8, 1550, by the queen, defined the jurisdiction, especially in appeals. Another of Dec. 19th, of the same year, gave the audiencia of Mexico the right of revising the decisions of that of New Galicia, where the alcalde mayor and the oidores of the latter disagreed. Aug. 28, 1552, it was further defined that the audiencia of Mexico, in the visit to that of New Galicia, was not to meddle in the affairs of the latter, except when the judicial decisions were appealed from. *Puga, Cedulario*, 161, 180, 183. In the year last named, May 8th, the king had been advised that the oidores Contreras and La Marcha were misbehaving, as they oppressed the Indians, and hindered their colleagues. The Licenciado Lebron de Quiñones was prominently brought before the emperor for president and governor of New Galicia. *Valencia, Fray Angel, Carta al Emp.*, in *Cartas de Ind.*, 110–11. Mendieta mentions Lebron as an upright, God-fearing man. *Hist. Eccles.*, 480. He proved to be otherwise. The powers of this audiencia were continued with few subsequent restrictions till March 19, 1555; the king in council then ruled that the audiencia of New Spain, the viceregal chair being vacant, should govern the country and exercise authority over that of New Galicia. In army and treasury affairs the latter was at all times under the viceroy's authority. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 43.

of Ávalos.[29] The province during the period now under consideration included ten or twelve corregimientos or districts, each with its head town, or *cabecera*, and its *partidos*, each under an alcalde. This officer, part of whose duty was the collection of tributes, was directly responsible to the audiencia. The head towns for the different districts were for the most part mining-camps, and the partidos were Indian towns under native alcaldes, regidores, and alguaciles, who were under the direction of the encomenderos, or of the friars in a few of the new and poorer places which had not excited the avarice of any Spanish officer.

The Spanish population of this vast district was as yet comparatively small. It is probable that there were not over five hundred settlers in New Galicia, at any time during the century, if we except the soldiers engaged in the conquest and in the suppression of the Mixton revolt, and the miners in Zacatecas and the districts south and north of it.[30]

It soon became apparent that Compostela was not so well situated for a capital of the growing province as Guadalajara. The latter place enjoyed an abundance of fish, game, cattle, and fresh water, of which the old capital could not boast. The audiencia was therefore transferred by royal order to Guadalajara as the provincial capital.

The oidores do not appear to have been of a very select character, for in 1557 Doctor Morones came

[29] 'Partiendo términos: por el Levante con la Audiencia de la Nueva España: por el Mediodia con la Mar del Sur; y por el Poniente y Septentrion con Provincias no descubiertas, ni pacíficas.' *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 326–7.

[30] In 1569, according to the *Informe del Cabildo*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 492, there were at the Jocotlan and Guajacatlan mines 30 Spaniards; at Güachinango, 6; Espíritu Santo, 40; Purificacion, 10; Compostela, 13; Lagos, 35; Guadalajara, 50. Among other settlements subject at this time and later to the audiencia, were Nombre de Dios, Durango, Chametla, Sinaloa, settled by Ibarra, Culiacan, a prominent alcaldía centre, and Purificacion. The towns in Durango and Sinaloa fell in due time politically under Nueva Viscaya, while the audiencia of Nueva Galicia maintained the judicial control, and its bishop the ecclesiastical. See *Miranda, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvi. 563–73; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 89; *Villa Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, ii. 257, etc.; *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. ix. cap. xiii.; *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 199, 204–5, 243–6; *Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 477–80.

to take their residencia, and gained the gratitude of the people by suspending three of them, Lebron de Quiñones, Contreras, and Oseguera. The latter managed to be reinstated, however, and retrieved himself so well that he was promoted to a similar office in Mexico.[31] The bishopric of New Galicia was erected at Compostela in 1544, including within its ecclesiastical purview all the explored regions north of the Michoacan boundary. The first incumbent was Pedro Gomez Maraver, and the seat was transferred to the new capital at or about the same time the secular government was transferred.[32]

The audiencia of New Galicia, aware of the great wealth of the mines in Sinaloa, Durango, and elsewhere, with the view of adding area to its rule, and of controlling those rich deposits, resolved in 1552 to undertake the conquest of the whole region, beginning with the rich sierras of Guaynamota, Guazamota, and Jocotlan, situated some fifteen leagues from Compostela. On the other hand, Spaniards, both civilians and soldiers, were already making settlements in a considerable part of the country, and Chametla, a province lying between Compostela and the villa de Culiacan, would soon be under Viceroy Velasco's control.

For the chief command of the expedition was selected Ginés Vazquez de Mercado, said to have been a brave officer and a worthy cavalier. He was given

[31] He incurred the hostility of the ecclesiastics for his looseness of tongue, the bishop among others being termed a donkey, and in *Cabildo, Eccles., Informe*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 484–508, a free-spoken report to the king on men and affairs in New Galicia in 1570, he among others is treated without mercy as a vain man, ruled by his wife. In 1563 already he ranked as president of the audiencia, with Morones and Alarcon among his associates. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 552–7; *Parra, Conq. Xal.*, MS., 31. Alarcon's name became a byword for petty peculation. Morones was succeeded by Mendiola, afterwards bishop, and he by Orozco, brother of the oidor at Mexico. Quiñones had been reinstated, and came back fuming with wrath against his accusers, but he died on the way.

[32] There is much disagreement respecting the date; indeed, there is hardly a year between 1550 and 1569 to which the change is not by some author assigned. A royal letter to the viceroy, of July 16, 1550, requested him to report on the expediency of removing the 'chest of three keys' from Compostela to Guadalajara. *Puga, Cedulario*, 179.

the rank of captain general, with ample powers,[33] and raised a large force, with which he was first to subdue the district of Jocotlan. From here he advanced further into the interior, and had several encounters with the natives.

It is unnecessary to follow the steps of this ill-conducted expedition. Suffice it to say that they visited several of the districts that afterward became famous for their mining wealth; but for one reason or another no mines were opened. They finally reached the ciénega de Sombrerete, where again they paid no attention to its precious deposits. One night, while encamped here without precautions, some Zain Indians fell upon them, slew some of the soldiers, and wounded others. Mercado himself was severely injured, having been saved from death by his servant, a Portuguese negro. This necessitated a delay till the wounded could be moved. Meanwhile the soldiers revolted, and, though convinced that with their support he could have subjugated the country, he was obliged to return to Jocotlan, where rich mines were expected to be found; but this hope proved disappointing. Thence Mercado marched to the Teul, or Tuich, a town belonging to Juan Delgado.[34]

The audiencia now abandoned the idea of conquest for the present, more particularly as the king at this time forbade all such expeditions without his special license.[35] Notwithstanding this, the audiencia of New

[33] He was a nephew of Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia, the noted captain at the conquest of Mexico. His wealth was great, for he was married to his cousin Doña Ana Vazquez de Tapia, who owned rich silver-mines in Tepic. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 229.

[34] Mercado died in 1558, after the founding of Zacatecas; and his family was left unprotected and ruined; his remains were interred in the Franciscan convent at Juchipila. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 233; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 212–15.

[35] The Franciscan custodio and definidores, in recommending, May 8, 1552, measures on behalf of the Indians of Michoacan and Nueva Galicia, complain of the cruelties inflicted by military captains, adding that it would be better to abandon all further attempts at conversion than to allow such tyranny to continue. The entire work of conversion should be left to the missionaries, they plead, and the military must confine themselves to affording protection. The oidores of the audiencias should attend to their duties and be held accountable for misconduct. *Valencia et al., Carta al Emp.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 103–18.

Galicia winked at more than one raiding excursion, destined to reënter Jocotlan and gain possession of its mines. Some sixteen soldiers, deserters of Mercado's expedition, with the connivance of the authorities, started for that region, and on reaching Cacatlotlan, near Jocotlan, found there the Franciscans Francisco de San Lorenzo, and another named Juan, who were rejoiced at seeing them. But that night, while asleep, most of the soldiers and the two friars were slain by Indians.[36]

The story of the discovery of the first mine in New Galicia is told as follows: When Captain Pedro Ruiz de Haro died in 1542 he left a poor widow and three daughters. The widow, Leonor de Arias, retired to the interior, where she owned a little place called Miravalles. Being an Indian woman she could here the better support herself, surrounded by kinsfolk and acquaintance. While standing at her door one day, there came a poor Indian who begged something to eat. Roused to pity she cheerfully gave of the little she had. After three days the Indian returned and expressing thanks for her kindness handed her a stone the greater part of which was native silver, saying: "To you and yours I give the mine in the Tololotlan Mountains, whence this argent ore was taken; for it I have no use; haste you thither, take with you laborers, and may you and yours be happy and rich!" Thereupon the Indian disappeared. The mine thus revealed was named Espíritu Santo, as though a pure benefaction from above, and for centuries it made opulent the benevolent widow and her descendants.[37] However all this may have been, it is certain that rich mines were discovered and worked in

[36] It is presumed this occurred in the latter part of 1560. The two Franciscans had been many years successfully at work in New Galicia, and everywhere won the good-will and friendship of the natives. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 317–27; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 5, 6.

[37] *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 177–8. It is added that the eldest daughter of the widow Arias received the title of marchioness of Miravalles, and from her have sprung the distinguished family of that title.

New Galicia as early as 1543, beginning with those of Espíritu Santo.[38] Mines not only of gold and silver but of tin, copper, mercury, iron, and other metals were brought to light and drew many Spaniards to the province from Mexico and Spain. Before the end of the century some of them, under the wasteful system then in vogue, showed signs of exhaustion, but many good mines, abandoned during the northern excitement, were afterward profitably worked.[39]

There is little to note in the events of New Galicia, during the last half of the century, save fluctuations created by mining excitements and the vague allusions to minor revolts and their suppression.[40] The revolts were to a great extent owing to abuses by encomenderos, who tore the natives from their homes to work in mines and on plantations, and assisted in reducing the already depleted province. The outrages of Guzman and the Mixton war are said to have destroyed half the population. Following these came a series of epidemics which ravaged the country on different occasions between 1541 and 1590, especially in 1545 and the two following years, and left but one tenth

[38] The others definitely mentioned are Jaltepec, Guachinango, Purificacion, Jocotlan, Etzatlan, Guajacatlan (Ahuacatlan), and Istlan. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 179–80.

[39] The following items serve also as additional information: The Jocotlan and Ahuacatlan mines, with 30 miners, yielded well, but failed somewhat in 1569. *Informe del Cabildo*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 494. Two hundred houses were occupied by miners at Guachinango in 1550; 214 veins of metals were open. *Marcha*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Recueil*, 198. The mines of Espíritu Santo first failed to pay in 1562. There had been 14 reduction works. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 483. It was on account of the Espíritu Santo mines that a royal treasury was established at Compostela. The mines of Jocotlan, Guachinango, Ahuacatlan, and Istlan discovered by Juan Fernandez de Híjar yielded to the king for his royalties in 30 years 200,000 pesos. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, i. 179–81.

[40] Ibarra and Camino led several small parties into the Nochistlan region to tranquillize it by arms and reforms in the encomendero management. Beaumont also refers to the revolt of 5,000 Texoquines of Ostotipac, who were defeated by Diego de Colis. *Crón. Mich.*, MS., 615–16, 636–7, 911, 920–1, 1088, 1542–3. In 1550 and 1558 the natives of Tepic and Compostela had to be suppressed. Somewhat later the Yocotequanes killed two friars, but Oidor Contreras marched against them with 100 Spaniards and 4,000 allies, and inflicted a loss of 600 men. *Torquemada*, iii. 622. Visitador de la Marcha recommended in 1550 the enslavement of the Indians to check revolt and vice. *Rapport*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Recueil*, 171–200.

of the original population, if we may believe the chroniclers. Comets and earthquakes added their terrors, imaginary or real.[41] Nevertheless the province prospered, thanks to its fertility and manifold resources, and the abundance of mines, which afforded a ready market for produce and live-stock.[42]

While not choosing to engage in the severer occupation of farming, the Spaniards could always raise cattle and sheep, and their broad grants were rapidly stocked with animals, which offered material for manufacture.[43]

Information is meagre concerning the early history of that singularly ill-peopled province of Zacatecas, as it is denominated by Humboldt, and yet its capital is even to-day, next to Guanajuato, the most celebrated mining-place in that country. From the visit of Captain Chirinos in 1530 to the year 1546 we have no definite record that any Spaniard penetrated farther north than Nochistlan and Juchipila. The Cascanes, Zacatecs, and other Chichimecs of the north had, as we have seen, taken a prominent part in the Mixton rebellion of 1541, and since its suppression they had continued to some extent their hostile raids on the frontier. In 1543 the emperor and viceroy were petitioned by the municipal authorities of the New Galicia towns to authorize war on these marauders, and their extermination or enslavement. The coveted

[41] The pest of 1545–8 carried off five sixths of the population, according to Beaumont, and caused the establishment of hospitals. The malady of 1551 was an inflammation of the throat. That of 1562 resembled the ravages of 1541. Comets appeared in 1567–8, and an earthquake which threw down many churches, and caused the death of two friars at Cocula. In 1577 some of the hospitals had 400 patients. A shower of ashes preceded the pest of 1590. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 156–7, 237, 244; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, MS., 430, 623–4, 791–2, 913; *Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 495–6; *Torquemada*, iii. 506–7. The thousands of Indians in Banderas Valley had within 20 years dwindled to 300 men. *Toral, Carta*, 1559, in *Cartas de Indias*, 138–9. The Indians tributary to Guadalajara in 1569 were estimated at 24,300. *Informe del Cabildo*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 492–504.

[42] Yet prices were low, a sheep costing 2 reals; 8 hens, 1 real; maize, 1 half real per fanega. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 180.

[43] Stock-raising early assumed such proportions that semi-annual councils were held to regulate it. *Herrera*, dec. vii. lib. v. cap. ii.

license was refused, but the subjugation of the northern savages by peaceful means was ordered.

Oñate and other officers seem to have made several attempts in that direction, but the first one definitely recorded was that of Juan de Tolosa, twenty-six years after the fall of the city of Mexico. On the 8th of September 1546, Tolosa came to the sierra of Zacatecas with a few Spaniards, four Franciscan friars,[44] and a band of Juchipila Indians, and pitched his tent at the foot of the Bufa mountain. By kind treatment the natives were gradually conciliated, and for over a year Tolosa and his companions labored earnestly and successfully to pacify and convert them. In return the Spaniards were told of the existence of rich silver lodes in that vicinity and they determined to investigate. In January 1548 Tolosa was joined by his friends Cristóbal de Oñate, Diego de Ibarra, and Baltasar Treviño de Bañuelos, all Spanish officers of rank; and on March 21st the quaternion started on an exploring expedition.[45] No particulars are known of these adventures; but it seems that during the year the Spaniards were rewarded by the discovery of the rich mines of San Bernabé, Alvarado de San Benito on the Veta Grande, and Tajos de Pánuco; discoveries so brilliant as to make these four enterprising men at the time the wealthiest in America, as the chroniclers assure us. The town of Nuestra Señora de Zacatecas[46] was founded during this first flush of pros-

[44] Fray Gerónimo de Mendoza, a nephew of the viceroy, was one of them; the names of the rest are unknown. *Morfi*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii. tom. iv. 329–30. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 77, says the names are lost through the destruction of the Zacatecas convent by fire. See, also, *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 12.

[45] Juan de Tolosa was married to Leonor Cortés de Montezuma, daughter of the conqueror and granddaughter of the Aztec monarch. On the lives of these pioneers of Zacatecas see *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 58, 134–5. *Bernardez, Zac.*, 28–32. *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 178–9.

[46] The name of Zacatecas comes from the Aztec *zacate*, meaning grass. A writer in the *Museo Mex.*, iv. 115, derives the name from a Spanish general who preceded Chirinos in the country! The town was first founded between the mines and the present site. *Arlegui, Cron. Zac.*, 16. For historical and descriptive account of the city, and a plan, see *Bernardez, Descrip. Zac.*, 1–90. Brief notices on various towns and mining districts appear in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 21–4; x. 114–17.

HUASTECA
GULF OF MEXICO
Rio Panuco
San Estevan del Puerto
Valles
Panuco
Bahia de Tampico
Xelitla
Tuxpan
Yahualica
CHICHIMECS
Tzacualtipan
Molanco
Suchicoatlan
L. Metztlan
Meztitlan
Nautla
TOTONACAPAN
Jilotepec
TOLLAN
Apan
Otumba
Tenayocan
ACOLHUAS
TEZCUCO
Calpulalpan
Jalapa
Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz
TLASCALA
CEMPOALA
Iztaccihuatl
BISHOPRIC
Huexotzinco
Orizaba
CHOLULA
OF
Popocatepetl
Tecamachalco
Quauhtla
TLAHUICAS
TLASCALA
Rio Papaloapan or Alvarado
Tochtepec
CHINANTECS
CUAUIXTLAHUACAN
TILANTONGO
Acapulco
PACIFIC OCEAN

MEXICO.

perity, and it flourished from the beginning. The fame of the mines spread rapidly over the country, and other parts of New Galicia were almost depopulated for a season, the Zacatecan *reales*, in their turn, suffering from the superior attractions of Guanajuato, Catorce, and the regions to the north.

The diocese of Mexico was raised to an archdiocese by papal bull of July 8, 1547, with jurisdiction over the suffragan bishoprics of Tlascala, Michoacan, Oajaca, Nueva Galicia, Yucatan, Guatemala, Chiapas, Honduras, and Nicaragua. Bishop Zumárraga was designated first archbishop; but after the bull and the appointment he declined the position on account of advancing age. Nine days after the arrival of these documents, on June 3, 1548, he died, being then in his eightieth year.[47] His death was said to have been miraculously made known all over New Spain on the day of its occurrence; it certainly excited universal interest and produced wide-spread sorrow. A pervading sense of impending loss had caused profane dances, which hitherto formed an important feature in the Corpus Christi procession, to be omitted in the one immediately preceding his demise. The odor of sanctity[48] which had clung to him in life embalmed his memory.

[47] Four days before his death, on May 30, 1548, Zumárraga wrote to the emperor that the letters and bulls making Mexico an archbishopric had arrived five days previous, but that he was too feeble to accept, and he felt that his end was near at hand. *Carta*, in *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 387–9. Here the good bishop also states that he performed an ecclesiastical feat which, if true, would certainly make his last days eclipse the glory of his former achievements. 'I es verdad que havra quarenta dias que con ayuda de Religiosos comenze a confirmar los Yndios desta Cibdad i mui examinados que no recibiesen mas de una vez la confirmacion; pasaron de quatrocientas mill animas los que recibieron el olio.' It was indeed severe work closely to examine 400,000 souls during 40 days, and to see that they had not been previously baptized. Other authorities on the elevation of Mexico to an archsee, and the appointment and death of Zumárraga, are: *Vetancvrt, Ciud. de Mex.*, 22; *Giraua Tarragonez*, in *Apiano, Cosmog.*, 76; *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 1132–3; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 307; *Torquemada*, iii. 454; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 635–6; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 248–52; v. 61–3; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 60; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 45–6; *Medina, Chron. S. Diego*, 236; *Villa Señor, Theatro*, i. 28. Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 23, assumes that Zumárraga actually was archbishop.

[48] Among the miracles attributed to him was that, when an attempt was

The life of this prelate had been humble in the extreme, not differing from that of the lowliest missionary. He was held to have denied himself many of the necessaries of life; to have worn none but the coarsest of garments, and voluntarily to have made his long and frequent episcopal visits on foot, attended by but few, lest he should be a burden to any; and though while officiating in his sacred calling he would maintain the dignity and exhibit the splendor of his station, at all other times he was the servant of all. Oblivious of self, he was profuse in providing for the convents of Mexico, and liberal in alms. He loved books, though he hated the Aztec manuscripts; it was in his collection of devotional works, and in the study of them, that he took the greatest delight. He was a man preëminently just, according to the light that had been given him; austere, to the full mortification of the flesh; chaste, not suffering a woman to enter his house on any pretence whatever. Gonzalez Dávila says that he had no occasion to make a will, being destitute of worldly possessions. But this I find was not true. There was a will, and there was property.[49] There were the houses which the bishop possessed in Mexico and Vera Cruz; the encomienda of Ocuituco; numerous personal male and female slaves, held contrary to law; horses and mules; with important money donations and many minor matters, directions for the distribution of which were fully set forth.[50]

made to introduce those unseemly dances in the Corpus Christi procession, he moved the heavens to pour down incessant rain, which made them impossible. *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 62.

[49] It was duly executed before a notary and witnesses on June 2, 1548, one day before his death. An attested copy of the whole document may be found in *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 77–112.

[50] In the will Zumárraga speaks of a house he had leased to his majordomo, Martin de Aranguren, for ten years; of several other houses he owned in Vera Cruz; of female slaves, one of whom he had given to Aranguren personally and now wishes exchanged; of a man slave who is to work six years and then be manumitted; of other slaves whose services had been hired by Father Torres; of his own attendant slaves, and provision is made for their emancipation. The episcopal building is set apart for hospital purposes, to which he gives for the use of the sick three of his chairs, but is careful to mention that 'they are not to be taken from the silk ones.' To Juan Lopez donates 100 pesos de oro de minas, for having married, at that price, a

According to this document it is manifest that Zumárraga was a prosperous citizen as well as an honored prelate; that he conducted a regular trade with the Indians through his majordomo, Martin de Aranguren, advancing money on future crops at good interest, and that these transactions and others of a similar kind had been systematically carried on for a number of years. The old man finds himself cumbered with many things when he comes to die, and yet, on the day of this last distribution of his estate, he indites a farewell letter to his king, in which he reiterates the oft-made statement of his poverty,[51] as though to the last he would preserve this painful contrast between the outward life of the prelate and the inward and real life of the man.

But all else we could readily forgive the bishop, even the occasional burning of a few old witches, but the destruction of the Aztec libraries, the mountains of native historical documents and monumental works at Tlatelulco, must ever be regarded as an unpardonable offence. We cannot deplore deeply enough this irreparable loss, the hieroglyphic history of nations unknown, reaching back a thousand years or more. In conclusion we may say that the business ability of the bishop assisted somewhat to temper his zeal in certain directions, and to guide his labors as administrator and head of the church, whose interest he ably promoted.[52]

daughter of 'Fray Gutierrez,' undoubtedly a conqueror who had taken the habit; this gift was made with reluctance, but the bishop had promised it. To others he gives his horses and mules with appurtenances, and to some, for services rendered, various sums of money; to the nuns he gives fifty fanegas of wheat. To the majordomo he leaves all the tithes of the prebend, and directs him to pay therewith the debts he may deem proper, and no others, and no accounting shall be required of him; there are many minor provisions and bequests which the viceroy is asked to execute. There is no doubt that Zumárraga had given a building for hospital purposes, besides the episcopal dwelling, but it is also shown that he had received it from a deceased Spaniard for that very purpose. *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 77–112, 134–200.

[51] He also begged the king to pay any debts he might leave, and Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 28, says an order to that effect was subsequently issued.

[52] In connection with Zumárraga may be mentioned Andrés de Olmos, a Franciscan, who was selected by him as a fellow-laborer when appointed

After the death of Zumárraga the Mexican see was offered to several of the old and distinguished friars, such as Father Gante, who declined the honor, and no appointment was made for a time.[53]

Some months after Zumárraga's death, which had followed so closely upon that of his friend Cortés, Viceroy Mendoza, who had recently been engaged in reapportioning the repartimientos throughout the country, asked permission to visit Spain, his private affairs needing attention after an absence of fourteen years. The following year several petitions were made to the crown, praying that Francisco, the viceroy's son, be appointed to succeed his father, in case the latter should resign or be removed. Indeed, his health began to fail and a change in the government was therefore soon expected. The several petitions were disregarded by the emperor, and during the same year, 1549, Don Luis de Velasco was appointed to supersede Mendoza. Before this took effect an impostor created quite a stir in the country, and lorded it for a short time over all the royal officials, including Mendoza.

A month before the arrival of Velasco, there landed

bishop of Mexico. For 43 years Olmos labored in New Spain, and many miracles are ascribed to him. Lighted arrows shot by savages at the roof of his dwelling would fail to ignite it, and when directed against his person they would return as if shot by an unseen force against themselves. He died about 1571, being over 80 years of age; and when this event occurred, perfumes and celestial music were observed by both Spaniards and natives. *Torquemada*, iii. 475; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 644–51; *Vazquez, Chron. Gvat.*, 529.

[53] Padre Pedro Gante was offered the diocese, but did not accept. *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 67–8. He nevertheless remained the power at the episcopal court, owing to his great experience, ability, and influence, as archbishop Montúfar admits, and this till his death in June 27, 1572. He was interred in the chapel of St Joseph, one of the many temples built by himself, and there round his grave concentrated all the vast love he had won from Spaniards as well as natives, by his apostolic zeal, his benevolence, and his self-denying life. *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 181; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 607–11; *Torquemada*, iii. 426–32; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 10; *Cartas de Indias*, 762. Padre Francisco de Soto, then in Spain, was elected to fill the episcopal vacancy, but he also declined. In 1550 he returned to Tlascala, and died in 1551. *Id.*, 92. Bishop Francisco Marroquin of Guatemala was then recommended by Licentiate Cerrato, but the petition was returned with the remark 'Sin duda esto seria solicitacion del opo.' *Carta*, in *Squier's MSS.*, xxii. 79.

at Vera Cruz a person announcing himself as Licenciado Vena, visitador from Spain. He was accompanied by a beautiful and accomplished woman from Seville and at once became the recipient of honors corresponding to one who might have many favors to bestow. Mendoza, who was notified by the authorities, felt much surprised at this, not having received any information of such procedure on the part of the crown. The audiencia trembled, and office holders and seekers were eagerly expectant. The new visitador, making no secret of his intention to bestow honors and emoluments as he listed, quickly reaped a rich harvest from his audacity at Vera Cruz, and the pair proceeded to Mexico. Knowing that his time was short, Vena fleeced wherever he could, assisted therein by his fair companion. When hints were offered as to his credentials, he said that they were in the hands of the new viceroy, who would soon arrive. When the new viceroy came the presumptuous pair departed from Mexico, ostensibly to meet and receive that official; but meanwhile suspicions had been aroused. The fraud was detected; the impostors were arrested and stripped of all that had been given them. Vena was sentenced to receive four hundred lashes and ten years' service at the galleys; the beautiful Sevillana was shipped to Spain, and thus, remarks the caustic Torquemada, "the impostor was left poor in silver but rich in stripes." This act of justice, the last executed by Mendoza in New Spain, received the warm applause of the community.

During the month of November the new viceroy arrived, and Mendoza proceeded to Cholula to receive him, a custom which was observed by subsequent out-going viceroys. When the ceremonies of transmission were over, Mendoza delivered to his successor lengthy written instructions concerning viceregal duties, indicating the necessary measures to be followed in the government of the country. This information was of great value to the new viceroy,

coming as it did from one who had governed so long and so wisely.

Great, indeed, had been the progress of New Spain during the fifteen years of Mendoza's rule. The tumultuous events of the last decade had given place to peace and order, and conspiracies, revolts, and rebellion had been suppressed. Even the storm raised by the new laws, which had threatened social and political disruption, under mild management had wrought but insignificant evils. The conquest of provinces in the north and south had been achieved; mines had been discovered and developed; numerous towns and churches, convents, hospitals, and schools had been founded; roads, bridges, and other public works had been constructed, and agriculture, industry, and commerce had greatly increased. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the character and deeds of Mendoza. His acts are before the reader. He was not wholly faultless; he was not altogether without enemies; but in the main he was a just man, and his conduct met the approval of both the crown and the colonists.

The king could not well afford to dispense with such a servant. The commotion in Peru had become chronic, and Charles desired Mendoza to establish there a stable government. He was permitted, however, to retain the viceroyalty of Mexico should he so prefer, in which case Velasco would proceed to Peru; but, desiring a change of climate, in the hope of restoring his failing health, he concluded to make the transfer.[54]

[54] Some say that Mendoza made the trip from Mexico to Panamá by land. This, however, is improbable. There was no highway through Central America to the Isthmus, and the viceroy was in delicate health; furthermore, the trip would have been hazardous even with a large escort. Mendoza took charge of the government of Peru in Sept. 1551, and died July 21, 1552.

The authorities consulted for the preceding three chapters are: *Herrera*, dec. vii. lib. ii. cap. x.–xii.; lib. v. cap. v.; lib. vi. cap. vii. xi.; lib. vii. cap. xiv.; dec. viii. lib. iv. cap. xii.; lib. vi. cap. xi.; *Torquemada*, i. 608–616; iii. 106–8, 258, 340–7, 468–76, 589, 610–11, 623; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 135; *Órdenes, de la Corona*, MS., ii. 712; *Squier's MSS.*, xix. 39–42; *Puga, Cedulario*, 100–91, passim; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 160–2, 203, 257–62, 404–58, 525–6, 714; *Grijalva, Crón.*, 51–77; *Recop. de Indias*, i. 212; ii. 17, 108, 197;

Ogilby's Am., 96, 266–7; *Cartas de Indias*, 33–4, 83–91, 119–20, 776; *Oviedo*, ii. 142; iii. 539–44, 552–4, 578; iv. 26; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 118, 128, 369, 377; vi. 170–3, 484–515; vii. 209, 236–8, 538; viii. 30, 199–208; xiv. 151–65; xv. 447–8; xviii. 328–30; *Benzoni, Nvovo Mondo*, 38–9; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oajaca*, ii. 377; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, 22–8, 76, 86–9, 179; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 275–358, 471–7, 515; *Provincia Santo Evang.*, MS., No. 1, 21–58; *Mex. Actas Prov.*, MS., 36; *Michoacan, Prov. S. Nicolas*, 34–69; *Medina, Chron. S. Diego*, 236–57; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 235–7; *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, v. 156; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, 117–18, 159–75; *Concilios Prov. 1556–65*, 245–6, 351–67; *Dávila, Con. de la Crón.*, MS., 312–13; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 105–504, passim; v. 6–109, 134–40, 299–307, 483; *Id.*, MS., 323–1089, passim; *Arlegui, Chron. Prov. Zacatecas*, 12–16, 143–5, 342; *Vazquez, Chron. Guat.*, 529; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., No. 5, 8, 50–1, 242–3; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 45–6, 62, 89–91; *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 333–5; *Cortés, Diario 1812*, xii. 348; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., série i., No. 1; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 49–68, 126–92; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 23–7; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, iii. 347; vi. 277–8; viii. 21, 617–27; ix. 48; x. 114; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 131–2, 217, 318–19; *Fernandez, Hist. Ecles.*, 61–2, 131–4, 156–9; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 259–66, 289–306, 349–51; *Pap. Var.*, cii. pt. vi. 7–12; cxciv. pt. vi. 12; *Robertson's Hist. Am.* ii. 1005; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 62–154, 198–230, 307–32; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 19–20, 31–2, 158–74; *Ramusio*, i. 414; *Pimentel, Mem.*, 151–88; *Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, xcix. 192; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 183–5; *Id., Hist. Mej.*, ii. 38; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 93–4, 200–5, 227–9; ii. 125–7; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, i. 219–20; *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 184–6; *Bernardez, Zac.*, 2; *Pimentel, Econ. Pol.*, 13–25; *Id., Mem. Lit. Actual*, 97–188; *Ramirez, Proceso*, xviii. xxiii.; *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 77–114, 134–200; *Prescott's Mex.*, ii. 97; *Mex. Hierogl.*, 92; *Lacunza, Discursos Hist.*, 479–561; *Masson, Olla Podrida*, 91; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 131–57; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt.*, No. 5, 262; *Museo Mex.*, i. 54–7, 537–40; iv. 115–19; *Monette, Hist. Disc. Miss.*, i. 63–4; *Linschoten, Voy.*, 226–8; *La Cruz*, ii. 613–15; v. 686; *Chevalier, Mex.*, 293–310; *Galvano's Discov.*, 231–9; *Villa Señor, Theatro*, i. 28 et seq.; *Salazar, Mex. en 1554*, 59; *Fossey, Mex.*, 51–2; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 31–3, 100–1; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 62–4; *Id., Descrip. Zac.*, ii. 3, 4; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 161–73, 206–9, 261–70; *Sanson, L'Amer.*, 34–5; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, v. 449–62; *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, 411–518; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 691–715; v. 6–28; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 173–4, 35; vii. 39, 56, 150; x. 788, 918–21; *Garcilaso de la Vega, Com.*, ii. 80–1; *Id., La Florida*, 255–65; *Nueva España, Breve Res.*, MS., i. 225–45; *Parecer de Salamanca, 1541; Jalisco, Mem. Hist.*, 154–169, 178–190; *Id., Not. Geog. y Est.*, 15; *El Indicador*, iii. 37–52; *Greenhow's Mem.*, 30–1; *Id., Or. and Cal.*, 62; *Gonzalez, Col. N. Leon*, xiii.–xvii.

CHAPTER XXVII.

INDIAN POLICY.

1550–1560.

Luis de Velasco, Second Viceroy—Royal Instructions and Subsequent Regulations—Enforcement of the New Laws—Consternation Caused by their Execution—Slaves Set Free—Diego Ramirez' Commission—Caciques' Abuses Checked—The Crown Assumes Full Jurisdiction—Encomienda Entail—Opposition of the Audiencia—Bad Effects of the New Laws on Mining and Revenue—Population and Its Character—Reform Measures—Powers of the Viceroy Restricted—The Audiencia Made his Council—Philip II. Proclaimed King—He Begs for Money.

The newly appointed viceroy, Luis de Velasco, was a member of the noble house of the constable of Castile, and a knight of Santiago, who to his illustrious birth and high merits united the experience gained by nearly thirty years of military service and as a ruler in Navarre. During his long career he had displayed sterling personal worth and practical statesmanship. He was of industrious habits, and in him patience and firmness were united to a winning affability. He seemed fitted in every particular to fill the responsible position to which he had been called by his sovereign.[1] Indeed, it was necessary that the government so judiciously organized by Mendoza should be as faithfully administered by his successor.

[1] *Herrera*, dec. viii. lib. vii. cap. xiv.; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. ii. One religious writer erroneously states that Velasco had served in the campaign against the Chichimecs. It was probably his son that was referred to, who at a later time rendered service there. *Medina, Chron. S. Diego*, 253. Velasco, in a letter of July 12, 1552, to the emperor, says that the secretary of the royal council, Francisco de Eraso, assured him at the time of his appointment, that if Mendoza, after serving three years in Peru, desired to be a second time viceroy of Mexico, he, Velasco, was to give up the office to him, and go to

After the conference at Cholula, Velasco proceeded to the capital, which he entered the 25th of November 1550.[2] His reception by the municipality and people was cordial, every one expecting the best results from his rule.[3]

There were the usual instructions, under date of April 16, 1550, from the king to the viceroy, containing much upon the already hackneyed subject of Indian policy and Indian treatment. It made little difference to the colonists how much was said or ordered by Spain and Rome regarding freedom, conversion, and the like; but when there was talk about enforcing the so-called new laws of 1542,[4] that was indeed a serious matter.

Among other details to insure the further relief of the natives it was ordered that the compensation to collectors of tribute should be paid, not by the Indians, but out of the proceeds from vacant corregimientos.

Peru with the same rank. With this understanding he left his family and interests at home. He was willing to continue his most faithful services to the crown, but if required to go to Peru the king should allow him an adequate salary, say 30,000 ducats, and 3,000 more for travelling expenses; as his means were quite limited and the coming to Mexico brought him 12,000 ducats in debt, which was being paid out of his small income in Spain. *Carta al Emp.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 260–2, and fac. sim. 5. He was allowed 2,000 pesos a year more than Mendoza had received. The salary of the oidores was at the same time increased to 150,000 maravedís each. This increase of compensation was coupled with the obligation on the part of the favored officials to abstain from all money-making, and to devote their whole energy to their official duties. *Puga, Cedulario*, 144. At a later date the viceroy bitterly complains of his inadequate salary, which compelled his wife and children to be separated from him, in despite of which his expenses in Mexico necessarily exceeded his pay, and he was sinking his small patrimony with increasing and unavoidable debt, adding, 'lo que pretendo es no yrlas á pagar á la otra vida.' He wants the crown either to allow him sufficient compensation or send him his recall, before he is utterly ruined, reminding the king that he deserves some consideration at his hands after his 30 years of faithful service, the petitioner being an old man 2,000 leagues away from his home, family, and relatives. Velasco was a 'caballero profeso' in the order of Santiago. When he left the government of Navarre he was granted 200,000 maravedís a year during his life, or until an equivalent was allowed him. *Velasco, Carta al Emp.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 266–7.

[2] Lorenzana gives his arrival in Mexico city Dec. 5th, and several authors follow him; all evidently in error, for the government record-book shows his first order to have been dated Nov. 28th, and the last one of Mendoza on Oct. 4th. *Gob. Pol.*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 14; *Torquemada*, i. 617, makes him arrive in 1551.

[3] 'Para dicha y felicidad de la Nueva-España.' *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 8; 'hombre cabal y pío.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 154.

[4] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxiii. 520–47.

The royal officials were not to be called to other duties than strictly those of their respective offices, experience having shown that such officers, under the pretext of collecting the revenue, often inflicted much injury.[5] Churchmen must not interfere in matters foreign to their calling.[6] Another most important injunction by the monarch was the advancement of public education, and the establishment of a university in Mexico.

As in duty bound Velasco set himself at work energetically to carry out his instructions, and continue to the best of his ability the work so well begun by Mendoza. His straightforward course won for him the respect and love of his subjects, and confirmed the confidence of the sovereign. One of his first acts was the enforcement, in 1551, of the new laws which it had been deemed expedient by Mendoza and Tello Sandoval to suspend in 1544 at the importunate petitions of the colonists. The king's commands were now peremptory to make effective the laws for the manumission of the natives. By an affirmatory decree of July 7, 1551, the crown ordered that all Indian women taken prisoners in war, and males who at the time of being captured were under fourteen years of age, whether already branded or not, should be forth-

[5] The crown in the first three years of this viceregal term issued several decrees to govern the treasury officials and other royal officers, notably: Examination of accounts now proceeding not to be interfered with even on appeal. Treasurer, contador, factor, and veedor to furnish each an additional bond of 10,000 pesos in gold. Escribanos de minas to have their fees curtailed. Duties on smelting and marking gold and silver, hitherto allowed to the marquis of Camarasa, the secretary Cobos, to be hereafter accounted for to the king. Treasury officials to sell all confiscated goods without delay at public vendue, an oidor to be always present at sales for treasury account. Masons, tailors, tinkers, and others of low degree, not to be made corregidores. The audiencia was inhibited from making appointments to offices held in perpetuity, and rendered vacant by death or resignation of the incumbent. *Puga, Cedulario*, 126, 128, 134, 136, 139, 181, 183–5.

[6] There being in New Spain many friars and clergymen who had come there without the requisite royal permission, some of the latter disguised as laymen, stringent orders were issued to the viceroy and audiencia to return all such to Spain forthwith. The first order of 1550 was reiterated May 31, 1552. *Puga, Cedulario*, 133–4, 179. In the same year, 1552, to avert 'los desmanes de los eclesiásticos en asunto de mugeres,' the king forbade the taking by churchmen to the Indies of women, even though the latter might be their own sisters. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 160.

with set free. This decree likewise included the prisoners taken in the last Jalisco war, as there was no right to make them slaves. Full-grown men taken prisoners and held in slavery, if the possessors could not show that they had been captured in a just war and after all the requirements of the royal ordinances on the subject had been fulfilled, were to be at once liberated, the burden of proof being laid on the masters; brands or bills of sale or other titles of possession were to go for nothing in such cases, the presumption being that those Indians were free vassals of the king.[7]

The colonists came forward with their opposition stronger than before. Old arguments were revived; they begged and threatened and wailed. The king's officers were firm, and one hundred and fifty thousand male slaves, besides great numbers of women and children, were set at liberty. It was a grand consummation, a most righteous act; and when we consider the times, the loss of revenue to the crown, the unpopularity, nay the absolute danger of the movement in regard to the colonists, and also that it was voluntarily done, we cannot but bless the religion which manufactures consciences productive of such results.[8]

Another important injunction was embodied in a cédula of September 21, 1551, from Prince Philip, who now governed Spain, forbidding the viceroy and audiencias to keep Indians in their service unless for fair wages. All demands of personal service, as tribute, were to be discontinued; the king and council knew that the natives preferred to pay their tribute in money, and not in labor, and this preference hereafter was to be respected. The viceroy, oidores, and

[7] If any such natives had been allotted to the crown for its fifths and sold, the sale money was to be returned to the purchasers out of the royal treasury and the natives freed. Other natives held as slaves, not as the result of war, and claiming their freedom were to be listened to, and their cases adjudicated according to the existing laws. The decree was to be circulated far and wide, that it might become known to all Indians; the Franciscan friars were also directed to instruct the Indian slaves to demand their liberty. *Puga, Cedulario*, 124–8, 144–5, 154, 186, 209. *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 16, with autographs of Prince Maximilian and Queen Juana.

[8] 'Quedando del todo sin esclavitud, y molestia.' *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 8.

archbishop were directed to assess the tribute the crown Indians were to pay in future, in lieu of personal service.[9]

Persons having slaves in the capital were forbidden to remove them. This policy was earnestly recommended to Velasco by his predecessor, on the ground that the slaves would thereby be enabled to obtain their freedom with greater certainty.[10]

In pursuance of the royal command of June 1, 1549, the viceroy determined to check the practice of forcing the natives to carry heavy loads, and gave orders accordingly.[11] It was even found necessary in some cases to check the clergy who had assumed temporal as well as spiritual authority. But as their acts could not be openly corrected without bringing disgrace upon the church, the viceroy asked for the privilege of exercising more private measures, which request the crown granted. Likewise the crown interposed its authority as late as 1558, to prevent caciques from abusing their subjects, capital punishment, mutilation of limbs, and other inflictions by their order being forbidden. The supreme jurisdiction in civil as well as criminal cases was formally assumed by the crown; and July 8, 1557, it was ordered, to prevent the caciques from robbing the wages of the laborers they employed, which had become a common practice, that such wages should be paid before the *ministro doctrinero*.

The thraldom of the chiefs over the *macehuales*, or

[9] An earlier cédula, July 7th, had enjoined the fixing of Indian tribute, and did away with the necessity of its being paid in gold-dust by any native. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 471–4; *Torquemada*, iii. 254–5.

[10] 'Con cargo que no le saque de la ciudad, porque dándoles lugar que los lleven fuera, no consiguen tan en breve la libertad.' *Mendoza, Rel., Apuntam. y Avisos*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 509.

[11] Some say they could not carry for money, because they were so ill-paid. 'Ni que fuese de gracia, ò por voluntad de los propios Indios, ni oprimidos, y forçados.' *Torquemada*, i. 618. In June 1552 the king commanded that orders of the viceroy should be obeyed, even when appealed from and the appeal allowed by the audiencia. *Puga, Cedulario*, 132. The king had also contemplated the reappointment of a protector of Indians in New Spain, but for some reason failed to do so for some time. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 481; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 143–5, MS., 860–1.

laborers, was a heavy one. Many held the position of caciques by their own assumption, without being the rightful heirs of deceased chiefs. As a matter of fact many of the old lords and chiefs had died, since the Spanish conquest, leaving no succession. Others had become rulers by the favor of the friars or corregidores, who had made them governors, alcaldes, or sheriffs; and as soon as an Indian began to hold such an office he called himself a chief. The next year another set would be created, and this was continued from year to year till the number had so multiplied that about one fourth of the native population called themselves *principales*, or chiefs. Cortés brought the subject to the attention of the crown with the addition that these self-constituted caciques, having the rod of power in their hands, had seized a large portion of the taxable lands, claiming them as patrimonial, and settled on them native rent-payers, from whom they exacted high rents besides the royal tribute of one dollar, and a half fanega of maize.[12]

Had the yearly tribute been no more than this, the burden might easily have been borne; but as a matter of fact the natives had many burdens laid upon them, such as personal labor, providing firewood, and supplying fodder for animals. The king, the communes, the friars, and the head-men who ruled the towns, all were entitled to a share. The exactions other than crown receipts were called "sobras de tributos y bienes de comunidad," and at one time were no less than 300,000 pesos, and together with personal service were pure imposition on the macehuales. They had, moreover, to serve for nothing whenever the authorities

[12] The marqués del Valle urged the discontinuance of the system. The real old chiefs might, however, have their *pillalli*, or patrimonial lands, cultivated by fairly paid native laborers. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, iv. 449–51. In time many macehuales deserted their lords, which the Spanish court discountenanced. Oct. 20, 1568, it ordered that such deserters should be restored to their natural caciques. However, in 1628 and 1654 royal orders were issued to investigate false titles and set such aside, to protect the rightful caciques in their privileges, and at the same time relieve the plebeians from unjust burdens. No mestizo could become a cacique; a law of 1576 expressly forbade it. *Zamora, Leg. Ult.*, ii. 153.

called upon them to build town-houses or to make other improvements. Under such a system towns could get along without funds, and the surplus spoken of was appropriated by the unprincipled collectors.[13]

A common trick was for the collectors to ask every two or three years for a new count, on the ground of a decrease in the population, which they made apparent by hiding a number of the natives. Then with less to account for they would collect from all and keep the surplus. The remedy suggested by Cortés to check these frauds, and to do away with all undue thraldom, and at the same time offer an inducement to the macehual to acquire industrious habits and improve his fortunes, was to give each man or head of a family a title for himself and his legal heirs, to a share of land, conditioned upon his faithful payment every year of a certain rent, under penalty of forfeiture of the leasehold. By this arrangement the tribute would be laid on the land and not on the laborer. The surplus shares of land remaining at the first grants should be awarded to those born thereafter in the district, and of proper age, who had no land to cultivate because their parents had not a sufficient quantity.[14] This proposal met with favor on the part of the crown. Early in 1560 it was ordained that all scattered natives should be called to dwell in

[13] An abuse injurious to both the payer and the royal treasury. *Cortés*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, iv. 441–2, 446–52, 456; *Valderrama*, in *Id.*, iv. 359; *Rel. Anón.*, in *Id.*, vi. 166–7. Cortés seemed, however, to have the interests of the crown more at heart than those of the victim. He wanted the tributes increased in more favored localities, where many could make in two or three days the amount of their yearly tax, but being too lazy to work and benefit themselves, needed to be forced to it. In fact, they chose to pay four or six reals rather than the half fanega of maize, when a whole fanega was worth only four or five reals. The grain should be demanded, he urged, in lieu of money; otherwise in a short time there would be a famine. There was another imposition the natives were called upon to suffer; that of Spanish travellers billeting themselves with their servants and animals upon them. A royal order in 1563 required that travelling Spaniards should put up at inns, if there were any, or if not, to pay for what they had. *Zamora, Ley. Ult.*, ii. 556.

[14] In 1575 the royal tribute continued at the old rate. A number of natives had become the owners of large haciendas and other property paying no other tax. *Enriquez, Carta al Rey* (Sept. 23, 1575), in *Cartas de Indias*, 307–8; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 463.

towns, where they were to hold lands, and to pursue their useful mode of obtaining a livelihood. This was really the reiteration of an order of October 1558. If carried out in a proper spirit this law would have proved beneficial; but the avariciousness of the white men charged with its execution defeated its object. They gave the natives only the more barren lands, reserving the best for themselves and their friends.[15] On the other hand it was true that the natives did not like to work, and the government felt obliged at last to compel them to raise more grain than they actually required for their own use and for tribute.[16]

The viceroy Velasco attended faithfully to the carrying-out of these orders. Towns within five leagues of Mexico city were to be visited for the above purposes by the oidores. For visiting more distant towns, and enforcing the measures for the benefit of the natives, the crown ordered that the licentiate Diego Ramirez, an upright man,[17] should be specially commissioned. The audiencia was made to render him all possible aid, and to countenance no appeals from his decisions. Ramirez' term, originally limited to six months, was afterward extended for as long a time as he might need to complete his useful tasks.

It was enjoined on the visitadores, whether Ramirez or an oidor, to prevent among other abuses that of inflicting corporal punishment on the natives by friars who had usurped the power of imprisoning, whipping, and clipping the hair of native offenders. They were also to cause the removal of all herds of cattle and flocks of sheep grazing on lands to the injury of the natives; and to see that the latter had the requisite spiritual aid.

[15] This injustice caused a dispersion, and the project had to be abandoned. *Torquemada*, iii. 263.

[16] I judge that was the object in view when the viceroy and audiencia decreed December 5, 1578, in obedience to a royal order of May 7, 1577, that the encomenderos should not sell to or exchange with their own Indians the maize received in tribute. *Montemaior, Autos Acord.*, 33.

[17] From the beginning to the end of his rule Velasco was careful to appoint none to office but the moral and upright. *Torquemada*, i. 622; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 549, MS., 1133.

One of the objects of Ramirez' trust was to officially apprise the encomenderos that their tenure would be only for the natural life of themselves and their next legitimate son or daughter, but at the death of the second holders the repartimientos were to revert to the crown. This was pursuant to the royal decree of April 5, 1552, providing the succession to an encomienda in the eldest son or direct heir lawfully begotten.[18] Not long afterward the succession was extended to the second, and later to several more generations,[19] so that in effect it became perpetual.

The royal order giving preference to the conquerors was extended to their sons, notably by a law

[18] In the event of his inability or unwillingness to accept it, then the second son, and so on to the last; if there were no sons, then the eldest daughter, and in her default, the next in succession, under certain obligations; if there were neither sons nor daughters, then the widow. After the death of this second holder, the encomienda was to revert to the crown. Under the king's general regulations no mulatto, mestizo, nor any one of illegitimate birth could hold an encomienda. If any was so holden, it was to revert at once to the crown. The order was subsequently modified, allowing the viceroy of Peru in 1559 to legitimize children born out of wedlock, even where the mothers were Indians, upon the payment of a sufficient sum to secure the encomiendas they were to inherit. That privilege was rescinded in 1561; its revival asked for, was refused in 1573, and had not been allowed as late as 1612. It is likely that the same rule held good in Mexico. *Puga, Cedulario*, 136.

[19] The right of transmission to the third generation having been tolerated in New Spain in 1555, Viceroy Velasco was in doubt if, in default of children, the privilege extended to widows and other heirs. This was at first refused; but on the 9th of February 1561 the viceroy and audiencia were directed to permit, when there were no sons or daughters in the third generation, surviving husbands to inherit the encomiendas of their wives, and vice versa, until the crown should enact some general law. This led to abuses in marriages between old women and young men, or of old men with young women, to secure the inheritance of encomiendas, which were frequent and continued until in later years the king adopted measures to prevent such unequal alliances. February 27, 1575, and July 8, 1603, such inheritances were forbidden in the second and third generations, unless the parties had been married and lived together at least six months. *Puga, Cedulario*, 132, 136, 139, 149–50, 184–6, 192–3. *Testimonio*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 478–80. *Montesclaros*, in *Id.*, vi. 284, 288–90. In 1563 the crown resolved that encomiendas should no longer be transmissible to heirs in the third generation. This project exasperated holders of the second generation, and much trouble arose in consequence. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 195. But it was not carried out. And there were cases, on the contrary, in later years, where the tenure passed to the fourth and even to the fifth generation. The encomenderos were required by law to dwell in the provinces where they held their encomiendas. The provision was, however, often disregarded. Those living in Mexico with permission were not authorized to compel their Indians to bring the tributes thither; nor had they the right of taking from the Indians any article of food without paying therefor. *Puga, Cedulario*, 154.

of 1553 ordering that the sons of the first conquerors of New Spain who were not possessed of encomiendas should be preferred for the position of corregidor and other offices, in order that they might derive a support therefrom.[20] The pension-list to widows and offspring of the old conquerors at the time amounted to about 24,000 pesos per annum.[21]

Even these broad and searching measures were deemed insufficient by Friar Pedro de Gante, for in 1552 we find him writing to the king setting forth the great suffering of the natives from excessive labor and heavy taxation.[22] He beseeches the monarch to look with merciful eyes on his red subjects not only of New Spain but of New Galicia. Nor were these prayers disregarded by the crown. Orders were issued for the benefit of the natives, and issued again, and several oppugnant decrees of the viceroy and audiencia were repealed by royal command. And yet many and gross evils continued. The archbishop confirmed Gante's statement, yet added that the natives were vicious, given to carnal pleasures, drinking, and gambling, and excessively fond of litigation. They were

[20] The second marqués del Valle, soon after his arrival in Mexico, showed himself to be not unmindful of the old conquerors, now few, and most of them poor. It was true, he said to the monarch, that they received some assistance from the royal treasury, but it did not suffice to support them. To further aid them he wished that of the 400 public offices at least 100 should be given them; considering the fact that a great many of those offices existed merely to afford a maintenance to some man; otherwise 200 might be abolished. *Cortés, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 459–60.

[21] Those pensions were paid out of the fund of *indios vacos*, or unappropriated Indians; the lowest was 30 pesos, and one, the highest, of 450 pesos; many were of 300 pesos; a few of 400 pesos; the rest ranged from 250 pesos downward. *Agurto, Pensiones*, in *Id.*, xiv. 201–20. In 1554 there were 18 encomenderos, who were aged and without heirs; at their death the Indians would revert to the crown. A list appears in *Relacion*, xiv. 220–2. The veedor of New Spain, Santander, in a letter to the sovereign of July 15, 1557, recommended the perpetuity of the tenure of Indians, on the ground that there would be less warfare and mortality; the Spaniards would be better disposed to serve their king, and the royal revenue would be augmented without taxing the white settlers. It seems that for him the Indian had no rights that should not be made subservient forever to the interests of the crown and the benefit of the Spanish conqueror. *Santander, Carta*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxvi. 351 et seq.

[22] This condition of things made it impossible, he said, for the natives to advance morally or otherwise. The effect was to debase them more and more, and to rapidly decrease their number. *Gante, Carta al Emp.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 92–102; *Zamora, Leg. Ult.*, ii. 152–4; *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 13.

ground down by heavy taxes and personal service, a portion of which went to the priests, and the rest was consumed by the caciques, governors, and chiefs in eating and drinking. The tributes had been lowered, but the common laborers felt not the benefit of the decrease, as they were made to pay at the old rates, the chiefs reaping the advantage of the difference. They were virtually held in slavery.[23] On the matter reaching the ear of the king the audiencia was directed January 19, 1560, and again July 12th, of the same year, to check such abuses.

It was the audiencia as much as unprincipled encomenderos and infamous tax-collectors that thwarted the beneficent designs of the king and his viceroy. As a court of appeal this tribunal would render nugatory many of the viceroy's decrees. Then the affairs of the natives would be postponed and impeded in such a manner as to defeat the ends of justice, and render of no effect the beneficent royal purposes.[24] This was folly on the part of the high court, and a cause of inconvenience to the litigants. The condition of the natives, as a matter of justice and charity, called for prompt despatch in their suits at law, and freedom from costs; no pettifoggers should have been allowed to meddle with them. In their ignorance, and for several reasons, the Indians permitted the mestizos and others to exercise over them a baneful influence, in inducing them to keep up litigation, particularly about their lands. The best course that occurred to the viceroy was to expel all mestizos and

[23] *Arzob. de Méj.*, *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, iv. 499, 515–22. Father Toral, who had invariably shown himself a warm friend of the natives, did acknowledge, however, that Velasco had done much toward improving their condition, as he had abolished personal service, slavery, and many abuses. *Toral*, *Carta á S. M. el Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 138.

[24] The emperor's attention was called to the matter by the Franciscan comisario and other fathers of that order, among them Motolinia and Sahagun, who complained that the audiencia's course made much confusion between the Spaniards and natives. *Bustamante et al.*, *Carta al Emp.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 121–2. The viceroy told the king that were it not for his forbearance much trouble might have resulted from the insolent behavior of some of the oidores; he then begged for the appointment of a visitador of the audiencia, and for the removal of those objectionable oidores.

obnoxious Spaniards from the Indian towns. He also insisted that the authorities, both high and low, should be ever watchful, in order that the natives might accept as real the government's protection.

Among the measures favoring the natives the provision of hospitals for the care of their indigent sick was worthy of much commendation. Prince Philip, at the suggestion of Viceroy Velasco, decreed in 1553 the construction of a suitable building for that purpose in the city of Mexico,[25] and other hospitals and infirmaries were founded.[26]

Obviously the enforcement of the new laws soon began to tell on the royal revenue. This had been predicted to Velasco in the beginning of his rule, but he had said that such considerations were of little import; the freedom of men was of more importance than all the mines in the world.[27] Velasco was forced to admit, however, that the new laws had caused trouble and poverty, partly because of exemption from personal service, but in a great measure owing to the fact that the Spaniards would not exert themselves. He feared that the royal treasury would long feel the bad effects of this state of things, unless a timely remedy was applied.[28]

[25] It was to cost 2,000 pesos de oro. An extra allowance of 400 pesos de oro yearly was also granted. The fund having been exhausted before the edifice was finished, the prince, now King Philip II., in 1556 gave a further sum of 2,000 pesos de oro from the royal treasury. This, together with the aid the natives themselves could afford, was deemed all-sufficient. This hospital, and others which were subsequently established, proved very useful during the desolating epidemics of 1555 and later. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, 163. In 1556 Father José de Angulo was at Brussels, where Philip's court then was, and heard from the royal lips high praise of Viceroy Velasco's Indian policy and of the loyalty of the natives. Velasco was commended in a letter of January of that year. *Felipe II., Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 403–6. *Puga, Cedulario*, 187.

[26] Viceroy Enriquez, who ruled the country from 1568 to 1580, saw their necessity, and made provision accordingly. He distrusted his countrymen, who, he feared, cared little for the Indian. In his suggestion to his successor he speaks clearly: 'despues de servirse de los indios, mas cuidado tienen de sus perros que no dellos.' *Henriquez, Instruccion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 482–6.

[27] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 158–9, piously ascribes Velasco's first act of justice to the natives to his anxiety for bespeaking God's favor to his rule: 'para comenzar su gobierno con la bendicion de Dios.'

[28] *Velasco, Carta al Emp.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 267.

The Spanish population was discontented; a considerable part of it was in a state of indigence, partly owing to the number of vagrants and to extravagant habits which had again increased notwithstanding the restrictive sumptuary laws. On the other hand, among the natives there was more independence and comfort; and the viceroy had become apprehensive of evils to come. He told the king that the land was full of negroes and mestizos, greatly exceeding the Spaniards in number, and all anxious to purchase their freedom with the lives of their masters. To accomplish this end there was reason to fear they would join whichever side should rebel, Indians or Spaniards. To avert revolt he recommended expeditions to be made, the companies to be formed of white men, negroes, and mestizos. No more Spaniards should be allowed to come to the country, much less negroes, there being twenty thousand of the latter present, and their number increasing. It would be well also to send to Spain as many of the mestizos as possible.

To satisfy the Spaniards he favored the plan of giving the conquerors and first settlers or their heirs the promised encomiendas, but without political or judicial powers, and making them pay a portion of the taxation, say one sixth or one seventh, for the support of the church, conversion, and instruction of the natives; committing, at the same time, the care of teaching the aborigines to the prelates, which duty hitherto had belonged to the encomenderos. These should be required to dwell at their encomiendas, and in the town with the prelate.[29]

[29] The council of bishops in 1555 also said to the crown that the country was full of vagrants from Spain; men who had neither occupation nor means of livelihood; and it was necessary to stop the emigration of more of that class. *Mex.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 526–7. This condition went on from bad to worse for several years. The veedor, Doctor Santander, a resident of 16 years in America, recorded July 1557, that there were 4,000 white persons born in Mexico who were unemployed and without support; to which number were to be added the white persons from Spain, and the half-breeds. *Santander, Carta*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxvi. 351. To check vagrancy a royal order of Oct. 3, 1558, exacted that Spaniards, Indians, and mixed breeds should dwell in towns. *Puga, Cedulario*, 205. In some parts of New

With corruption present in the grand tribunal, and purity of intention on the part of the king's representative, it was natural that questions regarding the powers of the viceroy should arise. Velasco, as well as others, appealed to the emperor to make clear his duties. Theoretically, the viceroy's powers had been, and continued to be till 1560, unlimited in matters of government. As a matter of form, Velasco had, on difficult affairs, invariably asked the audiencia's advice. That body together with some wealthy Spaniards, whose abuses he had suppressed, or attempted to check, labored not only to undermine his standing at court, but to restrict his powers. They were aware that they could not influence the king against Velasco personally, whose pure motives and good services were much valued; still, they brought to bear plausible pretences, and won to their views some of the king's counsellors. Velasco's health was represented as broken, which might affect his mind, and render his decisions not always judicious. For this reason they claimed it was expedient to appoint him a council whom he should consult upon state affairs before adopting any resolution. Such a course would insure the proper deliberation, and relieve him of much responsibility. By such means the king was finally brought to accede to the suggestions of his counsellors, and decreed that in future the viceroy of New Spain should adopt no action without the previous advice and consent of the audiencia, which became thus constituted as a viceregal council. All the

Spain provisions were scarce, and the villas of Purificacion and Pánuco were in 1553 already becoming depopulated. *Velasco*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 263–5. The women were so extravagant in the use of jewelry that the country felt its bad effects. No improvement was gained by the royal measures to check vice. The second marqués del Valle complains bitterly of indolence, increasing want, and vice; truth was almost a stranger in the country; lying and perjury had become a staple, 'porques cosecha desta tierra.' *Cortés, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 455–6, 458–9. Still later, in 1570, vagabondage and lawlessness were still rampant. *Mendieta, Carta á Joan de Ouando*, in *Prov. del Stº Evang.*, MS., No. 16, 208–9. An Englishman who visited the city of Mexico in 1572, declared, 'the men...are marvellous vicious; and in like manner the women are dishonest of their bodies.' *Hawks' Rel.*, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 463.

authorities who treat of this subject agree that the new system was productive of confusion and evil consequences, and that Spaniards as well as Indians suffered from it.[30]

A large portion of the most worthy Spaniards disapproved of the course adopted toward Velasco. Even the ayuntamiento of Mexico objected to it without showing any factious spirit. It chose two of its members, Gerónimo Ruiz de la Mota and Bernardino Albornoz, to represent at court the evils arising from the late enactment. They were joined by three prominent fathers of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Austin orders, who had been despatched on the same errand, one of whom was Francisco de Bustamante, the Franciscan comisario general. The viceroy, on his part, while obeying the royal mandate, reiterated to the king his desire that a visitador should be sent out. The agents reached Spain in 1562, presented their case, and the royal counsellors, to quiet them all, advised the appointment of a visitador. The licenciado Valderrama was accordingly commissioned with instructions to consult public exigencies, and promote, as far as possible, the welfare of New Spain. In due time will be presented to the reader his arrival, and the manner in which he discharged his trust.

Most of the measures enacted of late years by the crown for the administration of affairs in New Spain emanated from Prince Philip, who was in charge of the government, owing to the emperor's failing health and absence in his German dominions.[31] In January 1556

[30] 'Se experimentó que encallaban cada dia mas los negocios de los Españoles, y se olvidaban de los naturales.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 170. Mendieta speaks of the contempt that was thrown upon the royal representatives in the country. Even the natives had learned to pay no respect to their decisions, having been prevailed on to look to the audiencia as the real superior authority; 'no hagais cuenta de lo que este os ha dicho, ni de lo que dexa mandado, que no es sino vn hombre por aì, que pasa de camino, y no puede nada, que allà en Mexico, estàn los Tlatoques... que nos favoreceràn, y haràn lo que quisièremos.' *Torquemada*, i. 625–6.

[31] He wrote the audiencia of Mexico, May 10, 1554, to announce his approaching marriage with Queen Mary of England, and to order that during

Philip was in Brussels, where he had come according to his father's instructions, to be present at the king's abdication, and to receive the crown of Spain. The official notification was made by both Charles and the new monarch, who assumed the name of Philip II. on the day after the ceremony, but it does not seem to have reached the city of Mexico till early in 1557, although rumors of the change had been rife during the year. The official announcement was received by the ayuntamiento of the capital on the 5th of April 1558, and with the approbation of Viceroy Velasco, the 6th of June was fixed for the act of recognition and of swearing allegiance to the new king, when among other ceremonies the banner was raised, Archbishop Montúfar celebrating as pontifical at high mass.

On the 17th of June 1556 Philip had repeated to the viceroy the notice of his elevation to the throne, confirming him, the members of the audiencia, and others in their respective offices. He then spoke of the distressed condition of his treasury, directing the viceroy to appeal to the wealthy Spaniards for pecuniary assistance. He was not to use coercion, but only most persistently to ask, and to assure them that their aid would be of great service to their king and country. The viceroy was to arrange with the lenders for the mode of reimbursing the loans. Father José de Angulo, who had visited the court at Brussels on ecclesiastical affairs, was directed by the king to return to New Spain without delay, and exert himself in procuring the much needed funds.

his absence the commands of his sister, the princess of Portugal, should be obeyed. *Puga, Cedulario*, 149..

CHAPTER XXVIII.

VICEROY VELASCO'S RULE.

1551–1564.

ARRIVAL OF MARTIN CORTÉS, SECOND MARQUÉS DEL VALLE—VISITADOR VALDERRAMA AND HIS RELATIONS WITH CORTÉS—NEW POLICY REGARDING ENCOMIENDAS—CORTÉS' TROUBLES—THREATENED REVOLT AND VELASCO'S WISE COURSE—ROYAL ORDERS AFFECTING THE AUDIENCIA—THE VISITADOR'S EXACTIONS OF THE INDIANS—HIS EFFORTS TO CHECK ABUSES, AND PROPOSED REFORMS—HIS DISAGREEMENTS WITH THE VICEROY—CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF VELASCO—HIS DEATH, BURIAL, AND GENERAL REGRET—PUBLIC EDUCATION—FLOODS IN THE MEXICAN VALLEY—DISASTROUS EXPEDITION TO FLORIDA—SETTLEMENTS IN ZACATECAS AND GUANAJUATO—CONQUEST OF THE NORTH-WESTERN REGION—KINGDOM OF NUEVA VISCAYA—EXPEDITION TO THE PHILIPPINES AND ITS RESULTS.

I HAVE stated that Martin Cortés, the lawful heir of Mexico's conqueror, was taken to Spain in 1540, being then eight years of age. After his father's death he came into possession of his title and of its vast estates. He had received a liberal education and had been trained, as became his rank, for the profession of arms; he accompanied Philip to Flanders, where he served with distinction, and also in the famous battle of Saint Quentin, being the first native of Mexico to render service to the Spanish crown in Europe. He likewise was one of Philip's suite when that prince went to England to wed Queen Mary. After the Flanders campaign he married Doña Ana Ramirez de Arellano, his niece,[1] for which it is presumed he first obtained a special dispensation of the pope.

He now determined to return to his native land,

[1] *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 236.

Before leaving Spain, however, he sold to the king his chief house in Mexico, that which has since been the national palace, with the whole block including the mint, barracks, and other offices. The deed of conveyance, dated January 29, 1562, stipulated that the quarters occupied by the oidores, that is to say, the montepío building of later years, should be surrendered to him.[2]

About this time was brought to a final decision the suit left pending by the old conqueror at his death on the counting of his vassals. It was against the marquis' claim. The court's rendering was that every house and hereditament should count for one vecino, and young Cortés was condemned to restore to the crown all excess over the 23,000 vassals that Charles had granted his father; also to pay all sums till then collected by his agents from the vassals exceeding that number. This last part of the decision was tantamount to utter ruin for the young marquis. However, Philip, who held in high esteem the great services of the conqueror, and also those of the son, exempted the latter from the payment of the excess above mentioned, and, in the cédula issued at Toledo March 16, 1562, not only confirmed the grant made to his father, but also renewed it without restriction; that is to say, all vecinos of the twenty-three towns, whatsoever their number, were to be reckoned as his vassals. The only exception was the villa and port of Tehuantepec, which the crown reserved for government uses, allowing in compensation therefor the tributes it yielded.

All his affairs being thus advantageously arranged, the marquis, now aged thirty years, embarked for Mexico with his family, excepting his eldest son and heir presumptive, whom he left in Seville, bringing

[2] The property so conveyed the viceroy and audiencia removed to in 1562. It was destroyed June 8, 1692, by a conflagration during the riots. The old palace was also situated on the plaza, and bounded by the streets of Tacuba, Plateros, La Profesa, and San José el Real, and served for government purposes till given up.

also his half-brothers Martin, Marina's son, and Luis, son of Antonia Hermosilla.[3] There is nothing to show the date of their embarkation, but in September 1562 they arrived at Campeche in a small ship, during a severe gale, the family having experienced much suffering.[4] After a sojourn there of two months they continued their journey, and arrived safely in Mexico early in the spring of 1563, there to be received with the great demonstrations due his rank and the memory of his father.[5]

The marquis' high rank and large income, united to the memory of his father's illustrious deeds and his own honorable services, gave him the most prominent standing in the country, second only to the chief representative of the crown. Indeed, he thought it but due his father's name that the son should set up an establishment on the footing of a prince, where his friends were at all times welcomed and entertained with lavish hospitality. This augmented his influence and made him a power in the land. When he rode out he was followed by a page wearing a steel helmet and carrying a raised lance the point of which was enclosed in a bag with small silken tassels for closing it; and to attend church he caused his servants to take there for himself and the marchioness two velvet prie-dieux with two cushions and two chairs. This could be done in Spain by persons of rank without

[3] Martin had been taken to Spain in 1528. Charles V. made him a knight of Santiago; and when old enough to enter the military profession he served in the campaigns of Algiers and Germany, distinguishing himself and receiving several wounds. His fortune was scanty, and it may be said that he derived his support almost entirely from his brother, the marquis. He married an estimable lady, Doña Bernardina de Porras.

[4] The alcalde mayor and the bishop visited them and rendered all the aid in their power. The marchioness there gave birth to a boy. *Quixada, Carta al Rey* (March 15, 1563), in *Cartas de Indias*, 385. The boy was christened Gerónimo. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 146–7, 187, 340–1.

[5] Everywhere on the route the marquis was greeted with marks of affection. The capital gave him an enthusisastic welcome. Upwards of 300 magnificently attired and mounted gentlemen escorted him into the city; another body of 2,000 horsemen with black cloaks followed in the procession. After promenading the streets cheered by the people and greeted with the smiles of the first ladies of the country, the marquis and his friends visited Viceroy Velasco, who gave him a hearty welcome. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 191–2.

exciting comment, but in Mexico it awakened envy, and later was brought forward as a serious charge.

The friends and associates of the young nobleman were among the first families of the city, including the viceroy and his son. Among his most intimate acquaintances were the brothers Gil Gonzalez and Alonso de Ávila, sons of the conqueror Gil Gonzalez de Ávila and his wife Doña Leonor de Alvarado.[6] Born in Mexico of pure Castilian blood, they were for their high character and agreeable manners generally esteemed. The first-named was now twenty-four years of age, a widower, quiet and grave though affable, and held in encomienda the town of Ixmiquilpan. Alonso was a year younger, handsome, elegant, brave, and jovial, and possessed the valuable encomiendas of Quautitlan, Jaltocan, Zirándaro, and Guaineo, which yielded him a considerable income. His wife, Doña María de Sosa, was an estimable young lady. The marquis was often seen in company with the two brothers, and the intimacy brought upon them all great grief, as we shall see.

Society in Mexico had rapidly developed during the last two decades, and was now becoming in many respects individual and pronounced. Upon the Old World manners and customs was cast the New World influence, and the result was an order of things never before witnessed. While holding to ancient traditions, there was less restraint, more freedom of thought, more room for aspiration and respiration in American airs than in European. Side by side were the descendants of the conquerors and the Spanish nobility which constituted the aristocracy. The opening of mines and the slavery system in its several modified forms had brought on flush times. Money was abundant and freely spent.

Banquets, balls, and other entertainments were of daily occurrence in high circles, all vying with one

[6] Alaman, *Disert.*, ii. 142, and others say they were the sons of Alonso de Ávila.

another in reckless expenditure. Having once placed themselves on the slippery declivity of human folly, it was difficult for the young nobility to stop short of ruin. Most of the first families soon found themselves deeply in debt, and with their property encumbered. A large portion of the debts had been incurred at the gaming-table and by the practice of other vices. The young men were wont to indulge in masked promenades on horseback, and failed not to take advantage of their position and wealth to corrupt women.[7]

The marqués del Valle, however, seems to have behaved well, nêver giving himself up to vicious practices. Like his father he was respectful to the church and its ministers, often dismounting to bend the knee and kiss the friar's hand, which example the natives were not slow to follow.[8] The friendship between the marquis and the Velascos was not of long duration. The great display of wealth by the former indicated his determination to hold the first position in the country, even overshadowing the viceroy, who, as the monarch's lieutenant, could not brook such pretensions. And when the viceroy showed signs of temper, Cortés arrayed himself in yet greater ostentation. He ordered made for himself a silver seal, somewhat smaller than the one used by the king, on which was engraved the words "Martinus Cortesus primus hujus nominis Dux marchio secundus."[9] When it was taken to the royal treasury officials to pay the fifth duty, the chief official, Hortuño de Ibarra, considering it too large for a subject to use, delivered it to the viceroy, who being of the same opinion retained the seal, instituted proceedings, and sent them to the king. This action of course displeased Cortés, and widened the breach. Their feud was so warm

[7] Viceroy Velasco tried to check it, but met with poor success. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 193.

[8] When asked who taught them to kneel and kiss the priest's hand, they would answer, 'El gran capitan Don Martin Cortés.' *Zevallos, Hist. y Viage*, 361-2.

[9] Martin Cortés, first captain (or duke) and second marquis of his name. *Orozco y Berra, Not. Hist.*, 79.

that on the arrival of the visitador, Valderrama, it broke out disgracefully. For the reception of the visitador the viceroy invited all officials and persons of rank, among them the marquis, who paid no heed to the invitation and resolved not to appear in the viceregal suite. He would go in advance with some friends, and be followed by the page with the lance, his object being to meet the visitador in Cuitlahuac, four leagues out; but he came upon him in fact at Itztapalapa, a league and a half from Mexico.

Valderrama was gratified at this mark of attention, and with the marquis' manner, and together they rode toward the city. Though chagrined, Velasco smothered his resentment as best he was able until he saw the page, when he sent Antonio de Turcios, the secretary of the audiencia, to tell Cortés that he should at once send the fellow away. Such an order, now for the first time given, and in such company, enraged the marquis, who resolved to disregard it. When the viceroy threatened him with arrest, the marquis turned to the visitador and said, "Your worship has now the evidence of the viceroy's ill-will toward me. I am glad this has occurred that you may form your own judgment." Valderrama, in order to stop the disagreeable scene, supported the viceroy's authority. But not to wound the marquis too deeply, he ordered the page to keep himself at some distance from the suite. This reconciled matters, and the march continued on to the city, where all entered on the 16th of August 1563. Valderrama became the guest of the marquis, and there was soon an intimate friendship between them.

The marquis shortly afterward caused his intendente to form a general statement of his affairs, from which it appeared that the yearly income from the encomiendas amounted to 150,000 pesos. It reached the ears of the king, who thought the revenue almost too royal for a subject, and directed the solicitor general to notify Cortés that the crown had been deceived

with regard to the value of his encomiendas. Doctor Zurita was consequently deputed by the audiencia to make the count of the Indians, and the report was against the holder.[10]

The crown then resolved that encomiendas should not be transmissible to the third generation. This measure was deemed unjust by the encomenderos, whose wrath against the king and his advisers became hot.[11] Among the more violent was Alonso de Ávila, whose income it is said was twenty thousand pesos per annum. With him were his brother and Baltasar de Aguilar, who as they talked of the matter among themselves, and with others, became more and more enraged, and in time it was said that the three were at the head of a conspiracy against the crown, and fast winning to their plans influential men by the offer of honors and offices, of all which the marquis was said to be apprised.[12] The viceroy hearing of it summoned to his presence the suspected parties, and spoke to them with his customary wisdom and kindness. Little more was heard of it at the time and it was supposed the affair was at an end.[13] The encomenderos, however, resolved to bring before the crown the matter of their holdings. Having first obtained leave of the audiencia, on the 4th of February 1564 they came before the city council of Mexico in a committee composed of Francisco de Velasco, Gonzalo de las Casas, Gonzalo Cerezo, and Rodrigo Maldonado. The council approved of the plan, and chose young

[10] Cortés complained that the computation had been purposely excessive, not so much to injure him as to blind the king. *Carta* (Oct. 10, 1563), in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 460–1. The viceroy on June 22, 1564, reported his towns to have upward of 60,000 natives that must have yielded 84,387 pesos annually, that is to say, a population of 47,000 and an income of over 47,000 pesos in excess of the original grant to his father. *Orozco y Berra, Not. Hist.*, 29.

[11] Many of them in their excitement threatened to repudiate the king's authority in these dominions. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 195.

[12] 'Se habló, que hazian ya maese de campo y oficiales, y títulos en los pueblos, de duques y condes; y puesto ya todo en plática, dieron parte dello al marqués.' *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 196.

[13] Velasco, notwithstanding, represented the marquis' conduct in dark colors; he could not avoid inflicting some punishment on his enemy.

Alonso de Ávila, one of its members, to represent the matter in Spain. But afterward, at a meeting held at the house of the marquis, Diego Ferrer, who had been his tutor, was selected for the mission.

The king's instructions to Visitador Valderrama were quite explicit as to the course he was to pursue toward the audiencia. He was to enforce the royal decrees which forbade their engaging in expeditions of discovery or in any business foreign to their official duties. They had, it seems, remonstrated against that strict rule, and their requests had been refused by the crown; it was now notorious that they engaged in unlawful business, and from the profits paid the fines, when they could not escape them.[14] The viceroy was empowered to try offences of the oidores, who were commanded to testify whenever called upon. The instructions provided that in the event of his death or inability to discharge his duties, the audiencia should rule temporarily. It was certainly well to provide for the succession, but it was not wise to let it fall to corrupt men.

After the king's envoy had recovered from the effects of his journey, he went to inspect the king's towns. Under the impression that the tribute the natives were paying was too little, he doubled it, including now those who lived in the city of Mexico and had been heretofore exempt from tribute. Under the new law all must pay two pesos instead of one every year. The natives presented a petition to the visitador against the change, but it availed nothing; nor were the viceroy's representations in their favor more successful. Valderrama's heartlessness and ob-

[14] The warning to be given them by the visitador was that such offences would be punished with dismissal from office, forfeiture of estate, and a fine of 1,000 ducats; and persons acting in copartnership with them would also be subjected to confiscation of their estates. The visitador himself was forbidden to send any relative to visit provinces in his name. He was to make the visits in person. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 172–3.

stinacy disgusted all classes, and won him an unenviable name.[15]

In his report to the king on judicial matters February 24, 1564, he said that the officials were not as they should be, hinting that the viceroy and his son and brother, as well as the oidores, had too many relatives in the country, all of whom were interested in affairs and aided one another;[16] hence the quality of justice was not always reputable. He had also concluded upon the retirement of two of the oidores, one of whom was aged and the other deaf; recommending at the same time the appointment of alcaldes to preside over the lower courts of judicature. He hinted that some infamous rascality, without saying what, was practised under cover of authority, which he would in due time expose and punish, and endeavor at the same time to clear the country of such characters as its authors.[17] His interference was salutary in most instances. In lieu of the tax of two pesos some paid one peso, and half a fanega of maize, or each paid his proportion on the quantity of land held. A few years later negroes and mulattoes were also required to pay a tribute of two pesos yearly.[18]

The king's financial affairs were not in a satisfactory condition. Martin Cortés, who had perhaps ceased after his rupture with the Velascos to be an impartial authority, suggested that the counting and taxing of the crown Indians should not be left to

[15] That of 'afligidor de los indios.' *Torquemada*, i. 624–5. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 174.

[16] Valderrama even represented Velasco as an incompetent, who, together with his favored Dominicans, had brought the country to the brink of ruin. The Dominicans, a little later, took sides in the troubles with the audiencia and its faction, whilst the Franciscans, their rivals, for a time favored the Cortés clique.

[17] 'Aquí hay escribanos y testigos para lo que los quisieren.' *Valderrama, Cartas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 355–7, 368–9. His undoubted zeal and ability, however, were of little avail against the power and influence of the oidores and the force of long-established usage.

[18] If married within their own class; if single, one peso. A female negro or mulatto married to a Spaniard was exempt; if to an Indian, the husband's rate was paid. The offspring of a negro and an Indian paid as an Indian. *Montemaior, Autos Acord.*, 148–9; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 461–2.

the viceroy if his Majesty desired a large revenue from them, but to the visitador should be given the entire control.[19] He also boldly asserted that there was a manifest lack of integrity in the officials which unfavorably affected the royal treasury. The evidence appeared in the fact that the crown from upwards of 440,000 Indians drew only about 160,000 pesos yearly, and he was sure that more than 300,000 pesos remained in the hands of certain officials. To support this assertion he mentioned a case in point that concerned him personally, by which he lost heavily every year.[20] Besides the savings from vacant corregimientos there were the *quitas*, or four months' pay out of every sixteen served, much of which was taken from those who rendered service, to give to others who did nothing. The fund was thus exhausted, and the really needy got no relief. The king's orders on the distribution of moneys appropriated by him were not faithfully obeyed, and hence the numerous complaints. Only the old conquerors and their sons received money on the treasury drafts.

Valderrama sought to correct these abuses, and wrote the king, February 24, 1564, of the treasury officials having notified him that the first outgoing fleet would convey to Spain but a small sum of money, and they would have certainly carried out their original intention but for his timely arrival; in consequence of which, it would take away a larger amount than ever before, namely, not less than 40,000 marks of silver.[21] Nor did the visitador in his reports con-

[19] Of course he gave plausible reasons, to wit: the viceroy had so much to attend to in governmental, judicial, and other affairs, that he could not bestow the proper care on the finances. *Cortés, Cartas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 452, 461–2.

[20] Detecting in one of his towns a deficit of about 8,000 pesos a year, he inquired into the matter, and learned that 400 or 500 pesos had gone to the friars, and the remainder had been consumed in drinking by chiefs, alcaldes, and regidores. *Id.*, 441–2. The veedor, Santander, had in 1557 reported that the revenue was defrauded to the amount of 1,000,000 pesos, and that another million went abroad carried away by foreigners. *Santander, Carta*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxvi. 343.

[21] In this connection he urged the prompt remittance of quicksilver, which was much needed to keep the mines productive; then money would circulate,

fine himself to financial matters; he suggested a radical change in the tenure of office. He disliked that public officers should take root in New Spain, as if they expected to pass here the rest of their lives. He preferred that the meritorious should have their rewards elsewhere: those who had been neglectful or criminal should be punished. The corregimientos had been often improperly bestowed, and the old settlers thereby much offended.[22] The accounting by viceroys and oidores he recommended to be at short periods, and not as heretofore in many instances at intervals of sixteen or twenty years. They should certainly be held to account before they died. He also objected to the presidency of the audiencia being vested in the viceroy, instead of in a jurist. The oidores, he said, usually voted as the viceroy desired.[23]

Velasco was much annoyed at this meddling of Valderrama, as he termed it, with viceregal affairs, and in the midst of the dissensions[24] which followed, he threatened to throw up the office; but Valderrama dissuaded him, saying that he was simply doing his duty.[25] Death, that great comforter and final rest, soon came to the viceroy's relief. He had been ill for some time, when a diseased bladder suddenly terminated his career the 31st of July 1564.

The funeral was conducted with a pomp such as

tributes would be collected, and the treasury benefited accordingly. *Valderrama*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 366–7.

[22] It had been provided by royal order of September 4, 1560, that no corregidor appointed by the audiencia for two years should have another term without having first been subjected to a residencia and come out of it with a clear record. *Puga, Cedulario*, 210.

[23] 'Dá á parientes, amigos y criados de Oidores, y ansí todos le han menester. Y es cosa recia votar un Oidor contra lo que el Virey quierey dice.' *Valderrama*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 357–9, 364. The appointment of a jurist to preside over the court became the practice some years later.

[24] On announcing to the crown the visitador's arrival he spoke of him as a 'persona de tanta calidad, letras, y conçençia.' *Carta*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 276.

[25] The old man was poor and overburdened with debt. A letter from him in his son's handwriting, of August 1, 1562, to the king's secretary, Francisco de Eraso, shows how depressed he was: 'estoy viejo y pobre, y con poca salud, y quan olvidado me tiene S. M. para no me hazer merçed ni á mis hijos, y que la muerte está cerca.' In *Id.*, 275.

had never before been seen in Mexico. The remains left the viceregal residence escorted by all the civil and ecclesiastical corporations, directed respectively by the audiencia, visitador, archiepiscopal and municipal authorities, and were carried to the Dominican convent on the shoulders of four of the bishops who had come to attend the ecclesiastical synod. The troops organized for the Philippines expedition formed part of the funeral cortége. All classes of the population spontaneously manifested their love by following the remains to their last resting-place. Mourning was both officially and publicly observed for a month.[26]

His death fell as a bereavement upon the community. However Martin Cortés might scowl, or Valderrama write to the king, the verdict of the people was "El prudentísimo, tutor, padre de la patria," and "Libertador de los indios." He had been indeed a father to the oppressed, a man conscientious in the discharge of his duties. He was never rich, partly because he did not pilfer from the king's chest, and partly because of improvident and extravagant habits. He had a fondness for entertaining; he was a fine rider, and liked to display his horsemanship, which often led him into undue expense; but all this only added to his popularity among those having similar tastes.[27]

It was conceded by all that Valderrama had condemned Velasco too severely, and had praised himself

[26] Some years later his son Luis became viceroy, and the new church of the Dominicans being finished, he had his father's bones transferred to a beautiful sepulchre built expressly to receive them. *Lorenzana*, in *Hist. N. Esp.*, 14, 15; *Torquemada*, i. 626–7; *Cavo*, *Tres Siglos*, i. 175; *Beaumont*, *Crón. Mich.*, v. 142–3, 558–9.

[27] Peralta speaks glowingly of him, and of the enthusiasm he awakened whenever he took part in the games: 'Era muy lindo hombre de á caballo. Yo conosçi caballeros andar, quando sabian que el virrey abia de jugar las cañas, echando mil terçeros para que los metiesen en el regozijo; y el que entraba, le pareçia tener un ábito en los pechos segun quedaba onrrado.' It had been remarked that were Velasco to take away all the towns and encomiendas, he could still make the proprietors forget their loss by causing his horse to sound a breast-strap of bells in the street, so great was the craze for this species of amusement. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, pp. xiii.–xiv. 175–6. See, also, *Torquemada*, i. 623–4; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles*, i. 33–4.

too highly in speaking of the royal revenue and other matters. In letters to the crown from the ayuntamiento, the chapter of the archdiocese, and the provincial and council of the Franciscans, full justice is done to the memory of Velasco.[28] He had undoubtedly promoted the public welfare, and fulfilled his duty to the king by carrying out the policy of Viceroy Mendoza.

One of the viceroy's first acts on assuming office had been to summon the teachers of schools and colleges, and to urge upon them the education of the young, not only in letters, but in morals, meanwhile assuring them of his protection. Shortly after, under royal orders, were established and endowed in the city of Mexico one school for poor girls and another for poor boys; and the authorities were enjoined to watch over and foster them. And still later the site on which had stood the house of Alonso de Ávila was given them. Likewise the higher branches of education no less than Christianity and material improvement had been thought of by the king. In fact, we know from Herrera, that a dozen years previously the court had adopted measures toward that end, which for some reason had not been carried out. Now all former resolves culminated pursuant to three royal orders of September 21, 1551, in the founding of a university in the city of Mexico, together with the appointment of professors and the appropriation of funds for its support, namely, one thousand pesos de oro annually.[29]

No time was lost in carrying out the project, and the institution was inaugurated with great *éclat* January 25, 1553, its professors being at the same time

[28] This last memorial, dated August 28, 1566, tells the king he would soon miss the wise rule of Velasco in New Spain. His son was strongly brought forward for preferment. *Torquemada*, i. 627–8; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 380–1; *Franciscanos, Abandono*, in *Prov. del S. Evang.*, MS., No. 12, 172; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 558.

[29] Philip II. confirmed it Oct. 4, 1570, and decreed an increase of 3,000 pesos June 25, 1597. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, iv. 207. The foundation of a university had been decreed by the king as early as 1539. *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. vii. cap. vi.

formally installed.[30] The institution being under royal patronage used the arms of the crown of Castile, and, in fact, enjoyed the same privileges and preëminence as the famous university of Salamanca.[31]

A calamity that befell the city of Mexico in 1553 was the occasion of the display of interest, ability, and energy so common with Velasco. A long drought followed by heavy rains lasting twenty-four hours resulted in a flood, attended with great damage to property. It was the first inundation since the Spanish conquest. The Spaniards became greatly alarmed, but the Indians, who were well informed regarding several previous floods, took the matter coolly.[32] The

[30] The site fixed upon was the houses of Catalina de Montejo. *Grijalua, Cron. S. August*, 80–1. In 1584 the rector, Doctor Sanchez de Paredes, an oidor, being authorized to select a suitable building for the university, chose the property of the marqués del Valle in the plazuela del Volador, and seized it at the price fixed by appraisers. Notwithstanding much opposition on the part of the owner's attorney, Guillen Peraza de Ayala, a building was erected upon the ground, and the university brought to it. The suit was continued and decisions issued from the supreme government in favor of the marquis; but the viceroy, Villamanrique, for divers reasons, ordered the construction to go on, and the university to hold possession. However, on the 9th of July 1589 the edifice fell to the ground. The rector, Dr Sancho Sanchez de Muñon, then applied to the audiencia for a new building, and the house of the marqués del Valle, on Empedradillo street, was taken at the valuation of 9,000 pesos. In the course of time a second story was added, the *sala del general* was adorned in the reign of Cárlos II., and nearly the whole edifice renovated in that of Cárlos III. *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 216–20, 261.

[31] The rector or president had judicial authority over the doctors and alumni in light offences, and in all matters strictly within its province. The alumni were exempt from personal service, and had the privileges of the nobility. The title of Pontificia was conferred some years later by the pope. At the time of its foundation the university had seven endowed chairs, the appointments to which were made by the viceroy. The classes were of grammar, Latin and Greek, philosophy, rhetoric, theology, and law in all its branches, mathematics, astronomy, physic and medicine; the Otomí and Mexican languages were also taught. The first rector or president was the oidor Dr Antonio Rodriguez de Quesada. The chairs of civil law and Greek were placed in charge of Dr Frias; the others had the following teachers: holy scriptures, the Austin friar, Alonso de la Veracruz; theology, the Dominican, Fr Pedro Peña; mathematics, Juan Negrete; canon law, Doctor Marrones; grammar, Juan Bustamante. The other branches were also committed to competent men. It is said there was also a chair of Mexican antiquities. During the remainder of this century several laws were enacted affecting the university and its professors and officers. *Recop. de Indias*, 191–5, 201, 204; *Puga, Cedulario*, 137–8; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, vi. 106–12; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 32–3; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 51–2; *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 109; *Vetancvrt, Trat Mex.*, passim; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 61–3; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 194–5; *Salazar, Méx. en 1554*, 1–17; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, 159–61.

[32] Three are recorded: one in 1419, during the reign of the first Monte-

city was under water three days, according to some authorities, and four, according to others. Canoes were used for transit. As soon as the waters receded the viceroy bestirred himself to prevent, if possible, the recurrence of such a calamity, and with this view he resolved to surround the city with a dike. The caciques of the cities and towns of the valley were summoned to bring their vassals and go to work. All came cheerfully and promptly forward. To avoid confusion they were divided into squads, and placed in charge of skilful foremen. To give prestige and excite enthusiasm during the first day, the viceroy worked like another man, spade in hand; afterward he superintended the operations, though often seen with a mason's tools in his hands. He frequently visited the field to praise those who worked with alacrity, and to inspire with greater activity the laggard. The work was finished in a few days,[33] and made more secure by changing the bed of a small river whose current was doing injury.

Early in April 1553 the treasure fleet sailed from Vera Cruz for Spain. When in the Bahama channel the ships were thrown out of their course by the currents, and finally experienced heavy gales which drove and stranded most of them upon the Florida reefs. Out of one thousand persons, among them many of high position,[34] only three hundred reached the shore.

zuma; the second in 1500, in the reign of Ahuitzotl, and the third in 1509, Montezuma II. then ruling the Aztec empire. For full particulars on these inundations and the measures that were adopted, see *Native Races*, v., this series, 412–13, 453–4, 468; *Alegre, Hist. Comp., Jesus*, i. 435; *Inundaciones*, in *Col. de Diarios, Not. y Var. Pap.*, MS., 356.

[33] *Torquemada*, i. 618–9; *Cepeda, Rel.*, 4–6; *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 82.

[34] One was the general of the fleet; another, the handsome and rich Doña Catalina Ponce de Leon who was on her way to Spain, as some say, under sentence of banishment; according to others, to clear herself of an accusation by a negro, the sole witness, of having aided Bernardino Bocanegra to murder her husband. There is some discrepancy in the accounts of various authors about the loss of the fleet and other particulars. One says that three of the larger and a few of the smaller vessels escaped shipwreck, mentioning only two friars, Mendez and Cruz, as among the passengers, and asserting in general terms that every person who got on shore afterward was massacred. This version of the total destruction of life seems to be the generally accepted

And these may as well have saved themselves the trouble, for after a few days the natives appeared, behaving friendly at first, but soon beginning to kill and rob. Believing Pánuco to be distant only three days' journey, the survivors started thither, but they were mostly massacred, or perished on the way.[35]

The disaster drew the attention of the Spanish monarch to these natives who had hitherto maintained their independence. He now resolved upon their subjugation, and gave orders to Velasco to despatch a force for that purpose. Though disapproving of the measure, Velasco dared not disobey. He accordingly ordered levies; but this was almost an unnecessary measure, as there were at the time in Mexico many who imagined Florida another Potosí. Large numbers tendered their services. Two thousand were enrolled and thoroughly drilled by the end of 1558. One thousand Indian archers were also accepted.

The Spanish force was formed into six squadrons of cavalry and six companies of infantry. Tristan de Luna y Arellano,[36] also called Acuña, was given the appointment of governor of Florida and the chief command of the expedition, to which were also attached eight Spaniards who had traversed Florida and acquired the languages. Accompanying the force were a number of Floridan women who had been some time in Mexico, and who now returned to inform their countrymen of the good treatment they had received. Dominican and Franciscan friars went as chaplains. Velasco accompanied the army to Vera Cruz, where he harangued the troops, and directed that mild

one. *Torquemada*, i. 620. A second states that the 'Navio del Corzo de Sevilla, que partia con N. P. S. Francisco de las ganancias,' and two other vessels escaped shipwreck. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 8.

[35] One small craft returned to Vera Cruz with the sad news; the friar Márcos de Mena, who had been left for dead by the Indians, recovered, and reached Tampico and Mexico. *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd.*, 272–90; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 161–2.

[36] Had been a captain under Vasquez de Coronado in the expedition to the valley de los Corazones in Sonora. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 491.

means should be used before resorting to violence. After seeing the expedition embarked on thirteen ships in June 1559, he returned to Mexico. Arrived at Santa Elena they suffered from heavy weather at the anchorage; and, on landing, the natives harassed them so that they had to send to Mexico for help. Some companies came, one under Captain Biedna, and another under Ángel Villafañe, whom the viceroy appointed as Luna's successor. But it all proved of no avail. It was impossible for these Spanish soldiers, already becoming effeminate from long inactivity, to maintain any hold on the country, and much less to accomplish its subjugation in the face of the powerful warlike tribes that had banded to defend themselves. The undertaking was consequently abandoned, and the few who had escaped destruction were conveyed to Habana and thence restored to Mexico.[37]

Nor did Velasco confine his attention within the former limits of New Spain. His term of office was marked by conquest and the opening of rich mines as well as by progress in agriculture, arts, and manufactures. Pursuing the policy of his sovereign, he encouraged and fitted out expeditions for the subjugation of the vast countries then bearing the name of the Gran Chichimeca, and a little later of the territory called at that time Copala. His first measures secured the further pacification of Querétaro, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato, and were followed by the subjection of the whole north-western region.

An account has been already given of the towns of San Felipe and San Miguel. These garrisoned places proved very useful for the protection of travellers, and led to the discovery of rich mines and the founda-

[37] A letter of Velasco to the king, of March 1559, speaks of 500 men—250 horsemen and 250 foot—as accompanying Luna to his government. All other authorities who mention numbers are agreed upon those given in the text. *Velasco, Carta,* in *Cartas de Indias,* 272; *Velasco, Relacion,* in *Florida, Col. Doc.,* i. 10–13; *Id.,* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.,* iv. 136–40; *Valderrama, Cartas,* in *Id.,* iv. 363; *Torquemada,* i. 620–1; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Méx.,* 9; *Lorenzana,* in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.,* 15; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd.,* 177–8, 189–229; *Panes, Vireyes,* in *Monum. Dom. Esp.,* MS., 82.

tion of other Spanish settlements. As a matter of fact the Spaniards became acquainted with the wealth of this part of the country soon after its discovery. The city of Santa Fé de Guanajuato, the veritable Villa Rica of Mexico, had its birth in 1554, and in or about 1558 the Veta Madre was founded.[38] In the lapse of time that town proved to be the centre of the marvellous deposits on the porphyritic range of the sierra de Santa Rosa, perhaps the richest group of silver-mines up to that time discovered, and Guanajuato itself became the most singularly situated of all cities. If the spirit of charity revealed the mines of Espíritu Santo, it might well seem as if the genius of evil had chosen this labyrinth of mountain ravines as its seat. From the extraordinary shapes assumed by the gigantic masses of porphyry in form of ruined fortresses, one might easily imagine this the battle-ground of impalpable intelligences, as though the secret had been wrung from nature at a fearful cost.[39] In any event they proved the most important of any found during this first period of discovery of mines, and of immense wealth, yielding large revenues to the crown.

The prior discovery of the mines of San Lúcas, Aviño, Sombrerete, Ranchos, Chalchihuites, Nieves, and others should be awarded to Francisco de Ibarra, a nephew of Diego de Ibarra, son-in-law to Viceroy Velasco, who, starting in 1554 from the mines of Zacatecas with a company of soldiers, all at his own cost,

[38] Records of exact dates are very meagre and conflicting in this and the following decade. The founding has been placed even as early as 1545 and 1548. It is said that some muleteers discovered the mine of San Bernabé on the Cubilete hill in 1548, and the place was called Real de Minas, and later Santa Fé, but retained the Indian appellation of Guanajuato. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ix. 92–3. The growth was slow. Its title of a villa was not confirmed till 1679. *Medina, Chrón. San Diego*, 258. The first shafts were sunk in that lode in April 1558, but it does not seem to have been worked to advantage till 1760. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 499; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 164; *Geiger's Peep at Mex.*, 201–2.

[39] Humboldt estimated, in 1820, that the Veta Madre of Guanajuato had yielded more than a fourth part of the silver of Mexico, and a sixth part of the produce of all America. The production in later years has been something truly wonderful. As they have sunk deeper the lode of ore has become richer.

quieted the natives, making it safe for settlers.[40] But in 1558 the audiencia of Nueva Galicia despatched the alcalde mayor, Martin Perez, at the head of an armed expedition to the same region, who took formal possession of it; hence the claim that he discovered the mines of Fresnillo, San Martin, Sombrerete, and Nieves. Diego García Colio, or Celio, was subsequently made alcalde mayor of the new settlements.

According to Beaumont the mines of San Martin were discovered toward the end of 1558, and so named because found on the day of that saint. The discoveries brought many laborers of various races and colors; on their way they came upon El Fresnillo, but hastened forward. So many Spaniards about that time were rushing to the mines that soon were found the deposits of Chalchihuites, Sombrerete, Sabino, Santiago, and Nieves, over which the alcalde mayor of Zacatecas assumed authority.[41] But if the claim of Ibarra is disputed in some instances it is certain that he was the first discoverer of many of those mines whose rich deposits so quickly depopulated not only the city of Compostela, but the mining district of Zacatecas. To maintain continuous possession of the mines was, however, a difficult matter, owing to the frequent attacks of hostile bands from the Mixton and Zacatecas mountains. The settlements to the east and south of Zacatecas seem to have fared better, protected as they were by the haciendas in that vicinity, which soon became thickly populated.

As it was impossible for the foreign inhabitants of New Galicia to hold in subjugation all its new territories, Velasco resolved in 1558 to take the matter into his own hands. First he thought of sending an

[40] He claimed it in a representation to the king, asserting that no Spaniard had set foot in those regions till he went there. *Ibarra, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 463, *Datos Biog.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 779. The honor of being the first settler of Sombrerete, San Martin, and surrounding country has been awarded, however, to Juan de Tolosa, one of the conquerors and founders of Zacatecas, aided by Cristóbal de Oñate, captain general of Nueva Galicia, and settler of Zacatecas.

[41] *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 481–2.

expedition under Ibarra, from the mines of Zacatecas to pacify Copala.[42]

This was a favorite project of the king's, but Florida affairs prevented it for a time. Meanwhile the viceroy concluded to send three Franciscan friars to the mines of San Martin, which were between those of Zacatecas and the province to be brought under rule. The friars were to engage in missionary work, ascertain all they could about the coveted province, and prepare the field; his intention being to despatch thither a small expedition, at little expense to the crown, to occupy the country and make Spanish settlements. It was expected to find valuable mines in that region. When the time arrived for military operations, the Franciscans had made considerable progress in their labors. Francisco de Ibarra was then commissioned as the governor, captain general of the so-called province of Copala, to which he gave the name of Reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, and which embraced the country lying to the east and north of existing settlements, though he did not confine himself to that region. His efforts proved successful, as he established friendly relations with the several native nations, seldom having to resort to force. He founded the villas of Nombre de Dios, Durango, San Juan de Sinaloa, and others, and discovered many mines and agricultural tracts on which he established permanent settlements of Spaniards, a full account of which is found in my *History of the North Mexican States.* In his famous expeditions he visited Durango, Sinaloa, Sonora, and Chihuahua; and on his return, availing himself of the powers granted him to bring into his government all towns that were not provided with a church and missionary, he despoiled many encomenderos, and seized their holdings. The terrible hardships Ibarra was called on to endure brought on consumption, to which

[42] The departure of the expedition was suspended by a viceregal order in September of the same year, as a more pressing one had to be fitted out for Santa Elena in Florida. This explains the change of plan above stated. *Velasco, Carta al Rey,* in *Squier's MSS.*, x. 4, 5.

he succumbed some time after 1570, though the date and place of his death do not appear in the records. His remains found their last resting-place in the city of Durango. From all accounts his services were never rewarded; his estate dwindled away, and after his death hardly yielded enough to pay off the large debts he had contracted in fitting out and supporting his great enterprises.

The Philippine Islands had now been in the hands of the Spaniards for more than ten years. Acting on the glowing accounts of Andrés de Urdaneta, a soldier and a famous navigator and cosmographer, who had been with García de Loaisa, and of his companions, García de Escalante and Guido de Labazares, who had visited those parts, the Spanish sovereign directed Velasco to fit out an expedition for the Philippines, with the view of making settlements there, to which were to be sent as many colonists as could be procured.[43] In 1563 the expedition was ready to depart the following year.[44] After consultation with Urdaneta, the command was given to Miguel Gomez de Legazpi, a resident of Mexico, who made Mateo de Saúz his maestre de campo, and the young Basque Juan de Lezcano, his secretary. Guido de Labazares was appointed the king's factor. The missionary part of the adventure was placed in charge of the Austin order, and six fathers were chosen.[45]

[43] The captain was now Friar Andrés de Urdaneta. Viceroy Mendoza had tendered him the command of Alvarado's fleet, but he declined it, and soon afterward, tiring of the world, joined the Austin order in Mexico; and yet he went to the Philippines as a missionary with much alacrity. *Grijalua, Crón. S. August.*, 109–12.

[44] There has been some discrepancy as to the strength of the military force, which is stated by one at 600 men, by another at 700, by a third at 450, and by a fourth at 400. The crews are also given at various figures. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 176; *Grijalua, Crón. S. August.*, 109–20; *Burney's Hist. Discov. South Sea*, i. 250, 272. 'La grita era que yban á la China...y que allí abian de enrriqueçer, y así se hizo muy buena armada.' *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 185–7, 346.

[45] Fathers Urdaneta, Martin de Rada, Diego de Herrera, Andrés de Aguirre, Lorenzo Jimenez, and Pedro de Gamboa. Jimenez died before the embarkation. Lezcano, the secretary, in later years became a Franciscan in Mexico, and rose to the head of the order in his province. *Torquemada*, i. 621; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 133–4.

The fleet consisted of four ships, and lay at Navidad, in Colima, ready for sea, when the viceroy fell ill, which caused further delay. Finally on the 21st of November 1564 the squadron sailed, and after a prosperous voyage reached Luzon, where Legazpi founded the city of Manila, which in after years became one of the great emporiums of the east.[46] The audiencia's orders required that as soon as a settlement was effected the commander should try to discover a practicable route back to America. Wherefore the flag-ship *San Pedro*, Captain Salcedo, sailed from Zebú, June 1, 1565, having on board fathers Urdaneta and Aguirre. After going eastward to the Ladrones the course was north to Japan, and still northward to latitude 38°, whence the prevailing winds bore her across to New Spain. The voyage was a long and severe one. She had started short of men; the master and pilot died early in the voyage, and fourteen others before it ended. Urdaneta and his companion had to sail the ship, to look after the sick, and to prepare a chart. On their arrival at Acapulco they had not men enough to cast anchor.

Captain Alonso de Arellano with the *San Lúcas* had deserted, and sailed from the Philippines to the latitude of Cape Mendocino, arriving at Acapulco three months before Urdaneta. The two men met at court in Spain. Arellano had reported the rest of the fleet as lost, and was claiming the reward offered for the shortest route; but instead of receiving it he was sent back to Mexico to be subjected to a court-martial for his desertion. Urdaneta's chart was used by the Manila galleons for many years. The route was tedious in one part and cold in another, but without great

[46] According to Visitador Valderrama 300,000 pesos were expended in Mexico on the Philippines expeditions during the last six years, besides the expenditure at Seville for arms. Writing before the sailing, in 1564, he thought if it were not to cost above 100,000 pesos more it would be well. He strongly objected to the selection for maestre de campo of Saúz or Saz, whom he called a pardoned traitor. *Cartas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 363. 'Fué muy costosa.' *Mendoza, Hist. China*, 132–3. See also, *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego, Mex.*, 8–10; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 9; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 97.

difficulty or danger save from scurvy, scanty stores, and a little later, from corsairs. Each year after this the rich products of the east were received in Mexico in one or more ships, but there is no record extant,[47] for the government loved to shroud her commerce in mystery, which course was, indeed, to some extent justified, as subsequent events made apparent. Expeditions on private account for the discovery of new countries, whether by land or sea, were now forbidden by royal cédula of July 13, 1573, unless by express permission of the sovereign.

[47] The *San Gerónimo* is mentioned as having sailed for the Philippines in 1566; the *San Juan* for New Spain in 1567; the arrival of two vessels from New Spain the same year, and others in 1572 to take a course further north than usual for purposes of exploration. *Burney's Hist. Discov. South Sea*, i. 271–2. The ship *Espíritu Santo* from Acapulco for the Western Islands with 11 friars, Diego de Herrera at their head, and some soldiers on board, sailed January 6, 1676, and arrived there April 25th; about 100 miles from Manila she was wrecked; those who reached the shore were slain by the natives. One Indian boy was the only person left with life. The number lost, passengers, officers, and crew exceeded 100. *Enriquez, Carta al Rey*, Oct. 31, 1576, in *Cartas de Indias*, 328. In the spring of 1568 arrived in Mexico Álvaro de Mendano, who had been despatched in 1567 by the viceroy of Peru to discover the Solomon Islands near New Guinea; he returned to Mexico by way of Lower California, and anchored near Cedros Island in December.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ÁVILA-CORTÉS CONSPIRACY.

1564–1568.

THE AUDIENCIA'S WEAK RULE—ILL-FEELING TOWARD THE MARQUÉS DEL VALLE—ENCOMIENDA POLICY—ALONSO DE ÁVILA'S MASQUERADE—PLOT AGAINST THE CROWN—VALDERRAMA RETURNS TO SPAIN—CONSPIRACY REPORTED—GREAT CHRISTENING OF THE MARQUÉS' TWINS—ARREST OF THE MARQUÉS AND OTHERS—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE BROTHERS ÁVILA—MARQUÉS DE FALCES, THIRD VICEROY—MARQUÉS DEL VALLE SENT TO SPAIN—FALCES DEPOSED BY MUÑOZ AND CARRILLO—THEIR CRUEL COURSE—MARTIN CORTÉS TORTURED—HIS COURAGE—COMPLAINTS REACH THE CROWN—SUMMARY REMOVAL OF MUÑOZ AND CARRILLO—THEIR FATE—FALCES VINDICATED—SECOND RULE OF THE AUDIENCIA—SUFFERINGS OF THE MARQUÉS—FINAL ACQUITTAL—LOSS OF DOMAIN AND PROPERTY—HIS DEATH—RETURN OF LUIS CORTÉS—LATER LIFE OF MARTIN CORTÉS.

UPON the death of Velasco the city council of Mexico was seized with a brilliant idea. Would the king please send them no more viceroys! For howsoever good they might be in theory, they were sure to bring friends and dependents, to whom they would give the offices rightly belonging to the conquerors and their sons.[1] This request was sent the emperor on motion of Salazar, by resolution of August 21, 1564. And they desired further that Valderrama should be made the governor, and the marqués del Valle the captain-general; and that his Majesty should not regard the clamor of certain friars for an increase of the revenue, as they had only their own interests in view.[2]

[1] 'Pues traen á criados á quien hacer las mercedes.' *Mex. Col. Leyes*, (Mex. 1861), li.–lii. Valderrama urged the prompt appointment of a successor who should not have the presidency of the audiencia; this, he said, could be given to the archbishop, and at his death to a jurist. *Cartas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 364–6, 371–2.

[2] 'Frailes bulliciosos que por conseguir obispados dan arbitrios para aumento de las Rentas Reales, con perjuicio de la tierra.'

It is scarcely necessary to say that the petition was disregarded by the crown with whose prerogatives it attempted to interfere. As the members of the council were mostly holders of encomiendas, the conclusion to be drawn from their unusual and rather bold proceeding was that, anxious to secure the perpetuity of their privilege, they looked to the possible rule of the marquis, the chief man among the encomenderos, and of Valderrama, his warm friend, as the best means of attaining their object. The death of the viceroy having occurred while the audiencia was still under investigation, the government of New Spain virtually devolved on the visitador, although under the instruction lately issued by the king in council the succession belonged to the audiencia. This body[3] was, however, restrained by the authority held over it by their visitador.

On the whole Martin Cortés, the marquis, was a worthy son of his father. In physique, or I might say in physical development, he was a trifle more delicate, of finer form but not so robust, as active but less enduring, as good a soldier, as ready, as brave, but less suited to the rugged life of a conqueror, less ready in resource, preferring the pleasures of refined society to the privations and self-denials of the colonist. In him the father's finer feelings were intensified, some of the father's less worthy qualities, his pride and love of ostentation, were more pronounced.

But comparisons of traits in parent and child cannot after all lead to much increase of knowledge as to their real differences of character. It is not possible so to reverse their situations as to tell what would be the character of the one in the position of the other. We may not determine the quality of the high-born boy in the home of the humble Hernan, or how he would have conducted himself at school, or how he

[3] Then composed of the oidores Pedro de Villalobos, Villanueva, Vasco de Puga, and the senior Ceinos.

would have won his way on reaching Española, or if he would have succeeded as farmer or lawyer, or would have made money or love, or how he would have carried himself with the crusty old Velazquez on Cuba Island, or what would have been his line of action when the men mutinied at Villa Rica, at the meeting with Montezuma, on the arrival of Narvaez, after the Noche Triste, and in a hundred other cases where one mistake would have been fatal. On the other hand, had the hero of a hundred battles, the winner in a hundred desperate adventures, been denied the poverty, the labor, the hardships, and the discipline which he experienced, and had he been born on a pinnacle of glory, there is no telling whether he would have remained there even for these few years. Whosoever is high must be brought low; and fortunately it is so; for were it not for the certain follies of successive generations, nine tenths of mankind would be in a state of slavery.

Look at this high favorite of fortune! Little dreamed the Estremaduran as he passed from Española to Cuba that an heir of his should ever occupy so proud a position. Cortés, the father, complained to the king that he had not enough: for all his great services and out of all his great conquests there was next to nothing for him; and he made his old age a burden in brooding over the injustice done him, and in begging for greater rewards. He would have added to his fame wealth and authority; he would have for his heir wealth and position. And the heir had it. At one time he received from the New World almost as much as the crown, one hundred and fifty thousand pesos per annum, and he had from forty thousand to sixty thousand vassals. In his way he was the first man in America, the most famous, the wealthiest, occupying the highest social position. He could not be viceroy; he could not hold important office. It was too dangerous to Spanish monarchy. But he could be the social sovereign of Mexico. He could

come and go on terms of equality with the viceroy—this son of the Cuban adventurer; he could be on terms of intimacy with the visitador, who for a time was above the viceroy. The oidores, archbishop, and all other dignitaries, state and church, high and low, were profuse and constant in their marks of respect.

The void left by Velasco's death was painfully felt. The members of the audiencia failed to command respect; they overlooked small offences, and greater ones were engendered thereby. An occurrence on the 5th of April 1565 showed how slow the audiencia was to punish offences committed by persons in high position. For some unimportant cause the brothers Bernardino and Hernando de Bocanegra had an altercation in a public street with several other gentlemen. Swords were drawn, and the police stopped the fight with some difficulty, and only after one Cervantes had been wounded. The audiencia paid little attention to the affair; the Bocanegras were arrested, but were allowed to remain at home, where the marquis often visited them. He also used his influence to obtain their acquittal, which was an offence to the others, one of whom was Juan de Valdivieso, the brother of his brother Luis' wife. From that time they became his mortal enemies, and offered him public affront. On one occasion they formed themselves in groups, Agustin de Villanueva and Baltasar de Aguilar being of the number, and laid in wait to insult the marquis as he passed from one to another. Hearing of it the marquis armed his servants with cudgels concealed under their cloaks, and with his brothers and friends went out to face his foes. The first time they met, the Cortés party was passed without recognition; at other times the marquis was coldly saluted, the others then going their way. It must be borne in mind that hitherto it had been customary for every gentleman meeting the marquis in the street to doff his hat, turn back,

and escort him on his way. Among the prominent men who would not pay him this courtesy, though remonstrated with by Luis Cortés on his brother's behalf, were Juan de Valdivieso, and the high-sheriff, Juan de Sámano. The breach between the brothers-in-law widened, and Valdivieso had on one occasion to fight his way down stairs in Luis Cortes' house, to which he had been invited for an interview. All this greatly incensed the marquis and his retainers, and open war between the factions was prevented only by the efforts of the archbishop.[4]

[4] Scurrilous epistles were sent anonymously, among them this quartette:

'Por Marina, soy testigo,
ganó esta tierra un buen hombre,
y por otra, deste nombre
la perderá quien yo digo.'

The marquis had, it seems, laid himself open to criticism by his relations with a lady of the same name as the great Cortés' famous mistress, and by favoring her relatives, who were the sons of his father's bitter enemies, to the utter neglect of the offspring of his warmest friends. These likewise became hostile to the marquis, and were afterward found among his accusers. *Peralta*, 199–200.

Juan Suarez Peralta's *Noticias Históricas de la Nueva España*, Madrid, 1878, folio, i.–xxiv. 1–392, the work last cited, was published under the auspices of the minister of Fomento of Spain, and as a part of the *Cartas de Indias*, by Justo Zaragoza, who changed its title from that given by the writer, which was long and not so appropriate. The author was an eye-witness of most of the events that he relates. What he says of things that happened before this is of little weight; but his descriptions of the conspiracy of the second marqués del Valle and its consequences; of the expeditions carried out during the rules of Mendoza and Velasco; of general affairs in New Spain from the induction into office of the latter; of the landing of Hawkins and fighting at Vera Cruz, and treatment of the English prisoners in Mexico; of the acts of the several rulers down to the administration of the marqués de Villamanrique, including the wars with England and Drake's career—these are interesting and valuable. The style is careless, unpretentious, but withal superior to that of some writers of reputation. From page 287 to the end are given notes.

The *Cartas de Indias*, Madrid, 1877, large folio, i.–xiv. 1–877, and 208 unnumbered, with fac-similes, cuts, maps, indexes, and three chromo-lithographic charts, was issued under the auspices of the department of Fomento of Spain and dedicated to King Alfonso XII. It contains letters from Columbus, Vespucci, Las Casas, and Bernal Diaz; a collection of letters from New Spain, Central America, Peru, Rio de la Plata, and the Philippine Islands—all such letters being of the 15th and 16th centuries. Several of them and a considerable number of signatures of the men that figured in those times are also given in fac-simile. To the above are added about 224 pages of geographical notes, vocabulary, biographical data, a glossary, and cuts, maps, and indexes. The letters and fac-similes, from the first to the last, are valuable in a historic sense, and the vocabulary is useful; but the biographical and historical data are not always reliable, numerous errors having been detected in comparing their contents with official records, and with the memoranda of witnesses of the events related.

I will mention another incident of outlawry reflecting on the audiencia. On the night of the 17th of June 1565 the alcalde Julian Salazar while patrolling the city came upon an armed servant of the marquis, and relieved him of his sword. The servant reported it to his master, who despatched two others to claim the sword; they went armed and haughtily made a demand, which the alcalde met by disarming them; but on learning that they were retainers of the marquis he offered to give back the weapons, which the men refused to receive, and on returning home gave a false account of the affair. Cortés became very angry and hurried away to Salazar, whom he grossly insulted and disarmed. The alcalde complained to the audiencia; but after long and tiresome proceedings the marquis triumphed. The truth is the audiencia was hardly a free agent in the matter, because of the intimacy between the visitador and the marquis.

Velasco's letter of June 22, 1564, had the desired effect. The king on the 6th of May 1565 summoned the marquis to answer within six months the charges preferred by the royal fiscal, Gerónimo de Ulloa, upon which he based a demand for the repeal of the grant to Hernan Cortés; his grounds being that it was both surreptitious and arreptitious, inasmuch as it had been obtained without stating the correct number of vassals, or the revenue and jurisdiction, and through a representation that it was of little value to the royal patrimony. On being notified the 28th of September by Sancho Lopez de Agurto, escribano de cámara of the audiencia, Cortés took the cédula and placed it on his head, as became a dutiful subject. Only a few days before he had been enjoined by a royal order from using a seal larger than a half dollar, or having any ducal device thereon.

A few days later there arrived at Vera Cruz Pedro de la Roelas' fleet from Spain, and rumor soon had it that the king's final decision on encomiendas had been unfavorable to holders. Without ascertaining if the

report was well founded, the encomenderos became excited, and used strong language in expressing their discontent. The fact that neither the audiencia nor the visitador spoke of the matter made it look worse to them; the authorities were going to spring upon them some great injustice, they thought. Complainants began secretly to declare that a vassal's allegiance was binding only so long as the sovereign respected his pledges; and as they had humbly laid before his Majesty their grievances, claiming only their rights, which were denied to them, they should fall back upon force, not in the spirit of rebellion, but by way of defence.

Among the more angry and active were the brothers Ávila. In expressing their views they failed to observe common prudence. They had no regular place of meeting, and held no formal conferences. A number of those most in earnest assembled a few times at the house of Alonso de Ávila, but for a while they arrived at no line of action; they talked over the proposed movement, and welcomed any one disposed to join them. With those who were truly friendly came spies, pretending to be on their side, but in truth wishing only to learn their secrets in order to destroy them. Thanks to the stupidity of Alonso de Ávila, enough knowledge was in the hands of the opposing faction to bring the necks of the encomenderos very near the halter.

As reported by these same enemies, the plan was to proclaim as king of New Spain the marqués del Valle, whose father had conquered the country without aid from the sovereign of Castile; then to call together in parliament the proxies of the cities and villas to recognize and swear allegiance to the new king; to despatch to Rome as envoy a prelate to ask the pope for the investiture of the kingdom; and to solicit from the French sovereign a free pass through his dominions whenever the new government desired to send a messenger to the holy city, offering in return to open

the ports of New Spain to trade and intercourse with all nations.

The persons who with Alonso de Ávila appeared as chiefs in the plan were Baltasar and Pedro de Quesada, Cristóbal de Oñate, the younger, and the prebendary of the cathedral, Ayala de Espinosa. They now resolved to invite the marqués del Valle to their leadership, and Alonso de Ávila was to bring their plan to his knowledge; he felt certain that Cortés in his present state of mind would readily assent to it. In the process afterward instituted against the brothers Ávila, there is nothing to show how Cortés received the proposal. But Alonso de Ávila's last confession clearly indicates that the marquis pronounced the plan impracticable, one evidently devised by hot-headed men, a "cosa de burla," one which would not only bring upon its authors the vengeance of Philip, but the ill-will of the natives whose servitude they were thus striving to perpetuate. Thus far the revolutionists could count only on their own limited resources, and the aid of a few adventurers from Peru.

In truth, Cortés had no thought of joining the insurgents. There was present first of all too much of the father's innate loyalty for the son to turn traitor. It would add nothing to the glory of the name to seize the government of the land won by his father for the crown; and above all the marquis was clever enough to see that it would be madness for him to risk his present proud position, second in this country only to royalty, and cast his wealth and destiny in with a band of adventurers having comparatively little to lose in case of failure. But for all this there were those who from this hour did not cease to proclaim the disloyalty of the marqués del Valle.[5]

Ayala de Espinosa, during a short absence of Ávila,

[5] Some say that he temporized with them in order to learn their secrets that he might divulge them to the king, and thus, like his father, secure the country to the Castilian crown. But by a strange fatality the authorities after a time began to feel hostile to the marquis. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 198–9.

in October, on his own business, won over to their party Pedro de Aguilar, and wrote Ávila to return at once. His letter remained unanswered; but some days later, on a Sunday, and just before sunset, Alonso de Ávila entered the city at the head of a fantastic cavalcade, consisting of twenty-four men richly clad as Indian lords, and with masks in representation of divers personages. Thus Ávila appeared as Montezuma, and his attendants as members of the royal family and subordinate rulers. Riding through the town they reined up at the house of the marquis, where the sound of music was heard as at an entertainment. Dismounting, they entered and found present many ladies and gentlemen, invited guests, among whom was the visitador. The table cleared of European articles, the room was quickly transformed into the hall of a native prince, with native food, and furniture, and pottery, the performance assuming in every particular the character of an Aztec fête before the conquest. Then the marquis as his father, Hernan Cortés, and Alonso de Ávila as Montezuma, reënacted the first entry of the Spaniards into the Aztec capital, and passing the bounds of history in doing honor to the conqueror, they placed in the hands of the marquis and marchioness feather garlands in imitation of the *copilli*, or Aztec crown, saying, "This is indeed becoming to your señoría!" and "Accept the crown, marchioness!" In their hands Montezuma's attendants held flowers with couplets conspicuous, some on gallantry and love, others hinting at intended revolt. The motto on the *xochitl* given to Cortés bore words of encouragement, saying "Fear not."[6]

In this way the conspirators might test the ground on which they stood; but it was dangerous sport, when taken in connection with the times, the disaffec-

[6] 'No temas la cayda pues es para mayor subida.' Ávila confessed he had done it to afford pleasure, and without other intention. *Orozco y Berra, Not Conj., Doc.*, 8, 38-9.

tion concerning encomiendas: dangerous for Cortés; exceedingly dangerous for Ávila.[7]

Two days afterward the conspirators held a meeting at Ávila's house to perfect their plans. According to the report of the informers it was then arranged that on Friday, the audiencia's government council day, they would divide themselves into groups, each under a determined leader; and that while one band posted themselves at the door of the council-chamber to prevent ingress, another would go into the hall and seize the arms; a third rush into the chamber and slay the oidores and visitador; after which one of their number was to make a sign from the corridor to another standing by the fountain in the court-yard, who in his turn would repeat the signal to a third posted at the outlet into the square; this last person was to wave a red cloak, at the sight of which Ayala de Espinosa would strike twice one of the bells of the cathedral, this being the signal for the conspirators scattered throughout the city to massacre Francisco and Luis de Velasco, and every one known for or suspected of hostility to their plan. The bodies of the oidores were to be thrown into the square, which was to be held by the marquis with as large a force as he

[7] Ávila that evening told Espinosa and Aguilar, 'todo era aplicado para lo que estaba concertado,' according to *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, 80. Torquemada, i. 629–30, wrongly places this feast later, after the birth of twins to the marquis. He has been followed by *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 111; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 178–9; *Mora, Mej. Rev.*, iii. 208–9, and others. But the proceedings against the conspirators fix the time plainly enough. Peralta, *Not. Hist.*, 205, agrees with Torquemada, but speaks of the birth of one son, Pedro, now christened. He adds that neither Luis de Velasco nor his friends were at the festival, which was something very fine; that on some of the earthen vases was the letter R under a crown; and that Ávila gave the marchioness one bearing a crown over $\frac{R}{S}$, which the informer at once interpreted as *Reinarás*, thou wilt reign. This, if true, would signify prearrangement, which could hardly have been the case. During the feasts Dr Orozco, he concludes, sallied out with a number of followers, carrying concealed arms to prevent a possible revolt. The real fact was that the feast in question was long before the marchioness bore twins, which occurred in 1566, their christening taking place with great pomp on the 30th of June. This was subsequent to the receipt of the supreme government's final decision, unfavorable to the perpetuation of the encomiendas. It is possible that Torquemada and his followers have unwittingly confounded the two feasts, and quite probable that the follies of the first were wholly or partially repeated at the second.

could get together, in order to awe the populace into acquiescence. The next step was to burn all the government archives so as to entirely eradicate the name of the king of Castile from their government. Money out of the royal treasury would be liberally used to gain adherents. Luis Cortés was to take possession of Vera Cruz, San Juan de Ulua, and the fleet which was then getting ready to sail for Spain, and every means must be used for preventing knowledge of the insurrection from reaching the king's ear. Martin Cortés, the half-breed, with a strong mounted force was to advance into Zacatecas and adjoining regions, and bring them under subjection to the new government. The capture of Puebla was to be intrusted to Francisco de Reinoso, and that of other more or less important places to commanders chosen for that purpose. After the proclamation of the marqués del Valle as king, and the assembling of the parliament, Dean Chico de Molina would take his departure for Europe with valuable presents for the king of France and the pope, to win from them the favors before mentioned. At the same time Espinosa was to secretly visit Seville and bring away the marquis' eldest son and heir. The revolution achieved, the new king would make grants of the whole territory, create titles of nobility, and surround his throne with the nobles, that is to say Spaniards and half-breeds born in Mexico.

Economic measures were likewise considered. The outward flow of precious metals would be checked; with the specie which otherwise would go to Spain, and the cochineal, wax, hides, sugar, and wool, and the products of the Spice Islands, might be built up a magnificent commerce, infinitely superior to any thing possible under the auspices of the avaricious old parent. And throughout all time New Spain should never again be placed under the Castilian yoke. Of the insurgent party were several learned men and ecclesiastics, who gave courage to the timid and character to the movement; and it is said that one friar

actually supported the measure from the pulpit. Ávila kept open house and encouraged games of ball, dice, and cards; by this means the conspirators could meet freely without attracting attention, and fresh adherents were thus won to the cause. Neither Cortés nor his brothers attended the games, although they were sometimes at the secret conferences; the mind of the marquis vacillated, and notwithstanding Ávila's efforts Cortés deemed it expedient to await the arrival of a new viceroy, and if he attempted to enforce the last cédula on encomiendas, then strike the blow and the people would support them. At another time he said he would wait till the authorities should attempt to ship him off to Spain; and still again he would leave the whole matter to his supporters, promising the coöperation of himself and his most intimate friends at the hour of danger; and finally, he began to manifest a fear of trusting the creoles. At the last meeting in 1565 the marquis had not thrown off his irresolution. So it was said of him. In the early part of 1566 Ávila fell seriously ill and the plot passed almost out of mind. The result of the marquis' lack of conviction, or courage, whichever it was, cooled the enthusiasm of the leading conspirators; the opportunity was lost, and the government found itself in a position to investigate, prevent, and punish.

Much was said on both sides that was false; but it is quite certain that, if the marquis did not himself divulge the plot, he spoke of it to his friend the visitador, who as we have seen was numbered among those to be assassinated. After that he endeavored to soothe the discontented, and prevent an outbreak. The visitador never really believed the affair to be of serious import, as he attributed the words uttered in public to childishness. Then the marquis went further, and charged the conspiracy, if there was a conspiracy, on his enemies, telling the visitador that in Tezcuco, on the day after the wedding of Alonso de Cervantes with a daughter of Diego de Guevara, at the house of

Hortuño de Ibarra, the royal factor, the guests under pretence of a tournament, intended to revolt and make themselves masters of the country. No action seems to have been taken by the audiencia on this charge.

The marquis made preparations in February to leave Mexico for Toluca, but was induced by both the audiencia and the visitador to remain in the capital; the authorities still continuing to show him high consideration.

About this time Valderrama, his duties finished, prepared to depart for Spain. He had already dismissed the oidores Villanueva and Puga, sending them away to Spain, and filling one of the vacancies with Doctor Orozco. The marquis was afraid there might be trouble if affairs were left to the audiencia, and he endeavored to keep the visitador in Mexico until the arrival of a viceroy, but was unable to do so.

After the departure of Valderrama, at which the Indians were scarcely less pleased than the oidores whom he held in check, the matter of the conspiracy was more openly talked about, and the audiencia began to investigate. A secret inquiry was started by Oidor Villalobos to ascertain what it was that the marquis had said to the visitador. Friar Miguel de Alvarado, a kinsman of the Ávilas, heard of it, and succeeded in drawing from the oidor a promise to take no further action in the matter, on the plea that the country was at peace, and that the objectionable remarks had been uttered by unimportant persons and had not been followed by any overt act. The marquis had renewed his usual pleasant relations with the oidores, and he observed toward them the same line of conduct pursued with Valderrama, and seconded Father Alvarado in his good work. Not long afterward Pedro de Aguilar visited the friar and asked him to apprise Alonso de Ávila that Villalobos had begun proceedings against him. The friar could hardly believe this report, in view of the oidor's solemn pledge,

and he even accused Aguilar of having turned informer, which the latter stoutly denied. However, he made the matter known to his kinsman and to the marquis. Ávila called on Villalobos to assure him of his innocence, which he offered to prove with a sworn statement by Aguilar. The oidor went through the form of taking the affidavit, and pretended to be satisfied. This was the beginning of a long line of dissimulation by the authorities on the one hand, and the conspirators on the other.

The marquis found himself in a disagreeable position; indeed he now began to realize that his situation was critical. Threatened by the loss of his father's estate at the hand of the sovereign power which was deriving vast benefits from the results of his father's life, he could not but sympathize with the encomenderos. Further than that the conspirators were his friends and sought to do him honor: he would save himself; he would save them at any cost; and yet if he appeared too warmly their defender they might drag him into the pit. Above all he must appear vigilant in the royal interests. The sky was threatening; over the house of Ávila it was dark indeed. To escape the coming storm he wrote his former tutor, Diego Ferrer, then in Spain, to propose to the crown an exchange of his marquisate and estates for others in Castile, even if he thereby sustained heavy loss.[8]

On the 5th of April 1566 a formal charge was preferred by the audiencia in writing, Luis de Velasco, Alonso de Villanueva, and Agustin de Villanueva Cervantes being the chief movers in the matter. This was not acted on at once, as the oidores well knew that they had not strength to carry it through. The arrest of the leaders of the faction, whoever they might be, would probably cost them their lives. They would wait and watch their opportunity, still continu-

[8] 'Para tratar con la real persona que le hiziese de le dar en los reynos de castilla, en trueque de su marquesado la renta y vasallos que la pareciese aunque fuese la mitad menos.' *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 90.

ing the secret search for evidence such as would convict. In the mean time, as the days went by, to the now awakening inhabitants the atmosphere of the city seemed thick with treason. Certain illegible lines in the scroll of their destiny, on exposure to the constant light, began to show color, and soon the characters could be all too easily read. The weaker of the wicked ones trembled, and hastened to save their lives by turning informers.

Among the first of these was the infamous Pedro de Aguilar,[9] who after confession and communion on palm-Sunday and the next day, the 8th of April, asked the Dominican friars Cristóbal de la Cruz and Andrés Ubilla to take his statement to the audiencia. He did not, however, produce it in writing until the 23d of May. The marquis had gone to pass holy week at the Dominican convent of Santiago, where he heard from Baltasar de Aguilar on the evening of April 10th what had occurred. He then demanded the keys of the convent, locked its gates, and together with Bernardino de Bocanegra visited the city to see if all was quiet. After satisfying himself on this point he went to his own palace, to hold a consultation with his brothers; these steps betokened a troubled spirit. On Saturday Baltasar de Aguilar and Agustin de Villanueva visited the marquis, and opened his eyes to his perilous position. Upon one of the fol-

[9] The marquis' enemies learned the facts from Baltasar de Aguilar Cervantes, the man chosen by the conspirators for maestre de campo. He had near relatives among the former, and was advised to secure his property without delay and then inform the government of all he knew of the plot, and the names of the parties implicated, himself included: 'y es verdad, por lo que ví, que fué llevalle como por los cabellos, y así fué y hizo su denunciacion.' *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 201. This same authority, p. 207, says that Agustin de Villanueva Cervantes, who had been at the head of the marquis' enemies, managed to obtain an interview with him on the pretence of joining the plot. Before doing this, however, he obtained leave of the audiencia under its seal, with written instructions. Then he partook of the communion and went to the marquis' house, kissed his hand, and tendered his services. The marquis talked freely about the conspiracy, and the conversation was reported to the audiencia. It is unlikely that the marquis placed any confidence in Villanueva, and yet it is possible that he endeavored to draw him out. This man Villanueva figured later at an important event in Vera Cruz, which will be duly related.

lowing easter days he called on Oidor Villalobos to renew the assurances of his fealty to the crown.

Again the spirit of rebellion was manifest on receipt of information from Diego Ferrer that the India Council had not assented to the perpetuity of the encomiendas, and had peremptorily refused to hear any more on the subject. The encomenderos vented their wrath in violent language, and the rebel leaders renewed their exertions more openly. Ávila bestirred himself among retainers, who determined to go forward even if they must murder the oidores in the street. At this juncture in the affairs of state, the marchioness presented her husband with twins. The baptismal feasts that followed were regal.[10] Wine flowed freely and toasts significant of revolution were repeatedly and boldly uttered.

Thus it seemed that rebellion was indeed at hand. The encomenderos were ready for action, and the populace were with the proposed new government. The audiencia hesitated; but finally gathering courage they took a stand, organized a plan of defence, part of which was to arrest the leaders,[11] the marquis among the number. First of all they caused it to be reported through Ayala Espinosa, an unsuspected informer, that important despatches had reached them by a vessel just arrived from Spain; and the marquis was invited to attend at the opening. Anxious to learn their contents, with cool confidence he entered the

[10] A raised wooden passage-way four yards wide was constructed between the marquis' house and the pardon-gate of the cathedral. On both sides his Indian vassals had placed platforms with flags and showy ornaments. Luis de Castilla and Juana de Sosa, his wife, acted as sponsors, and the children were taken to the church in the arms of two gentlemen, Cárlos de Zúñiga and Pedro de Luna. Dean Chico de Molina officiated. Salvos of artillery were fired as the cortége entered and left the church; a tournament, games, and banquet followed. The common people were also munificently remembered. *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 46–47.

[11] Luis Cortés, knight of Calatrava, Martin Cortés, knight of Santiago, and the brothers Ávila. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 207. Valderrama, the visitador, in 1564 made Martin alguacil mayor, and his half-brother, Juan Jaramillo, became the same year one of the two alcaldes de la mesta of Mexico. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 175.

council-chamber in the afternoon of the 16th of July, observing, however, that the oidores had placed guards and artillery at the outlets of the building, under the supervision of Francisco de Velasco, brother of the late viceroy, who was acting as captain general; and that though he was offered a seat no mark of distinction was extended to him.[12]

All sat down, and one of the oidores addressed the president to learn his orders. Ceinos then said: "Marquis, hold yourself under arrest by the king."[13] Upon his asking the reason, Ceinos answered, "As a traitor to his Majesty." Cortés seized his sword and indignantly gave his accuser the lie.[14] But seeing the uselessness of resistance, he soon surrendered and was conveyed to a room prepared in the royal buildings, where were confined Luis and Martin Cortés, who had been arrested by the high-sheriff, Juan de Sámano.

Alonso and Gil Gonzalez de Ávila were taken to the common jail.[15] Nor did the oidores stop there; many others were arrested and imprisoned. The people were panic-stricken; every man bethought himself of what he had said. Certain friars were seized and confined in their convents, and clergymen in the archi-

[12] He wore a summer dress of damask, a black cloak, and a sword. The author quoted saw him enter and heard him exclaim: 'Ea, que buenas nuevas emos de tener.' *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 208.

[13] 'Marqués, sed preso por el Rey.' *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 48; *Torquemada*, i. 631.

[14] 'Mentis, que yo no soi traidor à mi Rei, ni los ha avido en mi linage.' *Id.* According to Peralta, *Not. Hist.*, 208–9, the marquis was commanded to deliver his sword, and on asking the reason, was answered, 'luego se dirá;' and that Cortés did not then learn the cause of his arrest, but believed the order for it had come in the despatches just received from the king.

[15] Dean Chico de Molina and another clergyman named Maldonado, and Friar Luis Cal, guardian of the convent of Santiago Tlatelulco, appear among the number. Those placed under arrest in their own houses, under penalty of death should escape be attempted, were Luis and Pedro Lorenzo de Castilla, Hernan Gutierrez Altamirano, Lope de Sosa, Alonso Estrada and his brothers, Juan de Guzman, Bernardino Pacheco de Bocanegra, Diego Rodriguez Orozco, Juan de Valdivieso, Nuño de Chavez, Luis Ponce de Leon, Antonio de Carbajal, Fernando de Córdoba, Juan Villafaña, Juan de la Torre, and several others. All these were of the nobility and gentry. Their papers were searched, and abundance of evidence was found against Ávila. According to Torquemada, i. 631–2, some of the strongest evidence was in ladies' billets to him. *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 49; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 9; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 180.

episcopal prison. Soldiers, both mounted and on foot, patrolled the streets, and every precaution was taken to prevent an uprising.[16] Among the organized forces were many encomenderos, who presented themselves in obedience to an order of the audiencia, and the Tlascaltecs also tendered their services.

Charges of high treason were preferred against the brothers Ávila, and a limited time was allowed them to answer. They denied the accusation, made explanations on doubtful points, and produced witnesses to testify on their behalf. They pleaded the great services of their father and his ancestors. Alonso de Ávila laid stress on the mildness he had always manifested to his Indians, in not distressing them for their tributes; his wife begged in the name of God that more time might be granted for her husband to prove his innocence. Nothing availed, and both brothers were sentenced to death by decapitation. An appeal to the crown and a petition of the city council were disregarded, and the sentence was executed the 3d of August, eighteen days from the date of their arrest. They were conveyed from the jail to the scaffold at 7 P. M., mounted on mules.[17] The scaffold stood in the chief square, which was strongly guarded. Around were the friends of the prisoners, and a crowd of people. Alonso de Ávila at the last moment confessed the conspiracy; his brother, it is alleged, never ceased to maintain his innocence. It was reported that the friar who attended them loudly proclaimed him an innocent man. This has been denied, but the people believed him not guilty, and accused the audiencia of having sacrificed him out of hatred to Alonso.[18]

[16] Soldiers attended divine service at church with the matches for their arquebuses burning, to the great scandal of worshippers. The excitement was such as had never been witnessed in Mexico. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 212.

[17] Alonso de Avila was dressed in black, and had on a Turkish robe of gray damask, a velvet cap with a gold plume, and a gold chain round his neck, this being the same apparel he wore when taken to prison. *Torquemada*, i. 632.

[18] Peralta, after describing the scene when the sentence was read to Alonso

The bodies were removed between 11 and 12 o'clock at night by a priest and the two Velascos to the church of Saint Augustine, where they were subsequently buried, the first men of the city being present at the funeral ceremony. The heads were discovered next morning on poles upon the top of the city council's building. This drew a protest from the council, coupled with a demand for their removal,[19] which was complied with, and the heads were then nailed to the pillory as a warning.

Alonso de Ávila's house was demolished, according to the usage of the age in Latin countries; the ground was sown with salt, and a pillar erected there bearing an inscription commemorative of the crime for which the late proprietor had suffered death.[20] The better class of the community declared the sentence unjust. The provincial of the Santo Evangelio for himself and the council of the Franciscans in that province in a long letter of August 8, 1566, to the king pronounces the charges frivolous.[21] The audiencia was generally

de Ávila in his cell, positively claims that both brothers made confession of their guilt, and implicated the marquis, 'y condenaron al marqués y á otros, como consta por sus confisiones.' This author, as he says, was among the men who under Francisco de Velasco guarded the square, and his horse's head almost touched the scaffold; he saw and heard all that passed; the unskilful executioner severed the heads only after several strokes, and thus made the prisoners suffer greatly. As to the words uttered by the friar, Domingo de Salazar, who later became bishop of the Philippines, he distinctly heard them to be: 'Señores, encomienden á Dios á estos caballeros, quellos dizen que mueren justamente,..y que lo que abian jurado en sus confisiones era verdad,' which Alonso, on being interrogated, confirmed then and there. The friar's words were purposely misrepresented by many; but the audiencia gave an authenticated copy of them to any one who desired it. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 211–23, 227–8.

[19] Torquemada, followed by others, asserts that the council threatened to remove them by force if its demand was not forthwith attended to, as the city was not traitorous. Orozco, however, throws the entire responsibility on the first named for these details, the protest alluded to not appearing on the council's books. *Torquemada*, i. 632; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 181; *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 51.

[20] It was on Reloj street, corner of Santa Teresa. *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 142.

'Por ignominia las aran
Y de estéril sal las siembran
. . . . . .
Del cincel en una piedra
Padron afrentoso crige.'

Zapata, Rel. fúnebre, in *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 501–2.

[21] 'Todo debia de ser palabras de Moços livianos, y mal recatados, en su hablar, y todo sin fundamento, y sin medios ningunos, para poner nada en obra.' *Torquemada*, i. 632–4.

censured, and there would have been serious disturbance had not the streets been so thoroughly patrolled. Some of the encomenderos, pulling their beards, swore to revenge the innocent blood of Gil Gonzalez.[22]

In a measure appeased by what it had thus far accomplished, the audiencia was proceeding more leisurely with the trial of the other prisoners, when on the 17th of September arrived at Vera Cruz the third viceroy, Don Gaston de Peralta, marqués de Falces. He was a lineal descendant of Alonso Carrillo de Peralta, first marqués de Falces and second constable of Navarre, under appointment of the king, in 1455. The new viceroy was known as a man of generous sentiments, who had rendered valuable services in the field and council, and was also a good jurist.[23] He was accompanied by his wife, Doña Leonor Vico, an estimable lady. The title of excellency was given him; his predecessors had been addressed only as señoría.

Before arriving at Vera Cruz the new viceroy learned from the master of a ship of the occurrences at the capital, the imprisonment of the marqués del Valle and others, the beheading of the brothers Ávila, and the grounds on which the audiencia had based its course. On reaching port he ascertained that no revolutionary movements existed or were comtemplated. He passed the first night on board, and landed at 10 A. M. the next day, there being no sign of disturbance. In the evening messengers arrived from Mexico to greet him and deliver letters. Some assured him that all was quiet, others thought he should have a strong guard during his journey to the capital. After

[22] Antonio Ruiz de Castañeda full of wrath swore to revenge Gil's death if it cost him his whole estate. For this he was brought to trial, when he qualified the remark, saying he meant 'juridically,' even if he spent his estate, and had to go from door to door begging for funds to carry an appeal to the crown. *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 401

[23] 'Sugeto de particulares prendas, y virtud.' *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 15. 'Hombre prudente y enemigo de persecuciones.' *Mora, Mej. Rev.*, iii. 216.

ordering the works of San Juan de Ulua enlarged, he set out for Mexico with a light escort of twenty-five or thirty halberdiers, and his twelve servants armed with pikes. In Jalapa he rested eight days, and became satisfied that the country was peaceful. At Tlascala and Puebla he was accorded a warm reception, and in return he thanked the caciques and the people for their loyalty, in the king's name. On the 19th of October he arrived at the capital, and took formal possession of his offices.

After due investigation he became convinced that the audiencia had acted with severity, and he so wrote the crown. On the day of his arrival he ordered away the military force at the royal buildings, leaving a few men to guard the prisoners.[24]

Meanwhile, contrary to the viceroy's orders sent them from Puebla to stop proceedings in the conspiracy cases, the oidores had hurried them forward, and now Céspedes de Cárdenas, fiscal of the audiencia, demanded the sequestration of the marqués del Valle's estates. This the viceroy and a majority of the council refused to grant, and Falces resolved to send the marquis to Spain.[25] As regards Luis Cortés, the court sentenced him for high treason to be beheaded, and to forfeit his estate. The viceroy at first affixed his signature to the sentence; there may have been treason in the heart of the accused; but in the review of the case it was modified, and the prisoner was condemned to loss of property and ten years' service in the north of Africa at his own cost. Most of the other prisoners were released.

[24] According to his report the monthly cost of the guard was 2,060 pesos without including the captain's pay, the powder, and other necessary expenses. *Falces, Informe*, in *Mora, Mej. Rev.*, iii. 429. Ceinos, the senior oidor, and others tried to persuade him that a revolution was certain, and referred to the Franciscan friar Diego Cornejo to corroborate their statement, but he felt satisfied that no revolt was intended. *Id.*, 431–4.

[25] Much kind attention was paid Cortés by Falces, who allowed his friends to see him at all hours, day and night, and even visited and was visited by him. This offended the oidores. The marquis also became reconciled with Baltasar de Aguilar Cervantes and others of his former enemies who made advances on hearing that *jueces pesquisidores* would soon come out from Spain.

Falces made much of Baltasar de Aguilar, with the view of obtaining the facts respecting the alleged conspiracy, and finally Aguilar told him that Cortés had no hand in it.[26] Falces then wrote the crown that in his opinion there had been no conspiracy; the oidores, on the other hand, accused the viceroy of apathy and disloyalty, and thereafter they did all they could to annoy him.[27]

It was a great monster of rebellion the oidores had crushed—so they would have the king believe, and so they wrote to all Spain about it. They went further, even accusing Falces of favoring the plot, and of having a plan of his own to separate New Spain from the crown of Castile, in support of which he had already thirty thousand men enrolled.[28] Not satisfied with this, by collusion with the factor Ibarra, who had charge of forwarding the official correspondence, they succeeded in keeping back the viceroy's report, so that the tales of his enemies alone might reach the court.[29] Yet more and more the people felt that the conduct of the oidores had been infamous, and the informers were held in contempt.[30]

[26] Later on, being tortured by order of the visitador Muñoz, he retracted that declaration, saying that his first statement had been the correct one, and adding that his deposition to the contrary had been instigated by Falces. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 230–2, 238.

[27] The annoyance had begun even earlier, as may be judged by the conduct of the oidores Villalobos and Orozco, who occupied the viceregal apartments in the royal buildings, and only vacated them upon a peremptory demand by Falces. This gave rise, as may be seen, to disagreeable correspondence, which Falces alluded to in his report to the government. *Peralta, Informe*, in *Mora, Mej. Rev.*, iii. 429.

[28] Falces as a lover of the fine arts had caused a battle scene to be painted in one of the halls of the palace, which represented men in action. *Torquemada*, i. 634. The king of France at one time had shown much regard for the marqués del Valle, and as the viceroy had relatives at the French court and in Navarre, these facts were adduced and made much of by the enemies of the two accused marquises. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 232–3.

[29] 'Las cartas, que el Virrei escrivió, y causas, que en su descargo embiaba, las hizo detener Ortuño de Ibarra, que era Factor del Rei, y Hombre poderoso, y favorecido.' *Torquemada*, i. 635; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 233; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 183–8; *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 57.

[30] Ayala de Espinosa said to the audiencia that society was treating him with contumely for what he had done, and that the object was to make the evidence of himself and others appear as unworthy of credence. Pedro de Aguilar was allowed to leave for Spain. *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj., Doc.*, 161; *Falces, Inf.*, in *Mora, Méj. Rev.*, iii. 445–6.

It was finally agreed to send the marquis to Spain; but difference of opinion arose as to the best way of getting him to Vera Cruz. The oidores, in furtherance of their plans of compromising Falces, threw the responsibility upon him. Reflecting that a large military escort might create alarm, and a small one be useless if the friends of Cortés should attempt a rescue, the viceroy concluded to let him go on parole to Vera Cruz, and deliver himself up to the general of the fleet, Juan Velasco de Barrio,[31] who was to take him to Spain to be surrendered to the royal authorities. This was done. The marquis was at Vera Cruz on the day stipulated, the 20th of March, having placed his children under Falces' protection, who accepted the trust, but not that of looking after his estates, as the marquis had also asked him.

Together with the marquis were sent to Spain his half-brother Luis, Dean Juan Chico de Molina,[32] and a Franciscan friar. The informer Cristóbal Ayala de Espinosa also went in the fleet to seek preferment for pretended services. Philip was ready enough to distrust his agents in America, yet he disliked to believe evil of the marqués de Falces. But why did not his viceroy write if he was innocent of the charges advanced by his brother officials? Probably it were

[31] He based his action not solely on the reasons given in the text, but also on the fact that Cortés' high rank entitled him to trust; 'pues príncipes, galeras, fortalezas, oficios, y otras cosas de gran calidad se fiaban y entregaban á caballeros hijos dalgo con un pleyto homenage, el cual tenia tanta fuerza de fidelidad y obligacion.' The old chivalrous spirit animated him it seems. *Falces, Informe al Rey*, in *Mora, Méj. Rev.*, 424–48; and *Falces, Proceso*, in *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.* 411–40. The official report of the marqués de Falces, viceroy of New Spain, on the alleged conspiracy of the second marquis del Valle and others to wrest the country from the Spanish crown, is a clear and detailed account of political affairs as he found them on his arrival, and as they continued to the time it was written in 1567. As such it is, judging from the writer's character, well deserving of consideration and credence. It was the same document, wilfully kept back by the king's factor, from which resulted Falces' temporary disgrace and untold evils to Mexico. In the *Registro Trimestre*, and also in *Mora, Mej. Rev.*, it is stated that the memorial was delivered to the king. But as a matter of fact it was presented to the royal commissioners Dec. 6, 1567, when the fiscal of the audiencia in Mexico preferred charges against Falces.

[32] In Madrid he was subjected to the torture, by which he lost the use of one arm. He was also deprived of his rank. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 255.

better the viceroy should be deposed; and so the licenciados Jarava, Alonso Muñoz, and Luis Carrillo were despatched to Mexico as *jueces pesquisidores*, or royal commissioners, armed with a peremptory order to Falces to turn over the government to them, and forthwith proceed to Spain, there to answer the charges preferred against him. Jarava died at sea; the other two entered the capital early in October 1567,[33] and demanded the government from Falces. We may well imagine his indignation at this insult so unjustly and cruelly inflicted; but he obeyed the royal command, and then labored to ascertain the cause of it. He soon discovered the trick that Ortuño de Ibarra had played him, and at once made it public. Much regret was felt at his deposal. The so lately dreadful conspiracy was by this time almost forgotten.

Muñoz, a man of advanced age, being senior in rank as well as in years, took charge of affairs. Flushed with power, Muñoz began to show his character, that of an inflexible, haughty, and cruel man. He aped royalty, ignored the audiencia, distrusted the oidores, and treated with discourtesy all having business with him. His subordinates he regarded with contempt, and a distant bow was all he deigned to gentlemen of high position. When riding out he was escorted by twenty-four halberdiers.[34]

Early in November Muñoz and Carrillo devoted their whole attention to the proceedings in the political trials. Muñoz as a councillor of the Indies had already acted at Madrid in the cases ordering torture to be inflicted on Cristóbal de Oñate, whom the audiencia of Mexico had sent there. This man, to escape the horrors of the torture, made confessions implicating a number of innocent persons. He was brought back to be used both as witness and victim.

[33] All the authorities agree upon the time except *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 9, who gives their arrival in March 1568.

[34] 'Queria hacer guerra al Cielo...no sabia baxar la cabeça á la Tierra... debia de creer, que los Hombres eran bestias.' *Torquemada*, i. 637.

Muñoz, taking upon himself control of the case, ordered the rearrest of those the viceroy had released on bail, and doubled the guards.[35] Any suspicion, however slight, against any person would insure incarceration. To save themselves from possible accusation many turned informers. The infamous old man became rabid on the subject, and as he moved from place to place he saw conspirators everywhere. The jails becoming insufficient he had some dungeons built, damp dark horrible places for human beings, and which still existed and bore his hated name in the seventeenth century.[36]

The criminal trials were prosecuted with activity. Every circumstance, however trifling, was brought to bear heavily against the victims. The time allowed them for defence was short. The result of it was that the prisoners deemed it useless to attempt a defence, and an unjust sentence and its execution usually ended the case. On the 7th of January 1568 were sentenced to be hanged and quartered for treason and attempted rebellion Juan Gomez de Victoria, Gonzalo Nuñez, and Cristóbal de Oñate, the last named being the one taken to and brought back from Spain. It was believed that the other two were innocent.[37] On the 8th the three were executed, Nuñez and Victoria confessing their guilt, and Oñate retracting the falsehoods he had uttered in Madrid under fear of torture. He declared just before his execu-

[35] Among the prisoners the following names appear: Martin Cortés, Baltasar and Diego Arias de Sotelo, Francisco, Fernando, and Bernardino Pacheco de Bocanegra, Nuño de Chavez, Luis Ponce de Leon, Agustin de Sotomayor, Hernando de Bazan, Diego Rodriguez Orozco, Pedro Gomez de Cáceres, Antonio de Carbajal, Baltasar and Pedro de Quesada, Juan de Valdivieso, Antonio Ruiz de Castañeda, García de Albornoz, Gonzalo Nuñez, and Juan Gomez de Victoria (these last two were servants of the late Alonso de Ávila), Cristóbal de Oñate, Pedro Gonzalez, a son of the conqueror Andrés de Tapia, Rodrigo de Carbajal, clergyman. Many others appear incidentally in the general proceedings, those of their own trials not having reached us. The property of such as had any was sequestered. *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 59; *Doc.*, in *Id.*, 217–470; *Torquemada*, i. 636; *Cavo, Tres. Siglos*, i. 183.

[36] One thousand workmen were employed, completing them in 15 days. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 237.

[37] 'Dicen, que murieron sin culpa.' *Torquemada*, i. 636. Orozco y Berra, *Not. Conj.*, 60, gives only the executions of Victoria and Oñate.

tion that all he had said about the marqués del Valle having given him a commission to France and to certain high officials was untrue. The next day, mounted on mules and bound hands and feet, the brothers Baltasar and Pedro de Quesada, sexagenarians, were taken to the scaffold to be beheaded; they acknowledged having taken part in a plot against the king. Baltasar de Sotelo met with the same fate.[38]

It becomes my duty here to record one of those hellish acts which makes one blush for one's race, which makes one wonder how superior powers can sit and smile on them. Sapient philosophers may charge it to the times, and there leave it, scarcely knowing what they say; religionists would place it among the mysteries of providence and expect us to be satisfied; there still remains the fact, a most ignoble and worse than beastly one, and wherein man may see something of himself as he is to-day.

While the executions of the 8th were going on in the presence of the people, there lay in one of the rooms of the royal buildings Martin Cortés, Marina's son, undergoing bodily torture. The father had conquered the country for Spain, and the mother had been his most devoted friend and helper; and here now was the son, stretched on a bed of mortal agony, because to his grizzly judge at the trial he would divulge nothing of the secrets of his confederates, were any such secrets in his keeping.

Happy invention! that of water and cord,[39] as administered at the hands of Pero Baca and Juan Navarro, by order of Muñoz. It does not add to the

[38] Mora, *Mej. Rev.*, iii. 218–19, says that his brother Diego Sotelo was also put to death. Torquemada, i. 636, gives only the execution of Baltasar de Sotelo. According to Orozco y Berra, *Not. Conj.*, 61, the brothers were merely banished.

[39] Being a knight of Santiago, and the rules of the order requiring the presence of other members at the act, Francisco de Velasco and the bishop of Puebla, Antonio de Morales y Molina, were summoned to witness it. The latter has been blamed for taking part in an act so unbecoming a Christian prelate; but it seems that he appeared at the special request of Martin Cortés. *Torquemada*, i. 636.

merits of the case to know that Martin was convalescing from serious illness. "I have spoken the truth and have nothing further to add," Martin said, as they stripped him and laid him on the rack. Being again urged to speak the truth, he replied, "It is spoken." The executioners then proceeded to bind with cords the fleshy parts of the arms, thighs, calves, and large toes, and gradually to tighten them all at once. "Speak the truth," they said. "It is spoken," was ever the reply. Six times they poured a quart of water down his throat, demanding each time a truthful declaration. With wonderful firmness the poor fellow held to his first position. "Kill me if you will, I can tell you nothing more."[40] And the judges at last believed him, and allowed a little rest, intending to continue after the sufferer should have recovered sufficient strength. Strange that in any age men in the possession of common reason could hope by such means to arrive at the truth! But after all in the affairs of men there is a happy compensation. Martin's mother is sold into slavery; Martin's father tortures the Indians; Martin himself enslaves and tortures *ad libitum;* Muñoz imprisons and tortures Martin; death and the devil seize and torture Muñoz.

It was not convenient to torture Martin further. Eighteen days afterward he was sentenced to exile for life from all the Indies, and from within five leagues of the court of Spain, and to pay a fine of five hundred gold ducats. Others were exiled; some from New Spain, some from the city of Mexico, and all must pay money into the king's treasury.[41]

[40] 'Ya he dicho la verdad, y por el Sacratísimo nombre de Dios que se duelan de mí, que no diré mas de aquí á que me muera.' *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 61; *Doc.* in *Id.*, 231–2.

[41] Among the most noted were: Diego Arias Sotelo, transported to Oran on the north coast of Africa. The three brothers Bocanegra suffered torture, confessed nothing, and were sentenced to Oran. Bernardino de Bocanegra had been first condemned to death for the murder of Juan Ponce de Leon, but was saved through family influence and finally sent to Oran. Of those exiled I find the following: Pedro Gomez, son of Captain Andrés Tapia, Antonio Ruiz de Castañeda, García de Albornoz, and Juan de Valdivieso. Only one of those sent to Oran ever left that place. *Torquemada*, i. 636. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 247–8.

Even the marqués de Falces was brought before the dread court of the royal emissaries; charges of disloyalty as well as offences of omission were made against him, to which he pleaded that his conscience was at peace, for he had done nothing incompatible with the duties of a loyal subject and servant of the crown. In view of his rank the judges abstained from rendering a decision in his case, and referred it to the king. This was all Falces asked, and a few days later he went down to Vera Cruz to embark on the first ship for Spain.

Muñoz continued his abuse of power almost without a limit. The jails as well as his pestilence-breeding dungeons were filled with innocent victims, whose sons and wives dare not move in their release lest worse befall them. For once in their battered existence the Indians were saved by their insignificance from the horrid notice of their present rulers. It was the Spaniards and their descendants, and particularly those of high position, conquerors and sons of conquerors, who had themselves gloried in practising enormities on others, even as they were now wrought upon by fiends of injustice; it was these who were now the sufferers, and at the hands of those of their own race.[42]

[42] 'No avia Hombre con Hombre en la Tierra, y de tal modo vivian todos, que no sabian de sí, ni como defenderse, ni ampararse de tantas crueldades, y tiranias, como hacia.' *Torquemada*, i. 636. It must be here stated, however, that the Franciscan province of the Santo Evangelio, to which Torquemada afterward belonged, had by this time changed its opinion respecting the political condition of the country. It may have been from an honest belief, or from a feeling of gratitude to Muñoz for favors received, that fathers Miguel Navarro, provincial, and Diego de Mendoza, Juan Focher, and Joan Ramirez, definidores, in a letter of May 24, 1568, commend in glowing terms his rule, adding that if he could have retained his powers two or three years, the country would be in much better state than it ever had been since the conquest. He had already set every thing in order in both spiritual and temporal concerns, and his name stood now very high. In the prosecution of the marqués del Valle and others, both Muñoz and Carrillo had done their duty like good Christians, using no more severity than was needful, and the evidence produced at the trials should be considered dispassionately: 'si ensangrentaron algo las manos no devia conuenir otra cosa para la entera pacificacion destos reinos.' They conclude wishing for Muñoz' return, or the coming of some one possessed of his spirit, and with freedom of action. *Navarro et al.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 159.

Mexico could no longer patiently endure the yoke. The remedy was worse than the disease; if anything could make traitors it was Muñoz' conduct. Public discontent had by this time reached such a point that the country's peace was really in danger, far more in danger that at any time previous. Measures were taken by the best men to rid New Spain of the crown agent; if the king would do it, well; if not, they would do it themselves. Evading the watchfulness of Muñoz and his minions, they forwarded to Madrid correct accounts of the past and present condition of things over their own signatures. Petitions went to the king from all quarters in Mexico, showing the whole country to be in mourning, in dread, and constant alarm, and in actual danger of revolution. And this would cease, the writers said, if Muñoz and Carrillo were at once removed; not otherwise. The crafty and cruel, cold and unscrupulous Philip, saw at once that this was no case of iron-heel justice; moreover, he was really indignant at the conduct of Muñoz, who had so infamously misrepresented him. He therefore immediately despatched to Mexico the oidores Villanueva and Puga, the same persons whom Valderrama had dismissed, with orders to depose Muñoz and Carrillo, and compel them to quit the capital within three hours. The two dismissed rulers were to repair to Madrid and explain their acts.

The oidores arrived the 13th of April 1568, which was holy Tuesday. These officials knew what it was to be up, and what it was to be down. They had been displaced, and they knew how to displace another. The other members of the audiencia were pleased to receive them; nothing could be worse than as it had been. Muñoz was a pious man; for so old and so rank a sinner he was exceedingly pious. He was spending holy week at the convent of Santo Domingo, deep in kingcraft; for as he had ruled here, so would he if possible rule hereafter. The oidores were all a little afraid of him; nevertheless it was not an

unpleasing task to depose the old tyrant; so plucking up courage the two commissioners, with the secretary Sanchez Lopez de Agurto, early next morning repaired to the convent and asked for Muñoz. The page hesitated to disturb his master's rest or devotions, but finally conducted the visitors to his room. Muñoz received them sitting, and barely returned their salutation. Without further preamble Villanueva drew forth the royal cédula and directed Agurto[43] to read it.

The effect on Muñoz was as if he had been struck. Without uttering a word his head fell heavily on his breast, and after a time he signified his acquiescence. The news that the tyrant had been deposed spread through the city, and the jubilant inhabitants appeared upon the streets just in time to see the so lately proud and haughty representative of royalty, now a poor and trembling old man, friendless and comparatively alone, wending his way out of the country, an object of scorn and execration. His weaker but scarcely less detested colleague Carrillo was with him; and it is said, though probably with exaggeration, that had it not been for the compassion of certain citizens they would have been obliged to perform the journey to Vera Cruz on foot. However this may have been, they received marked demonstrations of antipathy everywhere on their journey. Sharp corners of fortune were those which the king-servers and king-defiers used to turn then in the Indies. Going on board the vessel which was to carry them to Spain, these who had been

[43] It is presumed he was the same known also as Sancho Lopez de Recalde, who was secretary of the royal council in Spain in 1544, and afterward a notary public in the city of Mexico, where he died in 1575, leaving two sons, Sancho Lopez and Diego; the latter of whom became a canon of the cathedral; the former was a notary public before 1572, and in 1575 was made notary and secretary of the audiencia, holding the office till November 9, 1582, on which date he wrote a letter to the king in council. It seems he had often written the king on public affairs. During the disturbances of the so-called conspiracy of the marqués del Valle, he contributed with his estate and personal services, together with those of his relatives and subordinates, to the preservation of peace and guarding of the city. In October 1576 the secretary of the civil department was Juan de Cuevas. 'Till lately he had a colleague, Sancho Lopez de Recalde, who died recently.' *Enriquez, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 333.

driven forth found there him whom they had driven forth, Falces, but for them viceroy, and now a king beside them.

Carrillo died at sea.[44] On arrival at Madrid, Falces at once went to the king and told him all. Philip listened, believed, and gave the faithful servant kind treatment—that is for a king. Muñoz also went to his master and was received very sternly. "I sent you to nourish, not to destroy," said the king. Muñoz tried to explain, but Philip turned his back upon him. It was enough; disgraced, driven forth, spurned, the old man went his way, and that same night was found dead, sitting on a chair with his head resting on his hand.[45]

It was not generally believed then, nor has it been since, that any plan of independence really had existence at the time. The chief encomenderos, it was explained, angry at the systematic provocation, the arbitrary persecution by the ministers and delegates of the king, in their fear and wrath had endeavored to find some means to defend their threatened interests; but there was no evidence of their ever having ceased to be loyal subjects, their only offence being that some of them squandered their estates. The so-called conspiracy was declared to be nothing more than an invention of the enemies of the marqués del Valle, his brothers, and their friends, to bring them to ruin. Some thought it a plan concocted at Madrid for despoiling the encomenderos. Juan Suarez Peralta, one of the victims, who left his views in writing, throws out hints in this direction, but nothing more; it was dangerous in those days to speak one's mind

[44] His death was caused by a stroke of apoplexy. The body was carried to Habana. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 252, 347.

[45] Muñoz was cruel as well as pious, and Carrillo was pious as well as cruel; at the tortures the former showed greater pity, a softer heart; whereas the other being weaker was more harsh. The people, however, had an idea that Muñoz was the more monstrous of the two, and they feared him beyond compare. One man actually took a fever and died in two days upon receiving a harsh message from Muñoz. *Id.*, 250–1.

on New Spain government policy. The impudent utterances of Alonso de Ávila cost him his life.

Many effusions in prose and verse were written to commemorate this bloody episode, the most notable being the funeral narrative by the Mexican poet, historian, and political writer, Luis de Sandoval Zapata, who lived early in the seventeenth century. A notice of this composition will be given elsewhere. Its author exonerates both the Ávilas from any treasonable intent, and assures us that the king's council also did so at a later time.[46] He lays to the malice of informers and the envy and blindness of judges the deaths of many innocent men. We must admit, however, that during the epoch under consideration a plot to bring about the secession of New Spain from the mother country was brewing, so much having been confessed by Alonso de Ávila first, and by the brothers Quesada later; though it certainly was not worthy of the consideration given it by the oidores in their zeal or animosity. Indeed, the depositions of the persons having knowledge of the circumstances show that treason had not been seriously considered. The viceroy, who carefully read the evidence, could not believe that criminality had been intended,[47] and this seems to have been the conclusion arrived at by the king in approving the course of Falces and condemning that of Muñoz and Carrillo.

But, whatever opinion we may hold of the conduct of the Ávilas and others, it is quite certain that the marquis, Martin Cortés, took no part in any plot against the crown. Not that there was wanting cause or inducement; but the risk was too great. With

[46] Bien que despues el Consejo
De la Magestad exelsa
. . . . . .
Declaró con su clemencia
No hubo culpa de traidores
En los Avilas. . . . . .

In *Orozco y Berra, Not. Conj.*, 502.

[47] His words in one place were 'el alzamiento que en esta tierra dicen se pretendió hacer;' and in another, 'despues de la sospecha de alzamiento.' In *Mora, Méj. Rev.*, iii. 424, 435–6.

Spain and so many Spaniards and the native Americans against them, the insurgents could not possibly have sustained themselves. And then his name, his proud position, his princely estates: failure would involve the forfeiture of all these. Yet here there was little to choose; if the godly Philip desired any one's property he usually took it if he could. For an innocent man the penalties inflicted on the marquis by the king and council were grievous; but they assisted to foster suspicion until a good share of his wealth was secured.[48] His case was not terminated for several years. Whether it was that nothing could be proved against him, or that he paid over sufficient money, or that the court deemed him no longer dangerous, he was finally acquitted, and the family reinstated in all its honors, rights, and privileges, but not till a large fine had been exacted.[49] Most of the sequestered property was restored in 1574. Tehuantepec was taken by the crown on the pretext of its being needed for a port and navy-yard, and as a point from which to make discoveries.[50] During the period of seques-

[48] The marquis was sentenced to serve in Oran and to perpetual banishment from the Indies, to the payment of many thousand ducats, and the jurisdiction in his estate was also taken from him. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 255–6.

[49] Fifty thousand ducats and to make a forced loan to the crown of 100,000 more for war expenses. He must have been kept confined. He certainly was in custody from January 1 to October 13, 1572, at the fortress of Torrejon de Velasco, during which time 73,888 maravedís were expended for his support, which were paid to the officers holding him, by the treasurer-general of the kingdom, under an order of the royal council. *Valdaracete, Peticion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 456–8; *Consejo Real, Mandamiento*, in *Id.*, 458–61.

[50] The deprivation of the privilege to appoint governors and alcaldes mayores was repealed much later, when Fernando, the third marquis, married Mencía de la Cerda y Bobadilla, a lady of honor of the princess Isabel. The Cortés family remained in Spain till Pedro, the fourth marquis, a brother of his predecessor and whose wife was Ana de Pacheco de la Cerda, a sister of the conde de Montalvan, came to Mexico, where he died January 30, 1629, without issue. It is said that at his funeral were in attendance 300 Franciscan friars from the city of Mexico and neighboring towns. The entail went to his niece Estefanía Cortés, wife of the Neapolitan nobleman duke of Terranova and Monteleone. The estates and seignorial rights remained in the house till the war of succession to the Spanish crown, when, the duke having taken sides with the house of Austria, they were placed under sequestration. This was raised after the peace of Utrecht confirmed Felipe V., the first Bourbon to wear the Spanish crown. They were again sequestered at the time of the invasion of Napoleon and restored to the family after Fernando VII. recovered his throne. The family retained the estates till 1820, with the

tration, the government had paid the pensions of Doña Juana de Zúñiga, the dowager marchioness, and of her brother the friar Antonio.

The marquis died the 13th of August 1589. It is believed that the sentence of exile in the case of Martin, Doña Marina's son, was never carried out. On the 17th of March, 1568, he was still living in his own house, as appears in a petition asking for an extension of the time he was allowed to enjoy that place as his prison. As he was in bad health it is likely the petition was granted, and he was troubled no more after Muñoz was dismissed. Nothing further is known of him or his family. It is probable that he left no legitimate descendants. Luis Cortés returned to Mexico after the acquittal of the marquis in 1574, and lived almost in obscurity. He never took part again in public affairs, and at his death left to his descendants the name of Cortés de Hermosilla.

exception of the seignorial privileges, the Spanish cortes having abolished all such. Upon the independence of Mexico the estates were sequestered a fourth time, for a while, during Iturbide's short imperial sway. In 1833 they were declared national property, and in 1834 restored to the owner. Such has been the devious course of tenure in the Cortés estates. *Terranova y Monteleone, Espos.*, 63; *Mora, Méj. Rev.*, iii. 226–7; *Datos Biog.*, in *Cartas de Ind.*, 858; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 171.

I would here offer my tribute of respect for the prominent writer and accomplished scholar Manuel Orozco y Berra. Probably no Mexican historian of modern times has been so generally held in high esteem, both by his countrymen and by scholars everywhere. Enjoying the fullest facilities, with the confidence of the government, and of all who held in possession materials for history; with a sound mind, a facile pen, and a generous sympathy for the just and humane on all questions relating to society and civilization, he was a man of whose name his country may well be proud.

Most important in writing the present chapter, and a work I have freely used, is his *Noticia Histórica de la Conjuracion del Marqués del Valle, Años de 1565–1568*, Mex. 1853. 8vo, xii. 72, 505 pp. It contains an historical account of the affair which has hitherto somewhat improperly been known as the Martin Cortés conspiracy, some having attributed it to the second marqués del Valle. A sketch of his early life is also given, accompanied by copies of the legal processes against the persons implicated, including the deposed viceroy, the marqués de Falces. I notice that the greater part of the legal proceedings, many of the answers of witnesses, and the pleadings of the accusation and defence are omitted, probably on the ground that they would have

thrown but little light upon the subject. More valuable is an extract giving the confessions of the prisoners and the sentences decreed against them, together with interesting acts and documents, in which the original orthography and punctuation are retained. The editor also gives foot-notes wherever he regarded them necessary. At the end of the volume is a ballad or romance in verse, the subject of which is the execution of the two brothers Ávila, written about the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Subsequently Orozco y Berra's studies were directed to scientific subjects, and he published several valuable treatises on ethnography, hydrography, and kindred topics. Still later, however, as the fruit of many years of diligent researches during his leisure hours, a work appeared which entitles him to be numbered among the distinguished historians of his country. It bears the title *Historia Antigua y de la Conquista de México*, Mexico, 1880, 8vo, 4 vols., pp. ix. 584, 603, 527, 694, and comprises four parts: La Civilizacion, El Hombre Prehistórico en México, Historia Antigua, and Conquista de México, based on the best authorities extant. The first three divisions give an interesting description of the general condition of ancient Mexico and part of Central America, of the rites, religion, social and intellectual standing; the prehistorical inhabitants, their relations to those of the old world; the history of the different regions, beginning with the early traditions of the Mayas, and ending with the Anáhuac empire previous to its overthrow by the Spaniards. Numerous foot-notes are given in support of the text; also interesting bibliographical notices, and essays on ancient laws, taken from unpublished documents, and on hieroglyphic writings and chronology of the Aztecs and Mayas, all of which gives indubitable evidence of the author's painstaking labor. The fourth volume, remarkable, like the third part, for a great number of explanatory notes, begins with the earliest expeditions, from which originated the final conquest of the Mexican empire, and concludes with the departure of Cristóbal de Tapia.

It is to be regretted that the narrative of this eventful period should have been given so largely in extracts, rather than in the author's own words. His interpretations are usually fair, and his criticisms on Prescott and others searching and pertinent. Perhaps for the early part of the conquest he is inclined to favor unduly the somewhat prejudiced narrative of Las Casas, and the statements of various persons made during the residencia of Cortés are frequently given more credit than they deserve, though here the letters of the conqueror himself and the versions of Bernal Díaz, Herrera, Gomara, and other standard chroniclers have been used, and also the native records. Taken as a whole, it is a work reflecting the highest credit both on the author, and on the government which in just appreciation facilitated its publication.

CHAPTER XXX.

RULE OF VICEROY ENRIQUEZ.

1568–1580.

Temporary Government of the Audiencia—John Hawkins Invades Vera Cruz—His Defeat and Expulsion—Fate of the English Prisoners—Viceroy Martin Enriquez de Almansa—Drake's Operations—Foreign Raids—Yucatan, Its Government and Indian Affairs—First Acts of Enriquez—Organization of Military Forces—Campaigns against the Chichimecs—Presidios and Movable Block-houses—Matlalzahuatl Epidemic and its Havoc—Famine—Inundation—Recall of Enriquez—His Government Policy—His Death.

The tyrannical visitadores having been divested of power, the audiencia resumed the reins of government, and profiting by past experience adopted a mild policy which gradually allayed public fears. With restored confidence the people returned to their vocations, and soon nothing was left to remind them of the late horrors but the black dungeons of Muñoz and the pillar on the salt-sown ground where Alonso de Ávila's house had stood. This happy state of things continued until the arrival of the fourth viceroy. Previous to the coming of this official, however, there was quite a flutter of excitement at the capital, owing to the seizure of the island of Sacrificios, opposite the castle of San Juan de Ulua, by the famous English corsair, John Hawkins, with nine armed ships, on the 14th of September 1568.[1] Hawkins surprised the garrison and captured the fort. Among the prisoners were the king's treasurer and factor. He then removed the artillery and

[1] Miles Philips, one of the men, gives the 16th as the date of their entering the port. *Discourse*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 471.

fortified his camp without opposition.[2] His ships were much damaged, having been long from home trading on the coasts of Spanish America. Needing water and stores he resolved to take this port, after first securing every vessel in the vicinity, that the people of Vera Cruz might not receive warning of his approach. The gentle pirate was at present fatigued and desired rest. He would hurt no one if left alone. Indeed, he assured the commandant of the port, Hernando Delgadillo, and the other officials that he intended them no harm, having captured the place only as a matter of form. He wished them to supply him with water and provisions, promising to pay in money and merchandise. The king's officials, however, declined these irregular overtures, and would make no arrangements without orders from Mexico. The audiencia finally agreed to furnish Hawkins what he required on the terms proposed, with the understanding that none of Hawkins' men should enter Vera Cruz, or leave Sacrificios for the interior.

Thus all was going on well with Captain Hawkins, who could ride up and down the ocean's highways and rob at pleasure, never waiting for cover of the night, and who now demanded charity from the injured nation with an air of peace and innocence truly refreshing. But alas! the daring navigator was in some way so out of his reckoning that he could not calculate his eclipse. His negotiations with the Vera Cruz officials were scarcely ended when a Spanish fleet of thirteen vessels came in sight. The poor pirate was taken at a terrible disadvantage. His cargoes were valued at £1,800,000; he had beached several of his ships for repairs, and was in no humor to kill the people who were coming toward him; yet he must open fire on the Spanish fleet.

Now it happened that the new arrival had on board

[2] He was 'muy gran soldado y marinero, y en su proceder muy hidalgo;' with him was his relative Francis Drake. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 257, and note 40. For a full account of the piratical expeditions, see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. this series.

the last appointed viceroy of New Spain, Martin Enriquez de Almansa, knight of Santiago, brother of the marqués de Alcañices and the marchioness de Poza. He was, moreover, connected with the highest nobility of Spain, among whom was the famous duque de Candia, who became the second general of the Jesuits, as successor to Ignatius de Loyola, and after his death was canonized as St Francis Borgia. He bore the reputation of a man of sterling character, whose amiable and charitable disposition[3] was united with firmness, and who possessed good administrative abilities. Enriquez was much alarmed at seeing his master's dominion in the hands of a foreigner. He wished to bring the fleet into port; he had been long confined on shipboard and he desired to land. Moreover he had come to rule at Mexico, and not to be shot at Vera Cruz. Hence, when Hawkins sent the Spanish commander word that he had no intention of inflicting injury on any one, least of all on honest and courteous Spanish gentlemen; that he had only fired from habit, or by way of bull-dog salute; that he had permission of the audiencia to purchase at that port certain necessaries, and that as soon as his ships were repaired he would gladly depart, Enriquez listened. The commander answered bluntly that he would hold no intercourse whatever with Hawkins until he should be allowed peaceably to enter the port.[4] Enriquez, however, who thought a viceroy's wits should equal at least those of a pirate, was quite ready to enter into negotiations. Then Hawkins said that if the Spaniards would pledge him their honor and good faith to permit him to depart in peace as soon as he should have completed his repairs, they might enter unmolested. The viceroy agreed, and an exchange of host-

[3] During his residence in Mexico he won himself the name of a good Christian, giving alms to the poor without ostentation. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 270; *Torquemada*, i. 638; *Méx. Not. Ciudad*, 70; *Datos Biog.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 754–5. He was very strict, and exalted the viceregal office, which till his time had been a plain, unassuming one. *Torquemada*, i. 647.

[4] 'En lo demás le harian comodidad y le despacharian.' *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 263.

ages was made. Hawkins selected ten of his chief officers and sent them elegantly attired to the Spanish flag-ship.[5] The viceroy dressed up as gentlemen an equal number of men of the lowest class and despatched them to Hawkins' quarters. After the stipulations had been concluded and proclaimed, the Spaniards entered the port, and the two fleets, as Hawkins tells us, saluted one another, according to naval custom.[6]

This was the 24th of September. All right now, thought Hawkins: the word of a Spanish nobleman is as good as his bond, if either is worth anything. Agustin de Villanueva Cervantes, however, he of whom I have often spoken in connection with the late troubles of Mexico, and who was now a prisoner in the hands of the English, well knowing the quality of Spanish honor and good faith when pledged to a pirate, on seeing the kind of hostages given by his countrymen trembled for his own safety, it being evident that the Spaniards were determined on treachery. Yet when Hawkins for some purpose sent to the Spanish commander Robert Barret, master of one of his vessels, a gentleman of fine appearance, and one who understood Castilian, and he did not return because the viceroy detained him, Hawkins' suspicions were not even then aroused, for he thought that Barret perhaps had been kept to dinner. Presently, however, he was enlightened, as there slowly dropped down upon him a Spanish store-ship, passing the line agreed upon beyond which no vessel of the viceroy's fleet was to cross, and opened a lively fire on his camp. Turning to the Spanish hostages, who expected to be immediately cut in pieces, he asked with an air of injured innocence, "Is this the way Spaniards keep their word?" Then to Villanueva, "I tell you this act of your commander will cost your people more

[5] Peralta, *Not. Hist.*, 265, says he knew two of the officers, one being a relative of the earl of York, and the other a connection of the queen.

[6] *Hawkins*, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 524.

than all my ships and their contents are worth." And he made good his word, though I doubt not he would have robbed and murdered all the same in any event. Other vessels followed closely the store-ship; Hawkins brought all his guns to bear, and a bloody engagement ensued, in which there was great loss of life on both sides. The Englishmen had the better of it for a time, it was said, and until the Spaniards employed against them fire-ships. The actual position of the English vessels, how many were on the beach, and how many afloat, is not stated; but it is certain that after all the depredations of the Spaniards there were two left, the flag-ship *Minion* and the *Judith*, on board of which took refuge those of the remnant of the English force who were able in the end to effect their escape. About three hundred thus saved themselves. Hawkins left the Spanish hostages unharmed, knowing that if he killed them his own, worth ten to one of the others, must die also. Luckily the flag-ship, which carried all the silver and the most valuable goods, was not destroyed, and on her Hawkins made his escape through a passage between reefs, where no vessel had ever been before, followed by the *Judith*, in command of Francis Drake. In his camp were taken many English prisoners, but in the captured vessels only negroes, of whom there were many. These were distributed among the captors, and afterward sold at the rate of three hundred ducats each. The store-ship that headed the attack was destroyed; also some other Spanish vessels and quite a number of soldiers on ship-board perished.[7]

[7] 'Two great shippes of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt.' The Spaniards could not do much harm with their ships, but did much havoc with the artillery of the English. The *Minion* shifted for herself, and Hawkins with great difficulty got on her; most of the men on the *Jesus* followed the *Minion* in the boat, and those who could not were slain. Of the ships only the *Minion*, John Hampton master, and the *Judith*, of 50 tons, commanded by Francis Drake, got away. All the English that were not slain or did not manage to escape were taken prisoners, and cruelly treated. Some who were captured on shore, 'they tooke and hung them up by the armes upon high postes until the blood burst out of their fingers ends.' Of those sufferers one Copeton and others, when the narrator wrote his account, were still

The English prisoners were forwarded to Mexico, where they arrived wounded and in sorry plight. Being Protestants, and therefore profane, the government confined them in a house outside the sacred precincts of the city. A few boys among them were sent to convents to be converted. Some time afterward, at the petition of certain persons in Mexico, a few of the prisoners were distributed.[8]

A few months later there were brought to Mexico

living in England, bearing on their persons the marks of the cruelties they had suffered at the hands of the Spaniards. *Philips' Discourse*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 472–3. According to John Hortop, one of the expedition, the Spanish vice-admiral's ship had most of 300 men killed or blown overboard with powder. The admiral's was also on fire half an hour, and was struck over 60 times; many of her men were killed and wounded; four other Spanish ships were sunk. The number of fighting men that came in the Spanish fleet, and that joined them from the mainland, made together 1,500, of whom 540 were slain, as appeared in a letter sent to Mexico. Captain Bland attempted to sail out with his ship, but her main-mast was struck down; he then with his men took to the pinnace, set fire to his vessel, and went on board the *Jesus* to join Hawkins, whom he told that he had intended to run back and attempt to fire the Spanish fleet. Night came on, when Hawkins ordered the *Minion* to come under the lee of the *Jesus*, and Drake to come in with the *Judith*, and lay the *Minion* aboard to take in men and everything needful and to go out, which was done. As soon as the wind came off the shore Hawkins set sail and passed out of the port. He went in search of the Pánuco River. From want of provisions the men suffered, and became dissatisfied. Finally a portion of them were landed with some money and a quantity of Rouen cloth. *Hortop's Trauailes*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 487–91. Another account has it that Viceroy Enriquez landed, and went on to Mexico without fear of fraud on the part of the English. But Lujan, who commanded the fleet, believed them to be pirates, when he saw the number that with arms in their hands ran about the streets; he then ordered a charge upon the crowd on the beach, which caused a great slaughter among them, and his ships opened fire upon those of the enemy, who while unprepared for a fight, made a brave defence. During the action the famous Francis Drake escaped, and embarking on a ship that held the greater part of the gold plundered by those pirates, he hurriedly fled to the ocean. Hawkins resisted desperately almost the whole day, until convinced that he could hold out no longer he set fire to his flag-ship, and under cover of the darkness fled in the vice-admiral's ship, which was followed by another, leaving the rest of his squadron to become a prize to the Spaniards. *Marchy Labores, Hist. Marina*, ii. 310. The other authorities that I have seen, including Hawkins, and excepting Panes, are agreed that Viceroy Enriquez conducted the negotiations with, and the military operations against, Hawkins, before departing for Mexico. Icazbalceta leans to the belief that Enriquez had departed for the capital within seven days after his arrival at Vera Cruz, and that it was the general of the fleet who ordered and directed the attack. *Doc. Hist.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép., ii. 498. Hawkins uses these words: 'With a writing from the viceroy signed with his hande and sealed with his seale of all the conditions concluded.' In *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 523.

[8] 'Yo llevé á mi casa seis, entrellos el que dizian era pariente de la reyna y el maestre; túvelos muchos dias, y çierto que lo de nobles se les echaba bien de ver.' *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 271.

from the port of Pánuco upward of one hundred Englishmen, who had been captured in a hostile region by the people of the country. Singularly enough they were of those who had fled with Hawkins on his flag-ship. When after his narrow escape the Englishman had reached a point twenty-five leagues north of Pánuco River, he found his overloaded ship in danger of sinking. So he landed one hundred and fifty men, among whom were Miles Philips and Job Hortop, and twenty boys, besides a considerable portion of the cargo. It was the 8th of October. The men were furnished with arms, and directed to stay there until Hawkins could return for them with seaworthy vessels. Thence he went to England.[9]

After much suffering from hunger and diseases, and losses at the hands of natives, the men left by Hawkins concluded to change their quarters. Turning southward they marched seven days and nights till they reached Pánuco, in a deplorable condition. There a force came out against them, to which they offered no resistance. It is said that the captors treated them most cruelly,[10] and finally sent them to Mexico to join their former comrades.

[9] 'Este, dizen, fué el prinçipio del Draque, á quién ayudó con dineros para venir á vengar el agravio que los españoles le abian hecho.' *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 272. March y Labores, *Hist. Marina*, ii. 310, in this connection says that the ship which followed Hawkins went to pieces in the Pánuco River and her crew of 70 men was taken to Mexico and humanely treated. Hawkins, after losing many of his shipmates, from wounds and hunger, escaped through the Bahama Channel between Florida and the Lucayas, and sorrow-stricken arrived in England, where Drake had preceded him. As a climax to his misfortunes he could not recover from Drake any portion of the gold intrusted to him. There was little honor among these thieves. Drake thought he could better employ it in fitting out the vessels wherewith he became afterward the terror of the Spanish American coasts in both the Atlantic and Pacific seas. If there be truth in the latter part of this statement, time must have obliterated in Hawkins all ill-feeling toward Drake, for in 1595 they planned a joint expedition against the Spanish colonies in America, mentioned above by Peralta, and of which an account is given elsewhere. See also, *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum., Dom. Esp.*, MS., 85–9; *Datos Biog.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 754.

[10] 'Atándoles las manos y llevándolos al pueblo atropellando con los caballos...los metieron en cárçeles y prisiones, y dieron á uno ó á dos tormento.' *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 274–5. Hortop, one of the party, says nothing of cruel treatment at Pánuco. But he does state that the viceroy in Mexico wanted to hang them, and was dissuaded from it. *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 492.

Several of the members of Hawkins' expedition were transported to Spain.[11] Some were kept in Mexico in a state of worse than bondage, and were brought under the tender mercies of the inquisition, after it was formally established there, and made to undergo most terrible suffering;[12] a number were burned to death. What could savages do more?

[11] They were followed within a year by Job Hortop and several others. After escaping death by shipwreck and hanging, the latter were surrendered to the casa de contratacion of Seville. *Hortop's Trauailes*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 494.

[12] Of the prisoners in Spain, Barret, Hortop, Gilbert, and two others out of seven, who had attempted to escape, were retaken. After horrible cruelties Barret and Gilbert were burned alive, and the others sentenced to different terms of service in the galleys; Hortop served 12 years in the galleys and seven more of common imprisonment, till 1590, when he made his escape to England. The others in Mexico were kept in close solitary confinement about 18 months, and tortured on the rack, or otherwise tormented. Several died under the inflictions. Finally the day of their trial arrived, when they were carried to the court wearing sambenitos, a rope round the neck, a taper in the hand, and there sentenced, one to receive 300 lashes on the bare back and 10 years in the galleys, the rest to be given from 200 to 100 lashes, and service in the galleys from eight to six years. A few, among them Milès Philips, escaped the lash, but had to serve in the convents from three to five years, wearing the sambenitos. Three were sentenced to death by burning, and suffered their penalty publicly. The floggings above spoken of were inflicted on good Friday, in 1575. The victims were paraded through the principal streets on horseback and called English dogs, Lutherans, heretics, enemies of God, and the like. The stripes were laid on with all the fierceness that bigotry and brutality could prompt. Later they were sent to the galleys of Spain. Philips and six companions served only part of their terms, and managed to escape to Spain, and thence to England. *Hortop's Trauailes*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 494; *Philips' Discourse*, in *Id.*, iii. 479–87. Spanish historians, with the exception of Juan Suarez de Peralta, from whose apparently impartial account I have copiously drawn, and March y Labores, whose information is meagre and evidently biassed by a spirit of nationality, have omitted to give a detailed narrative of Hawkins' visit to Vera Cruz. One of the Spanish writers, who could not have been ignorant of the particulars, disposes of the subject in a few words: 'llegó al puerto de San Juan de Ulva'—Viceroy Enriquez—'donde tuvo dares, y tomares con vn inglés llamado Juan de Acle.' *Torquemada*, i. 638. Another gives Hawkins' name in one place Juan de Aquines, and in another Juan de Aquines Acle. He is not very positive as to the number of ships on either side, and disposes of the whole thing in a very off-hand manner: 'lo desbaratò y echò de la Isla.' *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 10, *Id. Teatro Mex.*, 77. This last writer, however, adds that the 200 prisoners were sent to the Santa Marta quarries to work in getting stone for Mexico, which does not exactly bear out the assertion of March y Labores that the prisoners from Pánuco were treated 'con humanidad.' Another misnames the English chief Jaween. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 150. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 188, speaks of the viceroy's course in the matter as one that did honor to the inception of his rule. The name of Aquines is clearly a corruption of Hawkins, Juan Aquines Acle meaning perhaps John Hawkins Esquire! See, also, *Icazbalceta, Doc. Hist.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép., ii. 493. Luther-loving corsairs and smugglers in whom no faith could be placed deserve to have little said of them. A

Life on the ocean; how glorious it was all along through the sixteenth century! So little of the world was known; all was so magnificently strange; one might at any moment stumble upon pearl islands, golden shores, Amazon lands, and life-restoring waters. And then morals were so easy, and liberty so broad. Talk about the iron inquisition, the coercion of opinion, and the restrictions laid on commerce. Were there not islands and continents, wealthy, defenceless places, that the strong might rob, and have the learned and pious to find excuses for them in return for a share? And then might not the robbers be righteously robbed; just as the big fish eat the little fish, to the eternal glory of the creator? Such was the order of things, and Francis Drake availed himself of his high privileges. Narrowly escaping with his head from Vera Cruz in 1568, in 1572 he successfully attempted the capture of some silver on its way from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios. He also attacked the latter town and obtained a little plunder, after which he sailed for England.[13] A few years later he fitted out an expedition at Falmouth, and sailed in December 1577 to pick up what he could find of anybody's property anywhere. In 1578, after having played havoc on the Spaniards in the south Atlantic, he entered the Pacific, captured vessels off the Central American coast, and about the middle of April made his appearance in the *Golden Hind* at Huatulco, in Oajaca, which place he sacked.[14] This accomplished, he sailed the

modern Mexican writer has accused Hawkins of depredations in Vera Cruz: 'ecsigiendo fuertes tributos á sus habitantes, y aun saqueando las principales casas de comercio.' *Lerdo de Tejada, Apuntes Hist. V. Cruz*, 264. I cannot find the authority on which he bases his assertion. As a matter of fact, the English had neither time before, nor opportunity after, the arrival of the Spanish fleet to sack the town. Rivera, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 44, merely says that Enriquez dislodged from Sacrificios some English corsairs that had occupied it to injure vessels arriving and departing.

[13] *Drake's Life*, 6, 7.

[14] 'Not forgetting to take with them a Pot as big as a Bushel full of Ryals of Plate, with a Chain of Gold, and other Jewels that they found in the Town.' *Id.*, 106. Cooke's account, *Drake's World Encompassed*, 183, says they also took away two negroes of three that were being tried, on Drake's arrival, for an attempt to burn the town.

next day for the north with a view of discovering a northern passage to the Atlantic. Finding that impossible, he returned south, crossed to the Asiatic sea, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and in November 1580 reached Plymouth, England. Besides his services to his country on European coasts, and at the destruction of the invincible armada, Drake made other voyages to the Spanish main after booty. So that it may be safely said that the punishment inflicted on Hawkins and Drake in 1568 at Vera Cruz was effectively avenged on Spain and her subjects.[15]

French pirates also made raids on the coasts of New Spain,[16] notably that of Yucatan. In 1561 the French attacked the town of Campeche and plundered it, doing also other damage; but they were soon after driven away and the plunder was recovered.[17] Soon afterward came rumors of fresh preparations by the French for a descent. The governor, Diego de Santillan, on receipt of orders from the crown to be on the watch for a powerful expedition, which, according to a report from the Spanish ambassador at Paris, was fitting out to raid upon the Spanish coasts in the Indies, lost no time in visiting all the ports within his government, and making every possible preparation to meet the filibusters, should they come. Some part of the expedition, if not the whole of it, made its appearance off the coast, for in May 1571 some Frenchmen landed at the port of Sisal, and meeting with no resistance they went as far as the town of Hunucma, four leagues inland and on the road to Mérida. There being none but the natives to oppose them, they secured the plaza and then plundered the Franciscan convent of

[15] Drake's acts against Spain, her American colonies and commerce, are fully detailed in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii., of this series.

[16] It may be that Spain invited aggression. June 6, 1556, the crown forbade its subjects to trade with French corsairs under heavy penalties. *Puga, Cedulario*, 187. Apprehensions of French encroachments had existed since 1541, and the court then adopted measures to meet the emergency. *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 103–11, 114–18.

[17] The king was in 1566 asked for protection against 'los enemigos franceses luteranos' and other possible assailants. *Carta del Cabildo al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 397.

its silver plate and ornaments,[18] and committed other outrages. They did not venture farther into the interior, but took the cacique and other chiefs away for ransom. The news reached Mérida, whereupon the governor at once despatched to Hunucma Captain Juan Arévalo de Loaisa with a company of soldiers, who on arrival found that the raiders had already retired with the plunder and prisoners to their ship, and put to sea. The Spaniards followed the coast, and guarded the port eighteen days, the enemy standing off, though in sight. Upon reporting this to the governor, Arévalo and Juan Garzon were ordered to embark on a vessel in pursuit; seeing which, the enemy went away to the island of Cozumel. The governor then despatched against them Gomez de Castrillo, one of the old conquerors of Yucatan, who approached the island cautiously, surprised the French, and after a hard fight in which many were killed the Spaniards took the remainder prisoners. This happened on the eve of corpus christi. Castrillo took his prisoners and the rescued silver to Mérida, thence sending the Frenchmen to Mexico, where the government did not deal leniently with them.[19]

In 1575 English filibusters landed on the coast near Mérida, marched into the interior as far as the town of Dzmul, and after sacking, set fire to the place. In 1596 William Parker, or Park, after leaving his ship at anchor six leagues from Campeche, landed with a force of fifty-six men, as he affirmed, from a pirogue, at 3 A. M., near the convent of San Francisco, and took the town. Some of the inhabi-

[18] 'Franceses hereges...profanaron el Santo Caliz, bebiendo sacrilegamente en él, y vltrajaron las imagines.' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 334.

[19] It was said that in Mexico 'auian quemado algunos por Luteranos.' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 334. Some of the prisoners were Calvinists. *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 94–6. Such raiders, when their governments were at war with that of Spain, claimed to be privateers, and were protected by the laws of nations. But if their sovereigns were at peace then they were pirates and treated as such, that is to say, hanged. In 1572 was captured at Campeche and hanged at Vera Cruz, in San Juan de Ulua, the famous freebooter, the Count de Santi Estévan. *Carrillo, Orígen de Belice*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3ª ép., iv. 257, 261.

tants escaped, and some were taken prisoners. But the former soon rallied, and by 10 o'clock fell upon the raiders,[20] whose commander, luckily for the town, was severely wounded, and several of his men were killed. Indeed, it would have gone hard with him had he not bound his prisoners arm to arm, and used them as a barricade, under cover of which to retreat to his boat.[21] He then boarded a Spanish vessel laden with goods and the king's tribute in silver, and took all the valuables, worth £5,000, to his ship. The marauders after that visited an Indian town, where they captured a quantity of logwood. They then departed; but were not long afterward overhauled by two Spanish armed ships, when one of their vessels, with a captain Hess and thirteen others, was taken, the captives being executed.

In 1597 a powerful British squadron made a descent on the island of Cozumel, and held it for a time, but, finding the Spaniards prepared for defence, it was obliged to withdraw.[22] A second attempt in 1600 and a third in 1601 failed. In 1602 a Spanish vessel was captured. No further attacks were made for several years.[23]

Before closing with Yucatan I will give briefly the history of the province during the second half of the sixteenth century. Under the present government was an area of about one hundred leagues from east

[20] It is claimed that there were 500 Spaniards in the place, and in two towns close by, 8,000 Indians. *Parker*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 602–3. The estimate of the former was doubtless an error, for the Spanish population was then small.

[21] The filibusters ungenerously told the Spaniards that their townsman, Juan Venturate, had been their guide. Without other evidence the man was sentenced to death. One author says he was shot on the spot; another that he 'con tenazas encendidas fué despedazado;' a third has it, 'á morir atenazado.' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 420, 422; *Calero*, in *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 790; *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 133; *Yuc. Estad., 1853*, 248–9.

[22] A party of English freebooters on the 4th of March 1597 landed at Cape Catoche, and burned all the establishments and houses of the flourishing town of Chancenote, having first plundered it. *Carrillo, Orígen de Belice*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3ª ép., iv. 258.

[23] By 1597 the coast of Campeche had become a general rendezvous and hiding-place for English and Dutch pirates. *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 131–6.

to west, including all the peninsula, together with Tabasco, and narrowing to twenty-five leagues in width in the south-western part.[24]

The civil government, after Adelantado Montejo's departure for Spain, and the discontinuance of his privileges, was in charge of alcaldes mayores, provided first by the audiencia of Mexico, next by that of Los Confines, and then again by that of Mexico, embracing the period between 1550 and 1561, till the arrival of Doctor Quijada[25] on the 10th of January 1562, commissioned direct from the crown. The rule of this official was one of continued trouble with his subjects and the church about encomiendas and alleged ill-treatment of the Indians by the friars. Complaints were lodged against him at court, and though he had been appointed for six years, a successor presented himself in Mérida when Quijada least expected him. History has no great virtue nor vice to attach to his name. He was succeeded by Luis

[24] There were in it, toward the end of this period, five towns of Spaniards, namely, the city of Mérida, the capital of the civil and episcopal governments, with from 300 to 400 vecinos, a cathedral, and a Franciscan convent; the villa de Valladolid, or Vallid, with some 50 vecinos, a parish church, and a convent of Franciscans. In this and the preceding there were some Mexicans that came with the conquerors; the villa de San Francisco de Campeche, with about 80 vecinos; the villa de Salamanca, near the gulf of Honduras, with about 20 vecinos, and Victoria de Tabasco with about 50 vecinos. The number of principal Indian towns was about 200, besides the smaller ones under them. In 1563 the total number of tribute-payers was officially computed at 50,000. *Quixada, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 386–7. Tabasco's large population at the time of the conquest had become reduced to about 1,000 tributaries in the latter part of the century. *Mex. Informes*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. 453–7.

[25] The following were the alcaldes mayores, in the order given: 1. Gaspar Juarez de Ávila, sent out about 1552 from Mexico, who ruled some two years. During his term there came from Peru a number of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebels, who committed some depredations, but were finally captured and punished. 2. Álvaro de Caravajal, appointed from Guatemala, served from 1554 to 1558. 3. Alonso Ortiz de Argeta, or Argueta, who ruled about 18 months. 4. Juan de Paredes, who governed two years. Jofré de Loaisa came from the Audiencia de Los Confines as visitador, and the government reverted to the alcalde of Mérida in 1562. There are a few discrepancies in the authorities about the respective periods of service, which are of no special importance. 5. Doctor Diego de Quijada. *Paredes, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 201; *Cogulludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 322; *Castillo, Dicc., Hist. Yuc.*, i. 69. Tabasco was many years governed directly from Yucatan, till the king appointed an alcalde mayor for that district; but even then the governor of Yucatan retained a certain authority over that officer. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 225; *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lviii. 453.

Céspedes de Oviedo, the first of the Spanish nobility sent to rule the peninsula, with the title of governor. He added no honor to his name or station. The power of the ruler was made superior to what it had been under the alcaldes mayores, even to the appointing of a lieutenant-general *letrado*, or one versed in law.[26]

The acts of the several governors present little of general interest. With rare exceptions they were in a chronic state of dissension with the church, arising from the undue assumption of power by the friars or the episcopal authority, and at times with the encomenderos in regard to the tenure of their Indians. The same troubles were experienced here on this subject as in Mexico. Of the first governor, Céspedes, it was said, however, that by his malignant tongue he had created ill-feeling in the community, and particularly between the ayuntamiento of Mérida and the bishop.[27]

[26] The following is a list of the governors to the end of the century and the respective terms, in the order they are named: Luis Céspedes de Oviedo, 1565–71; Diego de Santillan, 1571–2, who resigned the office in disgust, and was sent to a better position; Francisco Velazquez Guijon, 1572–7; Guillen de las Casas, 1577–83; Francisco Solis, otherwise appearing as Francisco Sales Osorio, formerly governor of Porto Rico, 1583–6; Antonio de Voz Mediano, against the four years term, 1586–93; Alonso Ordoñez de Nevares, 1593 to July 7, 1594, when he died, and Diego de la Cerda was appointed by the ayuntamiento of Mérida alcalde and justicia mayor to hold the government ad interim; Cárlos de Sámano y Quiñones, appointed by the viceroy of Mexico, ruled from June 15, 1596, to 1597; Diego Fernandez de Velasco, a son of the conde de Niebla, 1597 to August 11, 1604. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 333–442; *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 80–130.

A word with regard to Fray Diego Lopez de Cogolludo, author of *Historia de Yucathan*, Madrid, 1688, 1 vol. fol., 760 pages, so often quoted in this history. He was one of the old monkish chroniclers who carefully recorded every circumstance, however minute, that came to their knowledge. His history begins with the conquest and is brought down to 1655. He was a Franciscan friar and filled high positions of his order in the province of Yucatan. His facilities for acquiring facts on the civil and religious history of that country were great. The results of his researches among the papers of the different Franciscan convents are very valuable, for except the government archives there are no other records of Yucatan affairs. He had access to those archives also, and frequently made use of them. At the time he consulted them both sets of documents must have been, to a certain extent, incomplete, for not infrequently he speaks of his inability to fix dates, notwithstanding a careful search. The work is therefore both valuable and reliable, although some allowance must be made for the prejudices of a Franciscan in favor of his order when he describes the differences that frequently existed between it and the episcopal authority, and constantly between the church in general, and his order in particular, and the civil power.

[27] *Toral, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 242–5; *Mérida, Carta del Cabildo al Rey*, in *Id.*, 397–9.

Governor Santillan's short term deserves a passing notice. To his efficiency was due the defence of the territory at the critical period described elsewhere in this chapter. He left a good name in the country.[28] The chief Spanish authority was aided in the several districts, at first by the caciques subject to his commission, and in later times by such officials as the chief provincial ruler appointed, and by the respective local alcaldes and ayuntamientos. The code of laws under which they ruled and administered justice was strict and harsh; flogging and branding for adultery, bigamy, and other offences were in order. Religious rites were never neglected.

It is said that the natives in many localities, notwithstanding all the efforts of the government and church toward their conversion, still clung to their idolatrous rites. Little progress would have been attained but for the timely arrival in 1552 of Oidor Tomás Lopez, sent as visitador by the audiencia of Guatemala. He enacted in the king's name certain laws for the protection of the natives from abuse by the secular authorities, enjoining on the Spaniards, particularly the encomenderos, the conduct proper among themselves, and toward the natives, for whose government special rules were laid down. The code, taken as a whole, was a confused mixture of civil and religious prescripts in which the missionaries were given an undue authority over the natives, and even a superiority over the encomenderos. It authorized them to lower the tributes, placed the friars over the caciques, making them the official advisers of the ayuntamientos; in a word, the civil authorities were powerless to adopt any action without the consent of the friars. His ordinances on police and other civil

[28] The salaries now paid by the king were as follows: governor, 1,000 pesos de minas, equivalent to 1,200 dollars, and 500 ducats for contingent expenses; teniente general, 500 ducats; contador and treasurer, 200,000 maravedís each. A number of the best encomiendas becoming vacant reverted to the crown. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 84–5. In 1571 the people suffered severely from famine. *Lancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 173.

matters were, however, very beneficial to the natives, who were to be taught to raise cattle and learn trades. But there was one injunction, which though well meant, tended to isolate the Mayas from the other races in the country, namely, that negroes, mestizos, and even Spaniards might not settle in the native towns, or mix with the inhabitants in passing through them.[29] During Governor Solis' term a cacique of Campeche, named Don Francisco, revolted. Solis marched against him, and captured him and two of his lieutenants, who were tried, convicted, and executed.

In 1583 Oidor Diego García de Palacio came to Yucatan clothed with plenary powers from the audiencia of Mexico, as visitador for Yucatan, Cozumel, and Tabasco. He was to act independently of the governor, and to correct existing abuses, chiefly those against the natives, and which tended to keep alive in them the spirit of discontent. It is said that he acted with much prudence and to the satisfaction of the audiencia. Some Indian chiefs, accused of relapse into idolatry, he sentenced to hard labor in Habana and San Juan de Ulua. One of those assigned to the last-named place, Andrés Cocom, escaped and took refuge in the forests of Campeche. Here he incited the natives to revolt, calling himself king and exacting tributes. The governor hastened to the spot with his lieutenant and a strong force. Cocom and his chiefs were taken and put to death, whereupon peace was restored. In 1597 Juan de Contreras made a second raid on Contoy Island, aided by Juan Chan, cacique of Chancenote, and his people, to bring away some fugitives and idolaters.[30] The same year Palomar, lieutenant-governor, sentenced to death the chief, Andrés Chí, who had been acting the part of a new Moses

[29] That system, which later obtained the royal sanction, added to other measures, perpetuated the antipathy so natural between the conquering race and the conquered. 'Fué un obstáculo constante para su amalgamiento.' *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 74. Lopez' ordinances may be found in *Coyolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 292–305.

[30] His first expedition, also successful, was in 1592. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 409.

with the view of bringing about the independence of the region of Nachi Cocom, but his scheme failed, and he became a victim of the ruthless European.

The decree of Governor Mediano, that no advance exceeding twelve reals should be made to any native, was made stronger by Governor Ordoñez who ordered that no advance whatever should be allowed.[31] The measure met with much opposition, but the governor refused to repeal his order. The enforcement of it was indeed necessary, because under the then existing system the Indians would receive advances from several speculators at once, and when the time came they could not pay; and to avoid the consequences they would either hide in the woods or emigrate to Peten, and never return. With all those drawbacks the business had been a profitable one, and its suppression caused a great excitement, which ended in a manner unexpected. Governor Ordoñez expired on the 7th of July, 1594.

Fernandez de Bracamonte discovered the indigo plant in Yucatan in 1550, and the Spaniards soon devoted themselves to its cultivation, as a staple for trade.[32]

The natives held in encomienda by the king in 1551 yielded only three thousand pesos de minas yearly, and the expenses of collection slightly exceeded that amount.[33]

Scrofulous maladies had become wide-spread among

[31] This advance was given the Indians as the value of several products to be delivered at the time they gathered the crops, or at the time agreed on. The value was rated by the speculators very low, on the pretext that they had to wait one or two years to be reimbursed; hence the misery of the natives became greater with every year. The governor's measure raised a great clamor, and he was accused by the speculators, in which they are partially supported by Cogolludo, *Hist. Yuc.*, 413, of attempting to kill by famine the '*pobres* españoles,' who had no other means of obtaining a livelihood. *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 126.

[32] It flourished several years under royal encouragement; but later it was made to appear that the preparation was injurious to the health of the natives, whereupon the king forbade the employment of them at the indigo works. The cultivation thereafter was continued only upon a small scale. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 375.

[33] The collection was very difficult. *Paredes, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 193–200.

the natives, and could not be eradicated. The Indians called them *castellanzob*, accusing the Spaniards of having imported them.[34] According to a report of the Franciscan comisario, there was in 1588, at Maní, a hospital at which sufferers from scrofula and other diseases were attended by a brotherhood.[35]

After having given orders for the better protection of Vera Cruz Viceroy Enriquez de Almansa proceeded to the city of Mexico on the 5th of November 1568, and at once took formal possession of his office with the usual pomp and royal display. He had entered the capital with some suspicion caused by certain reports sent to Spain, but soon became aware that there was no ground for apprehension,[36] and he now took steps to afford consolation to the numerous families that had suffered so severely at the hands of Muñoz.[37]

Owing to the attacks on the coasts by pirates, which were likely to be repeated, and the raids of the hostile Chichimecs, the need of a regularly organized army became apparent. New Spain up to this time had maintained no permanent force under arms, relying on the encomenderos and other Spaniards, and on the friendly Indian auxiliaries, called into active service as emergencies required. In 1568 a company of halberdiers was organized, which proved no more than able to support the viceroy's authority. A little later were formed two *compañías de palacio*, to uphold his dignity. There were also detached companies in

[34] It seems the Spaniards gave it to the natives, 'con todos sus muebles y raices.' *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lviii. 69–70.

[35] Additional authorities consulted on Yucatan, are *Casas, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 364; *Stephens' Yuc.*, ii. 264–7; *Cervera, Apuntac*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép. iv. 397; *Registro Yuc.*, ii. 52–9.

[36] Nevertheless, he speaks April 28, 1572, of the false alarms constantly spread about revolts; sometimes the Indians were on the eve of an outbreak; at other times the mestizos and mulattoes, or the negroes threatened trouble. In some instances they had it that the Indians together with the mestizos and mulattoes were plotting an uprising. *Cartas de Indias*, 283.

[37] 'Apagó las cenizas que aun estaban calientes, de los disturbios y lances pasados.' *Granados, Tardes*, 289–90.

Vera Cruz, Isla del Cármen, Acapulco, and San Blas, to check smuggling, and for defence against piratical assaults. Other forces were specially organized and employed in guarding the northern frontier against the Chichimecs.[38] Through the regions occupied by those wild tribes was the highway to Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, and the other districts operated on by the Spanish trading expeditions. The Chichimecs often plundered the wagons laden with silver, killing numbers of white persons and their Indian friends. For many years these marauders had carried things with a high hand. To check them a strong force was organized by Viceroy Enriquez and despatched under Alcalde Mayor Juan Torre de Lagunas, and the viceroy in person with another force marched to his assistance. The results of the campaign were wholly satisfactory; the Chichimecs being routed from their strongholds with heavy casualties were obliged to seek a refuge in the extensive deserts of the interior. A large number of their children fell into the hands of the victors, and were taken to Mexico and given in charge of families to rear.

Several presidios or military outposts were placed at proper distances on the road northward, so that by 1570 had been established, besides the towns of San Miguel and Lagos, the presidios of Ojuelos, Portezuelo, San Felipe, Jerez, and Celaya, and the formation of settlements round them was encouraged.[39] Enriquez wrote the king[40] that the mode proposed by

[38] A royal order of 1574 enjoined that regular accounts should be kept, and no charge made on soldiers' drafts. *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, v. 385–8. Another of 1588, reiterated in 1612, 1618, and 1621, forbade the enlistment or employment in any presidio of men or officers born or residing in the city or town where the presidio was. The number of officers and men to be effective and serviceable. *Recop. Ind.*, i. 599.

[39] Unless the Indians were kept in subjection by armed forces the missionaries labored in vain; they either failed, or became martyrs; and where they made any progress it was very slow, and amid much hardship and loss of life. *Arricivita, Crón. Seráj.*, 443. The presence of soldiers was to bring the natives together in towns, where they could be taught clearing, and irrigating fields, and building. *Espinosa, Crón.*, 459. Arlegui, *Chrón. Zac.*, i. 298, claims truly that the presidios established before 1594 availed but little to protect the road to the Zacatecas mines.

[40] Letter of October 31, 1576, in *Cartas de Indias*, 325–7.

the crown for making settlements was impracticable unless the settlers were given Indians to serve them. The settlers could not live otherwise, for the Indians would not go of their own will, or, if they did, they would neglect to cultivate the soil. All efforts to bring the wild northern nomads to a civilized life had been unsuccessful. Before long it became evident that the measures adopted were of little avail. The Chichimecs were soon again overrunning the country, murdering and driving off stock from places but one or two leagues distant from Zacatecas. The town of Llerena, in the Sombrerete mines, would have been defenceless and the mines abandoned but for the force of soldiers furnished by the government.

After a consultation with the audiencia it was concluded that the only means of stopping the depredations was to carry the war to the camp of the enemy, and by fire and sword to destroy all male natives over fifteen years of age. Heretofore only the leaders when captured had been killed, the others having been sentenced to service, from which they soon escaped and became worse than before. Regular soldiers with sufficient pay would be needed, and three hundred and fifty pesos per annum for a private was not enough to feed and clothe him, and enable him to keep the requisite number of horses, that is, more than three for each man. The thing to do was to tax the mines of Guanajuato, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Sombrerete, and San Martin, all of which were in the *tierra de guerra*. The prisoners of fifteen years and under, the viceroy suggested, should be transported to Campeche or Habana, so that they could never return. A few had been already despatched to Campeche to be utilized in the quarries.[41]

[41] If all the Spaniards in the country were to jointly attack the hostile tribes, the subjection could not be accomplished. Nothing but a war of extermination would do. In the mean time the only course left was to guard the highways, and severely punish all guilty of hostile acts. Still, the best means would be to maintain friendly relations if possible. Letter of Sept. 25, 1580, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col., Doc.*, iii. 490–1.

The plan finally adopted proved partially effective, though expensive. Strong houses were erected at convenient distances, where travellers and their stock and goods could rest securely. A military escort was furnished to each train, and each party, armed with a few arquebuses, was provided with a fortified wagon, or small movable block-house, to which the women and children retreated in case of attack. Even this mode of protection was insufficient in some instances. There was one case which deserves mention. A train of sixty wagons carrying $30,000 worth of cloth was attacked and the escort defeated. A Spanish girl, pretending to be pleased with her capture, told the Indians that there was another wagon behind containing more cloth. No sooner had they turned to go in search of it than she sprang into a movable fort which belonged to the train, and in which were two arquebuses and a sick man, and after starting the team she managed the guns so effectually as to escape.[42]

The chief difficulty in the way of a satisfactory arrangement with the Chichimecs, and a serious one, lay in their division into so many bands, without a general leader. A religious writer, Ribas, assures us that recourse was had at last to the missionaries to reduce some of them to friendship.

The valley of Anáhuac was not to be spared for any length of time from one calamity or another. Within a few years pestilence, floods, and famine had visited it, and again, from 1575 to 1580, the evils continued. The relentless matlalzahuatl, the greatest scourge that ever assailed any community, broke out in the first-named year, for the fourth time since the Spanish conquest, in the city of Mexico, whence it spread over the whole kingdom of New Spain. The Indians were the only direct victims; priests and nurses succumbed from fatigue and other causes. The general

[42] *Herrera*, dec. viii. lib. x. cap. xxii.

symptoms were: violent headache followed by a tenacious fever, and a burning internal heat. The patient could bear no covering, the lightest sheet causing great torment. The only relief was to roll on the cold ground, until death ended the suffering, about the seventh day. The medical profession was unable to control the unknown malady. Bleeding was usually resorted to.[43] As the churches could not afford sufficient graves, it became necessary to open great ditches, and to consecrate entire fields for that purpose. Not only houses but whole towns were left without inhabitants. Many thousands of all ages and both sexes could procure no attendance, and perished from hunger, thirst, and the effects of the cruel disease.

The viceroy and archbishop, as well as the other authorities, the clergy, both secular and regular, and the people, particularly the rich, exerted themselves in providing infirmaries, medicines, food, and clothing. Archbishop Moya was tireless in his efforts, constantly visiting the sick, and seeing that they had spiritual consolation; for this he permitted the priests of the religious orders to administer the sacrament, notwithstanding which many thousands died without receiving the rite, their bodies being left in the huts, or on the fields and public roads, until some charitable person came to inter them. In the months of August and September the disease was most virulent.

The year 1576 began without any prospect of abatement; nor did the epidemic at all diminish throughout that year, nor during a part of 1577. Prayers were constantly made, privately and publicly, and every device that the clergy could think of was resorted to in vain. At last, in their despair, the image of the vírgen de los Remedios was brought to the city in solemn procession from its shrine in Tacuba, by the viceroy, the audiencia, ayuntamiento, and

[43] Viceroy Enriquez in his report to the king of August 31, 1576, says, the disease was still raging, and attributes it to scanty rains and severe heat; the epidemic was the same as that which prevailed in 1544 and 1555, when the havoc had been fearful. No Spaniards were affected. *Cartas de Indias*, 331.

the most prominent citizens, all with lighted tapers in their hands. For nine days consecutively masses were chanted, prayers sent up, and offerings made to the virgin invoking her intercession with the son, for mercy upon the anguished community.[44] When the disease had spent itself, and half the natives were dead, then it was affirmed that the prayers had been heard. In Michoacan the suffering was not so great owing to the hospitals already provided by Bishop Quiroga and others. In some cases the Indians were accused of attempting wilfully to contaminate the Spaniards with the disease, either by throwing dead bodies into the ditches of running water, or by mixing diseased blood with the bread they made for the white families. The Indians were furious because only they were taken. The mortality is said to have exceeded 2,000,000 souls.[45]

After the disappearance of the epidemic there was a scarcity of the necessaries of life, the fields having been so long deserted, and the survivors among the poor would have suffered from famine but for the efforts of the more favored. The viceroy temporarily exempted the Indians from the payment of tributes, and caused the public granaries to be as well supplied as possible, in order that the poor might purchase their corn and wheat at reasonable prices.

In 1580, after a succession of heavy rains, the lake of Mexico flooded a large portion of the valley, including the capital. The viceroy, after a consultation with the ayuntamiento and with persons having a knowledge of hydrostatics, ordered the drainage of the lakes sur-

[44] We are told that those prayers were heard; the pestilence soon after began to diminish, and finally disappeared. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 110. 'Y luego cesó la peste.' *Vetancvrt, Chrón. Prov. S. Evang.*, 130.

[45] *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd.*, 516–18. This same authority says that in the city of Tlascala died 100,000. The Jesuit priest, Juan Sanchez, an eye-witness, asserted that more than two thirds of the Indian population perished. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 36, 107. See also *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, iii. 328; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 392–3, 515; *Torquemada*, i. 642–3; *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesus*, 252–9; *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 362; *Panes, Virreyes*, in *Id.*, 89. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, x. 1152, estimates that the Indian population of New Spain was now reduced to about 1,700,000 souls.

rounding the city; and the lowlands of the Huehuetoca, distant about ten leagues, were chosen as the most suitable place into which to carry the water.[46]

In the midst of the viceroy's efforts at drainage, orders arvived from the court at Madrid relieving him of his office, pursuant to his repeated requests, during the past four years, on the plea of ill-health, and transferring him to Peru with the same rank and powers.[47] He surrendered the government to his successor October 4, 1580.

Suggestions had been made between 1570 and 1580 to Philip and his council, probably by command, for the better government of the Indies. It was urged that viceroys should hold office no longer than twelve years, and oidores, alcaldes de corte, and other judicial officers, as well as the chief treasury officials, only six; and that all, without exception, should have their official conduct strictly investigated at the end of their respective terms.[48] No more corregidores or lieutenants of such officers should be appointed,[49] but in place of them twelve alcaldes mayores, to reside in the chief cities, and yearly visit the towns in their respective districts, without ostentation and without laying burdens on the inhabitants.[50]

[46] Nothing more was done toward it. *Cepeda, Rel.*, i. 6. The Indians were accused of attempting some time before 1572 to overflow the city: 'but they which should haue bene the doers of it were hanged: and euer since the city hath bene well watched both day and night.' *Hawks' Rel.*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 463.

[47] A previous request having been denied him, he repeated it in October 1576, alleging the same cause. *Enriquez, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 335 and fac-sim. T.

[48] In 1570 it was urged among other things that the viceroy should be directed to visit in person the chief town of each district or province, to make sure that the local authorities were true to their duties, for residencias, as then practised, were mere farces; the officials who had robbed the Indians always used the friars and others to intercede with the victims that they might prefer no charges; restitution was therefore never made: 'les echan frailes é ahutatos é otras personas, para que les rueguen que no les pidan cosa alguna en residencia.' *Robles, Memoriales*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xi. 5.

[49] They were in the habit of robbing the natives. *Escobar, Carta, Felipe II.*, in *Id.*, xi. 194.

[50] A royal order of October 2, 1575, forbade the oidores to take with them on such visits their wives, members of their own or of other families; or more

In a memorandum for the guidance of his successor, Enriquez sets forth the difficulties to be encountered by the viceroy. The work that in Spain is divided among several officers, in Mexico has to be done by the viceroy, both in secular and ecclesiastic affairs. He may not ignore any portion nor intrust it to another without incurring obloquy or giving rise to complaint. All look to him for the promotion of their interests and the redress of their grievances; even their family bickerings are brought to him, and nothing but his personal action in each case seems to avail. Indeed, he is expected to be the father of the people, the patron of monasteries and hospitals, the protector of the poor, and particularly of the widows and orphans of the conquerors and the old servants of the king, all of whom would suffer were it not for the relief afforded them by the viceroy.[51] The office was by no means the sinecure that in Spain it was supposed to be.

Experience had taught him the necessity of exacting obedience from the governed, respect from the officers, and of tolerating no bad example among the officials. To hold public office in Mexico, he declared, had come to be unbefitting an honest man.[52] Enriquez himself had done fairly well. He maintained at all times cordial relations with the oidores, and recommended the same course to his successor, to strengthen the hands of the government.[53] He fos-

servants than were actually indispensable. *Prov. Real.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xix. 32–5.

[51] In 1576 much stress was laid on the situation of Bernardino de Albornoz, 70 years old, very poor, and with many marriageable daughters; he had been many years a faithful servant of the crown, as commander of the arsenal and as royal treasurer. It was thought the king should reward the old man so that he could marry off one or more of his daughters. The viceroy uses quaint language. 'V. M. será seruido de hazelle alguna merced con que pueda echar alguna hija de su casa.' *Enriquez, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 332.

[52] 'Por lo cual suelo yo decir, que, gobernar á esta tierra, lo tengo por infelicidad en un hombre honrado.' *Henriquez, Instruc.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 480–99.

[53] The crown had, July 4, 1570, directed the oidores to obey all orders of the viceroy, even if not meeting with their approval, unless they were evidently of a nature to bring on a revolt or other disturbance in the country. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xviii. 435–7.

tered public instruction in every possible way. One of the peculiarities of his policy was the consideration he always extended to Spaniards born in Mexico, contrary to traditional ideas, believing them entitled to hold positions of trust in the government, recognizing the fact that to refuse them was an insult to their integrity and patriotism. Indeed, when their claims were ignored, they invariably carried their grievances to the foot of the throne. He wished his policy in this respect to be continued.

During the rule of Enriquez the semi-centennial of the Aztec empire's destruction was celebrated with great pomp and rejoicing by all classes, more particularly by the natives, all but the Aztecs themselves.[54]

The same year part of the fleet from Spain was wrecked in passing the sound to enter the gulf of Mexico. Four of the ships were stranded on the coast of Tabasco.[55]

The outgoing ruler met his successor at Otumba, where they held conferences on the general affairs of the country, after which the latter repaired to Mexico, Enriquez tarrying in Otumba several months until the season arrived for his departure.[56]

[54] They spontaneously added to the amusements of Spanish origin many others that had been in vogue in ancient Mexico. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 193–4.

[55] The crews and passengers and most of the cargoes were saved. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 334–5.

[56] He presided at Peru until about 1583, when he died, and his remains were interred in the convent of San Francisco at Lima. At his death, says Torquemada, many birds of prey appeared over his house, which was accounted for by each one to suit himself: 'No sè què quiso significar este acto; Dios lo sabe, que sabe todas las cosas.' Possibly Torquemada could not forgive Enriquez' sternness toward the chief of the Franciscans in Mexico upon a certain occasion.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

1550–1600.

Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar—Jealousy between the Secular and Regular Clergy—Royal Support of the Friars—Differences between the Friars and the Civil Power—Father Gerónimo de Mendieta Defends the Religious—His Works—Position of the Friars and their Influence with the Natives—Persons Excluded from the Priesthood—Religious Riot in Mexico—The Sacramental Dispute—First and Second Ecclesiastic Councils of Mexico—Archbishop Montúfar's Death—The Inquisition—Its Establishment, Privileges, Objects, and Acts—Father Landa's Treatment of Idolaters—Archbishop Moya de Contreras—Third Ecclesiastic Council and its Acts—Archbishop Montúfar's Departure—Alonso Fernandez de Bonilla Succeeds Him—Other Dioceses in the Country and their History.

The vacancy in the see of Mexico caused by the death of Zumárraga was on the 13th of June 1551 filled by the appointment of Alonso de Montúfar as archbishop.[1] He was a prominent Dominican, twice prior of the convent of Santa Cruz de Granada; likewise a doctor of the university there and a censor of the inquisition.[2] It is said that his acceptance of this see was solely with the view to benefit the native races, and to that end he brought out with him ten Franciscan friars and as many of his own order,

[1] This appointment was made by Charles V. at the recommendation of the marqués de Mondéjar, to whom Montúfar had been father-confessor. It was officially made known to the audiencia of Mexico, Sept. 4, 1551. The consecration took place in 1553, and the archbishop came out to Mexico the following year. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 31–2.

[2] He was a native of Loja, and took the habit of his order in May, 1512, at the age of fifteen. *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fund.*, 510–12; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., 1° y 2° 214; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 114–15; *Panes*, in *Mon. Domin. Esp.*, MS., 82; *Alcedo*, v. 540.

among whom two were eminent. Notwithstanding his good-will toward this as well as other orders, the fact remains that he was a Dominican, of whom the Franciscans in particular were very jealous.

Further than this, the time had come when the interests of the secular clergy must clash with those of the regular orders. Owing to the scarcity of ecclesiastics during the earlier occupation of New Spain, the monastic orders acquired undue powers and privileges. When the number of bishoprics was increased, and a more thorough ecclesiastical government organized, the church viewed with jealousy this encroachment on her prerogatives, and was displeased that Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians should exercise jurisdiction independent of her authority. On the other hand, the orders tenaciously maintained what they claimed to be their rights, and by their assertion of judicial authority, especially in the prohibition or sanction of marriages,[3] occasioned the church much annoyance. Thus arose dissension between the two parties which in time developed into a bitter feud, during which acrimonious recriminations, scandals, and an unchristian spirit too frequently disgraced the action of both sides. Clergymen and friars each accused the other of neglect of duty; bishops were charged with abandoning their posts,[4] and members

[3] At the solicitation of the bishop the crown had, in 1552—not 1554 as Beaumont has it—forbidden friars from exercising judicial authority in marriage cases, and at the same time accused them of usurpation of powers. The Mexican provincial council of 1555 decreed the above prohibition, and forbade the founding of convents and churches by the religious orders. This gave rise to much disturbance in the church, stopped only in 1557 by the powerful arm of the royal authority, favoring the claims of those orders. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 380–3, 452–3, 463–8; *Puga, Cedulario*, 193–212; *Cédula*, in *Prov. del S. Evang.*, No. 4, MS., 108–12.

[4] The Franciscan comisario general for the Indies complained to the king that the aged bishop of Michoacan passed much of his time in Mexico causing disturbances, and during the 15 years of his episcopate he had neither ordained any priests, nor preached, confessed, baptized, or confirmed any Indian. *Mena, Gob.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xi. 190–1. Under a brief of Pope Gregory XIII., Feb. 28, 1568, issued by the king's request, bishops elect for the Indies were not to receive emoluments of office till they actually resided in their dioceses; the emoluments during vacancies were to accrue to the respective churches. Upon the king's authorities was enjoined the exact fulfilment of the brief; and deans and chapters of cathedrals were

of the orders, with returning to Spain, rich in silver and gold, to buy preferment.

The treatment of the natives, the questions of tribute and tithes, and the administering of the sacraments alike afforded ground for angry dispute,[5] but of these the bitterest was the question of tithes. The church demanded the payment of tithes to the bishop of each diocese, by all residents within its limits, Indians inclusive. The archbishop of Mexico in a letter of May 15, 1556, to the royal council, had asked that Indians should pay tithes, or rather a tax, for the time being, to be levied at the rate of one out of every fifteen. But the crown would allow no such taxation of natives.[6] The regular orders, while not opposed to such a source of revenue, objected to the bishops receiving income thus derived, and claimed it for themselves as Levites serving with the pope's license—a doctrine which the ecclesiastical prelates abhorred.[7] They endeavored, however, to explain the origin of their differences with the church in this respect,[8] and proposed to leave the question of tithes to the judgment of the king, and their right to protect Indians from abuses, as well as their privileges generally, to arbitrators, but these proposals were not regarded.[9]

specially requested not to give the bishops elect any of the emoluments collected till they had actually entered upon the discharge of their episcopal duties. This same thing had been decreed in 1561. No archbishop or bishop was to go to Spain without the king's permission. *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 484–6, 491; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 54–5.

[5] In 1556 the complaints of the archbishop of Mexico were loud and bitter against the religious orders, for their assumption of power in the treatment of Indians, and for their disregard of his authority. He asserted that the three orders had banded to effect their purposes of laying before the court false charges against him, the bishops, and the oidores. The demands of the orders, he said, were both unreasonable and unjust. The same year the king reprimanded the three religious orders for their disputes. *Arzobispado, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 491–530.

[6] Philip II. on promulgating the order of the council of Trent upon payment of tithes by the faithful, expressly exempted the Indians. *Puga, Cedulario*, 194–5; *Torquemada*, iii. 263.

[7] *Mich. Prov. S. Nicolas*, 38.

[8] Feb. 25, 1561. *Peña et al., Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 147–51.

[9] Martin Cortés, the marquis, recommended in 1563 that tithes should be abolished, and that the king should support the friars in general, excepting those living in towns given in encomienda, who should be supported by the respective encomenderos, on condition that none of them should receive other

Nor did the pertinacious and meddlesome friars confine themselves to throwing down the gauntlet to the church. In political matters also they became aggressive, and consequent hostility arose between them and the local authorities. In Indian towns they attempted to control elections and thereby the municipal governments; but above all they devoted their anxious care and attention to the question of tributes, and the distribution of the surplus proceeds, of which they were eager to have a share. It is true that they had often winked at the rascalities of alcaldes mayores and corregidores; but then they hoped to have their reward, and when this did not correspond with their expectations, wrath and enmity were displayed on both sides.[10] Nevertheless, the foothold they had gained was strong, and they struggled to maintain it. In 1564 the visitador Valderrama represented to Philip that the orders were striving to keep the control they had hitherto possessed not only in spiritual but in temporal affairs, which would be no difficult matter, since their influence with the viceroy was so great he expressed fears that whatever he might arrange about Indians and tributes would, after he left Mexico, be undone by the artful friars concealing tribute-payers or reporting them as dead.[11] The friars, he added, decidedly opposed the counting of the Indians, and went so far as to proclaim from the pulpit that the epidemic then raging[12] was a punishment for

emolument for services. Many of the less scrupulous secured a maintenance for their relatives out of what they obtained from the Indians. The visitador, Valderrama, confirmed the statement with these words, 'y tambien algo en parientes y otras cosillas.' Cortés quaintly remarks, 'esta invencion, de cobrar de tributos, la inventó algun fraile.' According to his computation the whole expense the king would incur could not much exceed 70,000 pesos, allowing each friar 100 pesos a year—70 pesos really sufficed—and also a small additional sum to cover the cost of wine, oil, and church effects. *Cortés, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 454–7; *Valderrama, Cartas, Id.*, iv. 360.

[10] *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 455–6.

[11] 'Ora sea diciendo que son muertos los tributarios, ora escondiéndolos, ó por otros muchos caminos que ellos saben.' *Valderrama, Cartas, (Feb. 24, 1564)*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.* iv. 365, 372.

[12] It was not a dangerous one. Mendieta attributed it to the anger of God, when the visitador had the Indians counted, and their tribute augmented. *Valderrama, Cartas, Id.*, iv. 360; *Mendieta, Carta*, in *Icazbalceta*, ii. 515.

enforcing that measure. Indians serving in convents and churches were exempt from tribute; and if the friars could have their way the king would soon have no tributaries. They did not openly say that the king had no right to collect tributes, but they believed it all the same. Some of the friars were indeed good, intelligent men; but the ignorant, whose number was large, claimed that all the benefits accruing from Indians belonged by right to the church and orders, and they did not scruple at tricks to sustain this view.

Among the defenders of the religious orders none was more distinguished than the Franciscan father, Gerónimo de Mendieta. This eminent personage was a native of Victoria in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa, and one of forty brothers all by the same father. He took the habit in Bilbao and came to New Spain in 1554; completed his studies in Xochimilco, and learned the Mexican language. He never preached, being a stutterer; but with his pen he was a master of eloquence and sound reasoning, and was regarded by his brethren and others as the Cicero of the province. Whensoever an address had to be prepared to the king or his council, the viceroy or other personages, or to the superiors of his order, the preparation was invariably intrusted to him. He thus won the regard of many prelates, who sought his companionship. He accompanied Father Miguel Navarro in 1569 to the general chapter of his order held in France, and suffered much hardship on the journey. In 1573 he returned with a reënforcement of friars. During his stay in Spain he dwelt in Castro de Urdiales, and had resolved to end his days there, but holy obedience demanded his return. He filled several of the highest offices of trust, and was remarkable for the strict performance of his duties, his ceaseless efforts for the better government of the Indies, and his humility.[13]

[13] He died after a lingering illness at the Franciscan convent in Mexico, May 9, 1604. *Torquemada*, iii. 561–3; *Mendieta, Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col.*

In 1562 Father Mendieta addressed a letter to Padre Francisco de Bustamante, the comisario general of his order,[14] in which he makes a vigorous defence of the regular orders, and attributes the evils existing in the country to the interference with the authority and privileges of friars by bishops and oidores. Against the audiencia he inveighs with much severity,[15] and considers that the viceregal power should be

Doc., ii.; *Mendieta*, in *Prov. S. Evang.*, MS., No. 16, 201–26; *Dicc. Univ. Hist. Geog.*, v. 238. Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta was the author of several works, of which I enumerate the following: *Carta al Rey Don Felipe desde Toluca en 8 de Octubre de 1565, sobre gobernacion de las Indias*, MS., fol. 9 pp. This letter is said to have been forwarded in duplicate or triplicate by different conveyances. The present copy is specially recommended, January 20, 1570, by the provincial and definitorio of the Santo Evangelio (Franciscan province), to which the author belonged. It contains 24 articles expressive of the king's duty to provide the best possible government for the Indians, including the religious instruction of the natives and their amelioration in general. Aside from the author's excessive preference for the religious, and manifest prejudice against the secular clergy, his letter is commendable as embodying much wisdom. *Correspondencia con varios personages desde 1570 á 1572 sobre asuntos de Nueva España é Indias*, MS., fol. 26 pp., contains six letters from Father Mendieta to Licenciado Juan de Ovando, of the royal council in the holy and general inquisition, and visitador of the said royal council; one from Ovando to him; and one from Mendieta to the comisario general of the Indies for the Franciscan order. The first letter is highly important, wherein he gives his views on three points upon which Ovando had doubts, namely: 1. How to bring about harmony and good understanding between bishops and friars in the Indies. 2. How to get tithes from the Indians without oppressing them. 3. How Spaniards were to form settlements in the Indies without injuring the natives. His views are expressed in a clear, unbiassed manner. Another letter, the third alluded to, sets forth the best mode, in his opinion, to rule the religious order of Saint Francis in the Indies, for obtaining the greatest good from it. Ovando's letter expresses his high regard for Mendieta's advice, and calls for more of it. But his most noted work was *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, Mexico, 1870, 1 vol. 8vo, 790 pp., preceded by 45 pages of matter pertinent to the author and his work, the whole carefully edited by Joaquin García Icazbalceta. It is properly a history of the conversion of the Indians of New Spain, from the time of the conquest to about the close of the sixteenth century; but as the earlier friars and prelates played so important a part in public affairs, the volume also gives much valuable information on such matters not to be found elsewhere except, perhaps, at second hand. Icazbalceta added to the value of the book by a notice of the author and his work, careful and exhaustive as are all such notices by him; and by an elaborate collation of Mendieta's *Historia* and Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana*, showing how extensively and openly the latter plagiarized from the former. Mendieta's production, finished in 1596, remained in obscurity 274 years. He had sent the manuscript to Spain for publication, but it never appeared till Icazbalceta, as he tells us, discovered it in the library of Bartolomé José Gallardo just deceased, and issued it at his own expense, for which he should receive due credit. The editor gives, moreover, the authorities that Mendieta availed himself of in the preparation of his work, some of whom have reached us only in name, and the later ones that took advantage of his labors, among whom the most noted is Torquemada.

[14] *Mendieta, Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 515–44.

[15] 'Porque es verdad (*coram Deo*) que es tanta la desórden, y tantos los

supreme, subject only to the throne.[16] Carried away by excessive zeal in the friars' cause, he exhibits likewise great animosity toward the public officials in general—Viceroy Velasco only excepted—and all Spaniards living in Mexico who were not friars. He speaks of the discontent prevailing among the religious orders, all members of whom, he asserts, were anxious to abandon a field in which their services were considered no longer useful. Things had come to such a pass, in his opinion, that the friar had lost all heart for his work,[17] the old fervor having died away, both on the part of the missionaries and the recently converted natives.

The position of the friars during this period was, indeed, an unenviable one, and so effectively had the church and audiencia represented them to the throne that certain cédulas were issued against them which caused serious loss of influence.[18] In fact both Spaniards and Indians openly displayed their lack of reverence.[18] Even Bishop Quiroga, who had been a warm supporter of the orders, now as warmly defended his prerogatives in this ecclesiastical warfare, and would have closed the Augustinian convents

males que de ella se siguen, que yo tuviera por mas seguro para la conciencia de S. M. dejar á estos naturales *penitus* sin justicia ni hombre que la administrara, que habérsela dado de la arte y manera que ahora la tienen.' *Id.*, 532.

[16] 'No sea reino diviso con muchas cabezas... Quiero decir que su visorey, pues su nombre y título denota que es imágen del rey y que tiene las veces y lugar del rey, de facto lo sea, y no lo supedite, ni apoque, ni deshaga lo que él hace... otro que el mismo rey.' *Id.*, 530.

[17] 'Dicen que ya ni aun confesar ni predicar, sino meterse en un rincon, y lo ponen por obra.' *Id.*, 517; *Prov. del S. Evang.*, MS., No. 16, 201–6. The Franciscan friar Mena also reported to the king, relative to the existing management of affairs, that 'si en esto no se pone remedio, téngase por cierto, que los religiosos dejarán la tierra.' *Mena, Gobierno*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xi. 190, 192. And he adds that it would be well if the king sent for the archbishop and retained him in Spain, as had been done with Las Casas, and thus prevent him from doing further mischief.

[18] Martin Cortés writing in October 1563, says: 'Desde que comenzaron á venir estas cédulas, estaban los españoles tan contentos, y les habian perdido el respeto... diciendo y dando á entender á los indios que habian de quitar todos los frailes desta tierra,' and adds that the consequence was that many Indians 'les perdian el respeto y reverencia que les solian tener.' *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 454–5. 'Aora estan tan predicados que el fraile no tiene q̄ entremeterse en sus negocios, ni que dezirles como han de viuir.' *Franciscanos, Abandono*, in *Prov. S. Evang.*, No. 12, 169–70.

within his diocese but for the interference of the king.[19] One of the greatest grievances which the regular orders complained of was the refusal of the archbishop and bishops to ordain members of their orders. Efficient priests were becoming scarce in the religious orders, and aged men, whose mental faculties and physical strength were unequal to the task, had almost exclusive charge of Indian conversion. The provincials of the orders brought their complaints before the crown, which expressed its displeasure to the secular prelates and ordered the ordination of friars when required, except such as were mestizos or persons who should not be considered suitable.[20] Nor was this last prohibition unnecessary. Although as a body the friars were exemplary in their moral conduct, there were unfortunately among their number members whose behavior brought opprobrium upon the orders and required efficacious treatment.[21]

Another ground of complaint on the part of the

[19] A royal cédula of July 11, 1562, directed the bishop not to molest the Augustinians in the possession of their convents. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 469–71, 521, 574–89.

[20] In 1555 the king forbade the indiscriminate ordaining of Spaniards and half-breeds. *Puga, Cedulario*, 153, 190; Romero, *Not. Mich.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 540, states that Pablo Caltzontzin, a son of the last king of Michoacan, was the first Indian who received sacred orders in Mexico.

[21] Yet, it was deemed expedient, for the honor of the church, that reprimands or punishments of offenders of the cloth should be secretly inflicted, so that not even the Spaniards should know of them. This had been recommended by Martin Cortés in 1563. The king went further in 1565, for by his cédula of June 6th, received the next year in Mexico, it was ordered that the regular orders should be respected, and the investigation and punishment of their offences, unless they had been committed with great publicity and scandal, be left to their own prelates; and only in the event of the latter refusing to heed the complaint of the royal judicial authorities should the cases be sent to the crown. *Cortés, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 457; *Recop. Ind.*, i. 123; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 36; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, v. 332; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 569–78. The archbishop, Moya, at a later date, furnished the crown with a list of the clergymen of all ranks existing in his diocese, accompanied with a memorandum of the qualifications, character, and conduct of each. Some of them were set down as unworthy of the priesthood for immorality, misbehavior, or ignorance; others were praised. A number were natives of Mexico, even among the dignitaries, canons, and stipendiaries of the crown. There were then 3 dignitaries, 10 canons, 6 full stipendiaries, and one who received only a half ration. *Moya y Contreras*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 195–218. In 1588 archbishops and bishops of the Indies were permitted to ordain as priests mestizos residing in their respective dioceses and having a moral character and education. Women of the same class, of approved moral conduct, were allowed to enter as nuns.

regular orders was the exclusion of their ordained members from the right of administering the sacraments, and their being limited to the celebration of mass and the instruction of the Indians. Their consciousness of the prominent part they had taken in conversion, their sincere zeal, and their ardent desire to maintain the superior influence over the natives which they had once possessed, naturally combined to make them claim the privilege of administering the most solemn rites. Apart from what they deemed injustice, to be debarred from the performance of the higher ceremonies lowered their position in the eyes of converts. Their representations to the throne with regard to this matter had the desired effect, and at the request of Philip, Pope Pius issued a bull, on the 24th of March 1567, granting to the religious orders the privilege of administering the sacraments in Indian towns.[22]

I may further illustrate the feeling which existed at this time between the ecclesiastical factions and their respective supporters, by describing a tumult which occurred in the city of Mexico in 1569, occasioned by the interference of the clergymen at a procession of the Franciscan friars. On the virgin's day it had long been the custom of this order to march in solemn procession to the church of Santa María de la Redonda, and there celebrate mass; but in this year the secular clergy opposed the performance. The Indian followers of the friars, becoming incensed, began to throw stones at those who interrupted their procession, which led to a volley of similar missiles from natives on the other side. The result was a general disturbance, in which stones and other weap-

[22] Having passed the council, it was, by royal order of January 15, 1568, published in Mexico, though it had been made known to the clergy the previous year. *Toral, Cartas al Real Cons.* (May 15, 1558, Feb. 20, 1559), in *Cartas de Ind.*, 132–4, and fac-sim. M. *Peña, et al., Carta al Rey*, in *Id.*, 144–6 and fac-sim. Ñ; *Puga, Cedulario*, 189–90, 211; *Torquemada*, iii. 265–8; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 519–20; *Bula Confirm. et Novae*, 1–22; *Recop. Ind.*, i. 116; *Religiosos etc.*, in *Prov. del S. Evang.*, MS., No. 3, 93–4; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 27; *Defensa de la Verdad*, 6, 7.

ons were freely used, and several persons seriously injured. The clergymen and their defenders were defeated. The public excitement became great, and the viceroy had to exercise all his prudence.[23]

But with regard to the sacraments, the secular clergy would not yet yield the point, and so steady a pressure was maintained, that on the 31st of March 1583 the king issued an order commanding the friars to surrender. Archbishop Moya, to enforce the order and at the same time show proper respect for the orders, invited their prelates to meet him at his house, where he courteously reminded them of the king's benevolent intentions, and asked them to choose such houses as they would prefer for their conventual abodes; to which they answered that they wished first to hear further from the king and their superiors, and begged for time to ascertain the views of the other members of their orders. Their request was granted.[24] On the 23d of October the three orders formally made known their purpose of appealing to the crown. The archbishop then resolved to suspend the execution of the royal cédula, except in urgent cases, till the king's pleasure was again learned on the subject. The audiencia did the same upon the petition of the three orders, who forthwith appointed proctors to present their case to the king.[25] The result of their pleadings appeared in a royal decree of 1585, to the effect that friars acting as curates were to administer the sacraments to both Indians and Spaniards

[23] *Torquemada*, i. 638–40; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 150–1; *El Museo Mex.*, 482.

[24] Some of the friars well understood the justice of the royal measures, but found it difficult to yield. 'Por condesçender con la maior cantidad nacidos en estas partes, y venidos de esas, que gustan de mandar siendo prelados y biuiendo liçençiosamente como hasta aquí, no osan publicar su sentimiento.' *Moya y Contreras, Carta al Rey* (Oct. 26, 1583), in *Cartas de Ind.*, 334–7.

[25] The Dominicans, friars Gabriel de San José and Cristóbal de Sepúlveda, who were then in Spain; the Franciscans, friars Buenaventura de Paredes and Pedro Mellendes; the Augustinians, friars Diego de Soria and Gerónimo de Morante. The last four named embarked, and after being shipwrecked, finally reached their destination in the New Spain fleet of 1584. With the aid of the abbé of Burgundy, who had been visitador in New Spain, the proctors were presented at court. *Grijalua, Chrón. S. Augustin*, 172–6.

dwelling with them.[26] This decree was to have a temporary effect until the issue of a final decision.

It was during Montúfar's occupation of the archiepiscopal seat, and under his direction, that the first ecclesiastical council proper was held in Mexico.[27] The efforts of the missionary friars at their convention in 1526 to establish rules for the guidance of ecclesiastics had, from the want of an organized government and the spiritual condition of the natives, been attended with few results; and after the lapse of thirty years, and the extension of the church, the necessity of a provincial synod became urgent. The archbishop therefore formally convoked a synodical council, and it began its labors on the 17th of November 1555. This council, over which Montúfar presided, was attended by the bishops of Tlascala, Chiapas, Michoacan, and Oajaca, by the viceroy and royal audiencia, and by a number of other officials both ecclesiastic and civil.[28]

At this meeting ninety-three chapters of declarations and rules adapted to the requirements of the period were passed. The aim was to regulate the conversion of the natives, and defend them from irregular exaction of tribute; to reform society and the mode of life followed by many of the clergy, to whom gambling, mercantile pursuits, and the practice of usury were forbidden under heavy punishments; and

[26] 'Le an de hazer *no ex voto charitatis*, como allá lo platicais, sino de justicia y obligacion.' *Grijalua, Chrón. S. Augustin*, 176; *Torquemada*, i. 649.

[27] The council of friars held in 1526 has been called by some an ecclesiastical council and regarded as the first. But this term applied to that convention is inaccurate. Bishop Zumárraga had also held an ecclesiastical meeting in 1539, at which the bishops of Oajaca and Michoacan, and the prelates of the different orders attended. Among other questions was discussed that of confirmation of the natives, which was again brought forward in 1546 at a meeting called by Visitador Tello de Sandoval.

[28] The names of the bishops were respectively: Martin Sarmiento de Hojacastro, Tomás de Casillas, Vasco de Quiroga, and Juan Lopez de Zárate. The last-named prelate died during the session. The bishop of Guatemala was represented by the clergyman Diego de Carbajal. There were also present the dean and chapter of the metropolitan church, as also those of the cathedrals of Tlascala, Guadalajara, and Yucatan, the prelates of the several religious orders, and the corregidor and members of the city council of Mexico. *Concilios Prov.*, MS., No. 1, 191–239; No. 3, 298–326, 363–86; *Id., 1555 y 1565*, pp. iv.–vi., 35–184.

to systematize the administration of the archbishopric and parochial churches.[29]

In 1565 a second ecclesiastical council was convoked by the archbishop, the chief object being the recognition of the acts promulgated by the œcumenical council of Trent in 1563. The suffragan bishops who attended it were those of Chiapas, Yucatan, Tlascala, Nueva Galicia, and Oajaca.[30] Twenty-eight chapters were enacted, many of them constituting amendments of declarations passed at the previous council, which had proved in a great measure to be but a mere display of authority without effect.[31]

On the 7th of March 1572 the venerable Archbishop Montúfar died at an advanced age, after a painful and lingering illness of eighteen months,[32] and was buried in the Dominican convent. The fatherly solicitude which he had ever displayed for his flock caused his death to be deeply regretted.[33] He had devoted himself earnestly to the duties of his calling, and never lost sight of the fact that the church in New Spain needed much reformation and a more

[29] *Concilios Prov.*, MS., No. 1.

[30] The bishop of Michoacan was represented by a proctor. There were present also the visitador general, Valderrama, the oidores, the king's treasury officials, the dean, chapter, and vicars of the archbishopric, and the alcaldes and regidores of the city. *Id.*, i. 160–9; *Id.*, *1555–65*, vi.–vii. 185–212.

[31] Priests were forbidden to charge fees for the administration of the sacraments to Indians, and it is noticeable that again the tendency of the clergy to lend money at usury and engage in trading speculations is exposed. Among other enactments that which exempted the natives from the payment of tithes may be mentioned. The chapters were published on the 11th of November 1565, and on the 12th of December following the archbishop and bishops decreed the fulfilment of them. *Id.*

[32] The above date is given by Sosa, *Episcop. Mex.*, 17, 24–6, who claims that the writers, Dávila Padilla, Gonzalez Dávila, Vetancurt, Eguiara, Lorenzana, Beristain, and others are in error in assigning the year 1569 as the date of Montúfar's death. Sosa founds his assertion on the fact that several acts of the ecclesiastic chapter of Mexico down to Sept. 3, 1571, show that there was an archbishop in Mexico, and he could be none other than Montúfar. He also furnishes a copy of his portrait, which exists in the gallery of the cathedral. At the foot there is an inscription of the artist, who also states that Montúfar died in 1569, at the age of 80 years. Dávila Padilla, *Hist. Fvnd.*, 509–11, gives 92 years as his age.

[33] During his long archiepiscopal career he never ceased to be an humble friar, and his charity was limited only by the means at his command. *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd., Id.*

regular organization. While he steadily opposed the encroachments of the regular orders, he was not blind to the shortcomings of the secular clergy and the abuses which prevailed in his see. In his administration he ever sought the advice of men prominent for their excellence and sound judgment. In the Franciscan lay-brother Pedro de Gante he reposed great confidence, and with open candor acknowledged him as his trustworthy guide, being wont to say that Gante and not himself was the true archbishop of Mexico. Another of his advisers was his old friend and companion Father Bartolomé de Ledesma. Named assistant in the administration of the archdiocese, Ledesma shared largely in its duties during the last twelve years of Montúfar's episcopate. In the same year that Montúfar died Pedro de Moya y Contreras had been made coadjutor of the archbishop, with the right of succession.

Toward the close of Montúfar's rule the tribunal of the inquisition was formally established in New Spain. During the earlier years of the conquest there existed representatives only of the institution, the first of whom was the Franciscan missionary Valencia. When the Dominicans arrived, superiors of their order acted as agents of that court, and still later inquisitors, rightly so called, were officially appointed.[34] By a decree of the inquisition general of Spain, dated the 27th of June 1535, the ecclesiastical court was empowered to exercise jurisdiction and inflict punishment in all cases where heresy was concerned, but it was rarely deemed necessary to display imposing severity.[35] In 1558, however, Robert Tomson, an

[34] A cédula of Charles V., dated 1531, invested the visitador Juan de Villa-Señor with power to act in matters concerning the inquisition. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 413–17. Tello de Sandoval was made inquisitor in 1540. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 279–80.

[35] A chief of Tezcuco, Cárlos de Mendoza, was burned by order of Bishop Zumárraga for having made sacrifices to idols. Upon this becoming known in Spain, the inquisition was forbidden to proceed against Indians. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 279.

Englishman, and Agustin Boacio, a Genoese, after a long imprisonment, were conducted through the streets of Mexico, in the presence of thousands of spectators, and compelled in sambenito to do penance on a high scaffold on which they received sentence.[36]

While officially constituted representatives of the inquisition were thus not immoderately exercising the terrible power with which they were invested, it is painful to note that friars, carrying out their aggressive system, laid hands upon its prerogatives. When from the gloom of the past the outline of a repulsive figure can be well marked, I cannot regard it as the shade of a companionless Frankenstein. The saintly Landa, provincial of the Franciscans, became aware in 1562 that the inhabitants of the ancient city of Maní in Yucatan[37] still retained some veneration for the worship of their forefathers. But more than this, his investigations satisfied him that the bodies of renegades had been buried in consecrated ground. Their remains were disinterred and scattered in the neighboring woods. The idolatrous propensity must be stopped, and what more effective method could be adopted than the Spanish inquisition? So Landa determined to celebrate the event by a kind of informal rattling of the machinery, and called upon the sheriff and prominent Spaniards of the province to assist him. They readily responded and the ceremony was witnessed by a multitude of native Americans.[38]

[36] The badge consisted of half a yard of yellow cloth with a hole in the middle to pass the head through, one flap hanging before, and the other behind; on each flap was sewn a red cross of Saint Andrew. Boacio was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in Spain; Tomson for a term of three years. Both penitents had to wear the sambenito. I have not discovered Boacio's offence; he was brought from Zacatecas. Tomson, by his own account, expressed himself at a dinner-table on religious subjects and as a disciple of Luther. He served his term in Seville, and afterward, being already 'reconciliado con la iglesia,' married a wealthy young lady from Mexico whose affection rewarded him for his past sufferings. Boacio escaped at the Azores, where the ship conveying him and Tomson touched for supplies. *Tomson*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 450–1.

[37] For particulars regarding this city see *Native Races*, iv. 220, v. 634, this series.

[38] Many of the captured offenders evaded public cremation by hanging themselves. Their bodies were thrown into the forests to be food for wild

Thus for a time the rule of the rack was quite benignant. But when a generation had passed away and Christianity had planted firmly her foothold in the conquered country, apostasy was regarded as without excuse. Moreover, the land was full of adventurers who scoffed at religion and interfered with the work of conversion. Philip was a most Catholic king, and with the effect of Luther's preaching before him he would, if possible, save his American dominions from the sanguinary religious wars then desolating Europe. Thus it came about that a regular tribunal of the inquisition was sent out to New Spain in 1571, there to be received with demonstrations of joy and

beasts. Cogolludo says nothing about the punishment inflicted on the culprits who did not hang themselves. But he assures us that for many years after that bright example of Christian charity, cases of idolatry were never again heard of. The blessed father was called cruel, but what of that? Doctor Don Pedro Sanchez de Aguilar, whoever he might be, held a very different opinion on his action in the report he made against the idolaters of the country. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 309–10. The visitador Vivanco reported to the crown in 1563 that the provincial had the victims subjected to the torture of cord and water; triced up with weights of from 50 to 75 pounds attached to their feet, and then flogged; he also had their flesh burned with flames or with hot wax; he made them suffer in various other cruel ways, all without any trial having been given them. The result was that the unfortunates in their horrible agony would confess offences they had never committed, among them idolatrous rites. In this way many idols were brought to light which they had possessed before their conversion, and whose existence they had almost forgotten. Many Indians perished, and others were maimed for life. These cruelties were continued till Bishop Toral arrived in August and stopped them. Petitioners begged in the name of humanity and of the hapless sufferers that such miscreant tormentors should be punished, and taken away from Yucatan. *Bibanco, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Ind.*, 392–6. The alcalde mayor in his report corroborates much of the above, of course covering his own procedure, and adding that upwards of 2,000,000 idols were found, some old and others new, besmeared with blood. Six Indians hanged themselves and two others committed suicide in prison. *Quixada, Carta al Rey, March 15, 1563*, in *Cartas de Ind.*, 382–3. Rodriguez Vivanco, official defender of the Indians, supported their complaints that the charge of apostasy had not been well founded, and that the proceedings had been excessively cruel: 'hagan allá penitencia Fr Diego de Landa y sus compañeros, del mal que hizieron en nosotros, que hasta la quarta generaçion se acordarán nuestros descendientes de la gran persecucion que por ellos nos vino.' *Yucatan, Carta de los indios gobernad. de varias prov., al Rey*, in *Cartas de Ind.*, 407–10. However, in 1567 ten caciques prayed the king to give them Franciscans, for whom they expressed a strong preference, that being the order from which they first received baptism. *Carta de diez caciques á S. M. al Rey*, in *Cartas de Ind.*, 367–8, and fac-sim. U. I cannot find that the complaints were heeded or the grievances redressed; on the contrary, it is seen that the man complained against was placed in a higher position than ever. Calle gives a royal order of July 25, 1586, prescribing means to be taken for the extirpation of idolatry among the Indians.

pomp, covering a wide-spread feeling of apprehension and horror.[39] The chief inquisitor was Doctor Pedro de Moya y Contreras, the same who some years later became archbishop of Mexico and afterward viceroy of New Spain. The first appointee to the office had been the licenciado Juan de Cervantes, but he died on the passage from Spain, whereupon Moya succeeded him, and installed the court on the 11th of November of the same year, in the large buildings of Juan Velazquez de Salazar, the dean of Mexico. Alonso Fernandez de Bonilla was the first fiscal or prosecuting officer of the court,[40] who in 1583 became chief inquisitor.

The tribunal had jurisdiction over all Catholics who by deed or word gave signs of harboring heretical or schismatical opinions; and also over such persons not Catholics as attempted to proselyte, or uttered heretical sentiments, or were known to be hostile to the church. Foreign Protestants brought within its reach, and all offenders against the laws of the church, were also fit subjects for its tender mercies. And probably nothing better proves the honesty of the king and the good faith of the ecclesiastical authorities than the fact that Indians were made exempt, except in extreme cases, on the ground that they, as a race, were insufficiently instructed in the tenets of the faith, and therefore liable to fall, without malice, into error.[41] In so fresh a field full of reckless adven-

[39] Peralta rejoices at the installation of the holy office: 'para que se perpetuase en la tierra, defendiéndola de la mala seta luterana, y que castigase los que se hallasen con culpa de abella admitido ó tuviesen algunas ynsinias della.' *Not. Hist.*, 281. He would hardly have dared to express any other sentiments. Torquemada, i. 648, regards it as very efficient and useful to the country, which was 'contaminadisima de Judios, y Hereges, en especial de Gente Portuguesa.' The court was founded 'sin ruido de martillo, y con muy grande opinion...la Inquisicion es vn freno para desalmados, y libras de lengua.' *Moya, Carta al Rey.*, in *Cartas de Indias.*

[40] The third inquisitor was Pedro Ramirez Granero, who in 1574 was made archbishop of Charcas. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, ii. 32; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 371.

[41] Robertson and others who have followed him are rebuked by Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, v. 159–65, for their assertions on this point. It is untrue, the latter alleges, that the Indians were declared incapable of committing heresy, for a number of them were admitted to the Catholic priesthood; and quoting

turers, intermingled with Moorish, Jewish, and other elements, the tribunal could not fail to obtain subjects, and a number were soon arraigned. The first auto-de-fé decreed by the court was in 1574, and took place in the small plaza of the marqués del Valle, between the door of the principal church and the marquis' buildings. According to Torquemada, the victims numbered sixty-three, of whom five were burned. It was a most dramatic affair, attended by thousands of spectators from far and near.[42]

The next public affair of the kind was in 1575, when the number of *penitentes* was smaller. From that year till 1593 there took place seven more, making nine from the installation of the court. The tenth occurred on the 8th of December, 1596, and of this I will give a description. Preparations on a grand scale were made to present to the authorities and people a spectacle worthy of the cause. To increase the solemnity of the occasion the day fixed upon was that of the immaculate conception; and the place, the chief plaza with its extensive appointments of railings covered with platforms, and thousands of seats or benches arranged as in an amphitheatre, which was used after the celebration as a bull-ring.

The time having arrived, the viceroy, conde de Monterey, accompanied by the justices and officers of the audiencia, the royal treasury officials, military officers, and other members of his suite repaired to the inquisition building, where the inquisitors Barto-

from Abbé de Nuix, adds: 'It is not necessary to possess more talent to be a bad heretic than a good priest.' Zamacois bitterly inveighs against writers that have accused Spaniards in general for the acts of the inquisition when in their own countries at that period, and also much later, the torture and other acts of brutality were in common practice. In evidence of which he quotes well known events in the history of England and her American colonies, of France, Germany, Portugal, and Russia.

[42] *Torquemada*, iii. 377–9. Philips says three were burned; another has it two only. *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 281. This author adds, 'era de ver la jente que acudió á vello de más de ochenta lehuas.' Gonzalez Dávila gives 63 victims, of whom 21 were followers of Luther. *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 34. The number may have been larger. Those who received sentence on good Friday of that year, including the men of Hawkins' expedition brought from Pánuco, were 71, as Philips has it.

lomé Lobo Guerrero, an archbishop elect, and Alonso de Peralta, subsequently bishop of Charcas, awaited them. Sixty-seven penitents were then led forth from the dungeons, and the procession marched to the plaza. A great concourse of people, from far and near, followed the procession and occupied windows and squares to the very gate and houses of the holy office.[43]

The prisoners appeared, wearing ropes round their necks, and conical hats on which were painted hellish flames, and with green candles in their hands, each with a priest at his side exhorting him to Christian fortitude. They were marched under a guard of the holy office. Among those doomed to suffer were persons convicted of the following offences: Those who had become reconciled with the church and afterward relapsed into judaism, in sambenitos, and with familiars of the inquisition at their side; bigamists, with similar hats descriptive of their crime; sorceresses with white hats of the same kind, candles and ropes; blasphemers with gags to their tongues, marching together, one after the other, with heads uncovered and candles in their hands. First among them came those convicted of petty offences, followed in regular order of criminality by the rest, the last being the relapsed, the dogmatists, and teachers of the Mosaic law, who wore the tails of their sambenitos rolled up and wrapped round their caps to signify the falsity of their doctrine. On arriving at their platform the prisoners were made to sit down, the relapsed, the readers of Mosaic law, and dogmatists occupying the higher seats; the others according to their offences, last being the statues of the dead and absent relapsed ones. The reconciled and other penitents occupied benches in the plaza. On the right side of the holy office was a pulpit from which preached the Franciscan friar Ignacio de Santibañez, archbishop of the

[43] 'Fué cosa maravillosa, la Gente, que concurrió á este célebre, y famoso Auto, y la que estuvo á las Ventanas, y Plaças, hasta la Puerta, y Casas de el Santo Oficio, para vèr este singular acompañamiento, y Procesion de los Relaxados, y Penitenciados.' *Torquemada*, iii. 379–80.

Philippines.[44] Then followed the usual admonitions, opportunities to recant, to repent, and finally the fierce flames, the foretaste of eternal torments.

Before the installation of the dread tribunal it was not known that the country's religion was in danger from Jews or heretics; had the number of dissenters been large, and the danger imminent from any action on their part, the community, consisting mostly of Catholics, would have taken the alarm, and the ecclesiastical court have laid a heavy hand on the obnoxious members, as in 1558, with regard to Tomson and Boacio. It is indeed remarkable how quickly after the court went into existence it managed to find subjects to work upon, especially among the Portuguese, persecuted for reasons foreign to religion. The charges made were often without the slightest foundation, personal grievance or vindictiveness alone prompting the informers. Else it would have been impossible for the court to pick out of the small population of Mexico over two thousand persons who had within thirty years made themselves amenable to punishment. It must be borne in mind that it had been made obligatory upon all persons to report to the inquisition, under the charge of secrecy, every thing heard or seen that savored of heresy in the witness' estimation. Hence the holy office before long became as much dreaded as had been the Aztec war-god. The authority of the inquisitorial court was paramount to all others, and its officers and servants were privileged. Any act or expression against that tribunal or its supremacy would sooner or later reach its knowledge, and the person so speaking be made to feel its power.[45]

[44] Torquemada, iii. 380, after an elaborate description of the whole affair, fails to give the number of each class, and the punishments awarded. Some of them were as a matter of course burned alive. Respecting this last class, he adds, 'cada vno de estos porfiados Judios, podia ser Rabino en vna Sinagoga. Celebròse con grande Magestad, quedando el Pueblo, con no poco asombro de los Ritos, y Ceremonias, de estos Hereges Judaiçantes, y delitos graves, que allí se leieron.'

[45] A case in point, in the proceedings in Mérida, Yucatan, and in Mexico

On the death of Montúfar the archbishopric of Mexico was conferred on the inquisitor Moya y Contreras, and if zeal and ability alone be considered he deserved the promotion. There are some interesting features in the biography of this remarkable man. Beginning his career as a page of Juan de Ovando, president of the royal council of the Indies, in time he became his private secretary. Having completed his studies at Salamanca we next find him chancellor of the cathedral of the Canary Islands, which office he held until 1570. In 1571 he was ordained a presbyter in Mexico, having formerly filled high ecclesiastic positions in the Canaries, Murcia, and Mexico before this. He was exceedingly charitable, and it is told of him that he would often take whatever money there might be at his disposal and give it to the poor, regardless of the amount.[46]

On the 20th of October 1573 the ecclesiastical chapter placed in his hands the administration and government which had been in their charge since Montúfar's death. He had been confirmed in the office by Gregory XIII. since June 15th, but the bulls

against 'Nicolas de Aquino, notario deste S^to officio en Mérida de Jucatan,' and against Francisco de Velazquez de Xixon, governor of Yucatan, and Gomez del Castillo, alcalde ordinario in 1575, for contempt, resulting from the prosecution and imprisonment of Aquino in Mexico by the alcalde supported by the governor, though he had pleaded his privilege of a servant of the inquisition. The case was not terminated, or it may be that the latter portion of the proceedings is missing or lost. In this case the inquisitors were the licenciados Coniella and Avalos, and the notary Pedro de los Rios. *Aquino et al., Proceso contra*, MS., 1–141. Other authorities consulted upon this subject are: *Vazquez, Chrón. de Gvat.*, 227; *Alaman, Disert*, ii. 194; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 194–5; *Arróniz, Hist. y Crón.*, 77–9; *Rivera, Gob. de Méj.*, i. 45–7; *Gaz. Mex.* (*1784–5*), i. 77; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 236–7; *Diario Mex.*, viii. 145; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 244–5; *Salazar, Monarq. de Esp.*, ii. 85–6; *Escosura, Conjuracion*, i. 33–4; *Mora, Mej. Rev.*, iii. 232–6; *Codex. Tell. Rem., Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vi. 153; *Cartas de Ind.*, 755, 774; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 28; *Guerra, Rev. N. Esp.*, ii. 632; *Pensador, Mex.*, 39–50; *Dicc. Univ.*, iv. 272–84; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép. i. 209.

[46] On one occasion when his pages were accused of purloining some articles, he said that they were innocent, for the things had been taken by 'un ladron secreto que Dios tiene en esta casa, que no es bien que sepais quien es; baste decíroslo yo.' *Sosa, Episcob.*, 27–32, with his portrait; *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 214–15; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 35–6; *Datos Biog.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 810; fac-sim. of his writing, P, and of his signature in drawing, viii. A number of his autograph signatures may be seen in *Concilios Prov.*, MS. He was a native of Pedroche in the bishopric of Cordova, Spain, and descended on both

had not come out, and in fact were not received in Mexico until the 22d of November. His consecration by Bishop Morales, of Puebla, took place in the old cathedral of Mexico on the 8th of December.[47]

Not long after the appointment of Moya a serious rupture occurred between him and Enriquez. The apparent cause was trivial, but in its significance serious. The underlying stratum of discord was pregnant with future contention for power between church and state. When Moya received the pallium a farce was publicly represented in which figured as one of the characters a collector of the excise.[48] The viceroy and audiencia interpreted the introduction of this character as the expression of a sarcastic disapproval of an unpopular impost lately established. Stringent orders were issued forbidding the production of such pieces without the sanction of the audiencia. The blame of it all was laid upon the archbishop. The prelate's authority was ignored, and many persons, including such as enjoyed ecclesiastical privileges, were arrested. Henceforth harmony was at an end, and various petty insults were from time to time offered by the viceroy to the archbishop. Moya naturally complained, and had the satisfaction to receive the royal approval of his course, an approval which in

sides from families of rank. Moya brought from Spain a little girl two years of age, named Micaela de los Ángeles, supposed to have been of royal blood, and appearing as his niece. She was brought up in a nunnery, and at the age of 13 became insane. The utmost care was taken of her and much money expended in the efforts to restore her reason, but without avail. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Parayso Occ.*, 18.

[47] During this year, while Moya was still archbishop elect, the cornerstone of the great cathedral was laid with appropriate ceremonies in the presence of the viceroy and all the high functionaries of church and state. In the erection of this edifice Moya took great interest, making it an object of constant attention during the last months of his sojourn in Mexico. He donated to it beautiful paintings that he had brought from Spain, chalices, and costly ornaments, and left it blazing with gold, though still a-building; he also gave it his mitre and pastoral staff, together with a much venerated fragment of the *lignum crucis*.

[48] The viceroy had, in 1573, established the alcabala, or excise, which merchants had till then been exempt from. The measure was very unpopular, and the government had been the object of many a diatribe for it.

1584 made itself manifest in his appointment to the vacant viceroyalty.[49]

The results of the previous convocations had been not altogether satisfactory, and in 1585 the third provincial council in the city of Mexico took place, summoned on the 30th of March of the previous year by Archbishop Moya. It was formally opened January 20th, presided over by the archbishop, who was now also the viceroy, governor, and captain general of New Spain, as well as visitador. The suffragan bishops in attendance were: Juan de Medina Rincon, of Michoacan; Domingo Arzola, of Nueva Galicia; Diego Romano, of Puebla; Bartolomé de Ledesma, of Oajaca; Gomez de Córdoba, of Guatemala, and Gregorio de Montalvo, of Yucatan.[50]

There were also present at the installation, besides the legal advisers and other officers of the council, the oidores of the royal audiencia, namely, doctors Pedro Farfan, Pedro Sanchez Paredes, Francisco de Sande, Fernando de Robles, and Diego García de Palacio; the alcalde de Chanchillería, Doctor Santiago del Riego, and the fiscal, Licenciado Eugenio de Salazar. The secretary of the council was Doctor Juan de Salcedo, dean of Mexico and professor of canonical law in the university.

The labors of this council terminated in the latter part of September. Some of the chief measures

[49] On another occasion, at the funeral of Francisco de Velasco, the brother of the second viceroy, in Dec. 1574, Enriquez caused the prie-dieu that had been placed for the prelate in the church to be taken away, claiming that he was the sole person that could use that article. Later he inflicted the same insult on the bishop of Michoacan at the Saint Augustine church, though on the next day he caused the prie-dieu to be placed for him in the church of Santa Catarina, having probably been reminded that the bishop had a brother who was a member of the royal council. Moya accused the viceroy and audiencia of a marked hostility toward him, and of having repeatedly attempted to weaken his authority and prestige. *Moya y Contreras, Carta*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 176–88.

[50] The bishop of Chiapas was not present, having been forced to return home, owing to an accident on the journey. The bishop of Vera Paz had made his preparations to depart for Spain and could not delay his voyage. *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 46–7; *Torquemada*, i. 649; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., No. 3, 50, 57; *Pap. Var.*, xv. pts. 2, 19–20, 22.

enacted by it were an ecclesiastic code of discipline, a newly arranged catechism, and many other rules and regulations to improve the civil and ecclesiastical government of New Spain. The proceedings embraced five hundred and seventy-six paragraphs, divided into five books under various titles. Neither those of the first council in 1555 nor those of the second in 1565, whose chief end had been to recognize and enforce the acts of the œcumenical council of Trent concluded in 1563, had been approved by the holy see. Owing to this, all the chapters of the two preceding councils were embodied in the third, so as to secure the pontifical sanction to all. It was also necessary to accommodate the exigencies of the church to the peculiar traits of Indian character and administration of the Indies; hence the expediency of this provincial synod. The bishops wished to carry out at once the acts passed, but the viceroy, in obedience to a royal order of May 13, 1585, suspended their execution till the king's approval. This was given on the 18th of September 1591, when the viceroy, audiencia, and all officials, civil or ecclesiastic, in New Spain, were commanded to aid in every possible way the enforcement of the decrees passed by the council. That cédula was reiterated February 2, 1593, and again February 9, 1621.[51]

[51] *Concilios Provinciales Mexicanos*, MSS., 4 parts, fol. Nos. 1–4, bound in parchment. Being the original records and minutes of the three ecclesiastic councils held under the presidency of the archbishop of Mexico as metropolitan in the years 1555, 1565, and 1585.

No. 1, 320 folios, gives all the orders, correspondence, and other proceedings, as well as the chapters or acts passed by the three councils, and every paper connected therewith in Spanish or Latin, to which are appended the signatures of the archbishops and bishops who took part therein; also the catechism adopted by the third council.

No. 2, 100 folios, is an authenticated copy in Spanish, under the seal of the archbishopric of Mexico, of the acts passed by the third council in 1585, with the autograph signatures of Archbishop Moya and the suffragan bishops of Guatemala, Yucatan, Michoacan, Nueva Galicia, Antequera, or Oajaca; countersigned by Doctor Juan de Salcedo, secretary of the council.

No. 3, 455 folios. Correspondence, edicts, decrees, in Latin and Spanish, and other papers relating to the qualifications and duties of priests.

No. 4, 354 folios. Papers that the third council consulted, including copies of the acts of the first council of Lima in 1582, and that of Toledo of 1583.

The acts of the first council, and the original minutes, as well as those of

Soon after the closing of the council the successor of Moya y Contreras in the viceroyalty and annexed offices arrived. His release from those duties did not, however, relieve him from those of visitador of the courts till he completed his task in 1586. During all this time he never lost sight of the grave responsibilities of the archiepiscopal office. He made pastoral visits over a large part of his district, which had been till then deprived of that benefit, and confirmed great numbers of his flock. He would likewise perform humbler duties, which devolved upon others. Once on his return he found the priests whose place he had taken awaiting him; they began to make excuses, to which he answered: "Fathers, it does not surprise me; for the city is large; for which reason I must also be a curate, and your comrade to assist you." As soon as he finished his work as visitador he made preparations for his departure, and after placing the archdiocese in charge of the notable Dominican friar Pedro de Právia, in the month of June he celebrated mass and bid farewell to the people of Mexico whom he had called together for that purpose.[52] On arrival

two subsequent councils, were printed in Mexico by Juan Pablo Lombardo in February 1556. This issue appears to have been withdrawn by order; and to avert recurrence of such publications without the royal exequatur having been first obtained, the king directed in cédula of Sept. 1, 1560, reiterating a previous order of Sept. 1, 1556, that prelates before printing and publishing their synods should lay them before the council of the Indies for the royal sanction. *Concilios Prov.*, MS., No. 1, 265–6; *Puga, Cedulario*, 201.

The acts of the second council were not published till Archbishop Lorenzana in 1769 issued it in connection with that of the first. It forms a 4to of 396 pages, containing on the first 208 pages the chapters of the respective meetings, and on the remainder the lives of all the bishops in New Spain, together with an account of the founding of the differents sees and other material. The acts of the third council did not see print till 1622, when they were issued in Latin at Mexico, in two parts, of 102 and 39 folios respectively, the first containing the acts or chapters; the second, the ordinances of the council as confirmed by the papal court on October 27, 1589. Another Latin edition appeared at Paris in 1725, 599 pages 12mo, with biographical sketches of the prelates attending the council. A third bears the imprint Mexico 1770, in two parts, of 328 and 141 pages, with biographical additions, issued probably by Lorenzana as a complement to his edition of the first councils. All of these manuscript and rare printed sets form part of my collection, together with a number of catechisms, ordinances, and other matter, issued by order of the councils, or in connection with their labors. A modern edition of the third council acts, in Latin and Spanish, appeared at Mexico in 1859, containing a number of documents, and notes by the Jesuit Arrillaga.

[52] His house was crowded with people who went to manifest their love

at Vera Cruz he was apprised by his steward that he was in debt to the amount of $20,000. But he had not to wait long before a larger sum came as a donation, which enabled him to pay off the indebtedness, and to make gifts to the hospitals of Vera Cruz and give alms to the poor. Further information on this interesting man will appear in connection with his life as viceroy of Mexico.[53] Pedro de Právia administered the archbishopric till near the end of 1589, when he died. After that the diocese was governed by the dean and chapter *sede vacante*.

The successor appointed to fill the office of archbishop of Mexico was the bishop elect of Nueva Galicia, and visitador of Peru, Alonso Fernandez de Bonilla, a native of Córdova. He was elected on the 15th of March 1592, and it is said that he chose the archdeacon of Mexico, Juan Cervantes, for governor of the archdiocese during his absence, which office Cervantes held till the see was declared vacant by the death in Peru of Bonilla in 1596, shortly after his consecration. The archbishop's remains were interred in Lima.[54] The archdiocese remained vacant till 1601, for, though the friar García de Santa María y Mendoza, of the order of St Jerome, was chosen to the office in 1600 and accepted it, he did not take possession till the following year.[55] By this time the

and sorrow at his departure, carrying gifts and mementos. The Indians hastened to kiss his hands, and the negroes placed at his feet a plate into which they threw money as a fund for his comfort on the journey. This was kept up night and day, and there was no end to the contributions. The concourse became so large at the last moment that the authorities had finally to place guards near the prelate's person from fear that he might be crushed. He had a large popular escort as far as the villa of Guadalupe. *Gutierrez de Luna, Biog.*, in *Sosa, Episcop.*, 37–8.

[53] For additional information on Moya y Contreras, see *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 281–2; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 48–9; *Leyes, Varias Anot.*, 7; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 23; *Diar. Mex.*, vii. 6; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 173, 175.

[54] Bonilla had been dean of the cathedral, fiscal of the inquisition, and on April 8, 1583, became chief inquisitor. *Panes, Virreys*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 91; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 40–1; *Sosa, Episcop.*, 41–2; *Dicc. Univ.*, iii. 396.

[55] *Sosa, Episcop.*, 41–3, with his portrait; *Panes, Virreys*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 91; *Mex. Hieroglyph, Hist.*, 157, and many others. See also *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 215–16, 340; and *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 40–1.

church had grown to large proportions. According to reliable contemporaneous authority there were in New Spain then 400 convents of the several orders, and 400 districts in charge of clergymen, making a total of 800 ecclesiastic ministries for the administration of the sacraments and for instruction in Christianity. Each convent and each parish had many churches in towns and hamlets, which were likewise visited at certain intervals, and where Christian doctrine was taught the natives.[56] The whole was now under six prelates, the youngest of whom were those of Yucatan and Nueva Galicia, appointed in 1541 and 1544 respectively. The former district had been given a bishop in Julian Garcés, already in 1519,[57] but the failure of settlers to occupy it caused the transfer of Garcés to Tlascala. After Montejo's conquest it was included in the adjoining diocese of Chiapas, and the celebrated Las Casas presented himself in 1545 to exact recognition, but his fiery zeal in behalf of the enslaved natives roused the colonists, and he was obliged to depart. The growing importance of the peninsula caused it to be erected into a special see, by bull of December 16, 1561,[58] with the seat in Mérida.

The prelacy was first offered to the Franciscan Juan de la Puerta, who died as bishop elect,[59] and Francisco de Toral, provincial of the same order at Mexico, was thereupon chosen.[60] He declined, but was prevailed

[56] The Franciscan province of the Santo Evangélio of Mexico alone claimed over 1,000. *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 54–9; *Torquemada*, iii. 385–6.

[57] See p. 296, this volume.

[58] *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 351; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 201. 'Que se nombrasse de Yucathàn, y Cozumèl.' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 206. Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro Ecles.*, 206, 211, is misleading in naming a bishop as early as 1541, and mentioning that the church was by bull of Oct. 23, 1570, erected into a cathedral, dedicated to San Ildefonso.

[59] *Torquemada*, iii. 384. Calle states that the Franciscan Juan de San Francisco had been chosen in 1541 to govern the see as bishop, without waiting for bulls. If he ever was appointed it could have been merely as representant of Las Casas, bishop of Chiapas. Calle continues by saying that Puerta received his appointment on June 17, 1555. *Mem. y Not.*, 82. Gonzaloz Dávila, loc. cit., follows, but appoints Puerta on Feb. 20, 1552. He died without consecration.

[60] He was a native of Úbeda, Spain, and long labored in New Spain, which he in 1553 represented at Salamanca as delegate. He returned with a large

upon to accept, and took possession in 1562. His efforts to secure the prerogatives of his office, hitherto enjoyed to a great extent by friars, caused a rupture, and the provincial, Diego de Landa, departed in hot haste to lay his complaints before the court. The result was unfavorable to Toral, who, after vainly seeking to resign, retired to the convent at Mexico, where he died in April 1571.

The prelacy was then conferred on Landa, partly because of his influential connection,[61] and partly because of his long and zealous services in Yucatan. He came out in 1573, and his despotic and meddlesome disposition soon led him into fresh complications with the civil authorities,[62] his Franciscan co-laborers being on the other hand allowed a liberty that degenerated into abuse. His rule was short, however, for he died suddenly in April 1579, leaving a high reputation for benevolence and piety among his contemporaries, which to us appears ineffaceably stained by an imprudent severity towards idolaters, and by his reckless destruction of aboriginal documents and relics. He was the Zumárraga of the peninsula. His successor, Gregorio Montalvo, bishop elect of Nicaragua, was a Dominican,[63] which in itself argued well for needed reforms; but the Franciscans hampered him on every side, as might be expected from the hostility prevailing between the two orders.[64] In 1587 he was promoted to the see of Cuzco, where he died six years later. The Franciscan Juan Izquierdo suc-

mission of friars, and while holding the position of provincial, the appointment of bishop reached him. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles*, i. 211–12. He took possession August 15, 1562. Although Las Casas visited Tabasco in 1561, *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 626, it no doubt passed about this time under Yucatan, both ecclesiastically and politically. A cédula of 1559 ordered the audiencia to report on the expediency of erecting this province into a separate see. *Puga, Cedulario*, 207. The report was unfavorable.

[61] He was a member of the Calderon family, born at Cifuentes in 1524.

[62] See *Sierra, Consid. sobre el orígen, etc., de la sublevacion*, in *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 102.

[63] He was a native of Coca, Segovia, and became a friar in 1550, displaying great eloquence and administrative ability.

[64] They accused him of severity against relapsed idolaters, who were sentenced to exile and hard labor at Vera Cruz and other places. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 398–9.

ceeded, but took possession only in 1591, ruling harmoniously till his death in 1602. The dedication of the cathedral at Mérida, one of the finest in New Spain, took place during his rule.[65]

NUEVA GALICIA.

[65] In 1563 provision had been made for building it, one third of the cost to be defrayed by the crown, Spaniards, and Indians, respectively. The work began with the ready contribution of 50,000 natives, each giving two reales, both settlers and crown being too poor to pay. *Quixada, Carta*, 1563, in *Cartas de Indias*, 386. The architect was Juan Miguel de Agüero, who made himself a name thereby. The king gave 500 ducats for church ornaments, and an equal sum for a hospital. On these and other matter touching the bishopric, see letters of Bibanco, Toral, Quijada, etc., in *Cartas de Indias*,

Nueva Galicia was on July 31, 1548,[66] segregated from Michoacan and made a distinct bishopric, possessing at the time nearly fifty benefices.[67] Compostela was designated as the seat, and Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, one of the twelve Franciscan apostles, received the appointment, which he humbly declined, whereupon it was conferred upon Juan Barrios, a knight of Santiago,[68] but he died before consecration and was buried at Mexico.

The position was next tendered to Pedro Gomez Maraver, late dean of Oajaca and counsellor to Viceroy Mendoza, who entered with great zeal upon his duties, but lived only till 1552. The Franciscan Pedro de Ayala assumed the office in July 1555, and assisted at the removal of the seat to Guadalajara, where he laid the foundation of a cathedral.[69] He died in 1569, and was succeeded by the Franciscan Gomez de Mendiola, who ruled from 1571 to 1579, and left so high a reputation for benevolence and sanctity that efforts were made to obtain his beatification.[70] The Jeronimite Juan de Trujillo was appointed successor, but failed to take possession,[71] and the see passed to Domingo de Arzola, a Dominican, lately

238, and passim, 372–94, 783; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 206–10, 290–1, 322–4, 352–71, 376, 394–6, 409; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., No. 3, 1–3, and print, vii.; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 211–15, 220; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 42, 80, 135, 137, 140; *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 182, lviii. 394, 401, 425, 451–2.

[66] *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 336; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 179. Morelli writes July 13, *Fasti Novi Orbis*, 160; and others place the seat wrongly at Guadalajara.

[67] In 1596 the number had not materially changed. *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 547–8. The distinguished Diego Ramirez was appointed in 1551 to mark the boundary lines between the dioceses of Michoacan and Guadalajara, and between those of Mexico and Michoacan. The bishops of the first two named dioceses objected to the lines he established, but they were approved by the crown August 28, 1552. The question remained an open one, nevertheless, and was but partially settled in 1564. Reopened in 1596, the final settlement took place only in 1664. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 155–222.

[68] Successor of Bishop Zumárraga in the office of protector of Indians; a native of Seville. *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 198; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, ii. 242.

[69] This removal may have drawn upon him the dislike of the chapter, which in 1570 declared that his appointment had been a mistake, for he knew nothing of letters or law. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 486.

[70] When exhumed in 1599 his body was found undecayed, and so it continued for nearly 200 years.

[71] Alcedo, *Dicc.*, ii. 243, places him after Arzola.

vicar general and visitador of his order in Peru and New Spain, who died in 1590 while on a pastoral visit.[72] His successor was an Augustinian, Juan Suarez de Escobar, who did not survive long enough to be consecrated, whereupon Doctor Francisco Rodriguez Santos García,[73] lately ruler of the archbishopric, occupied the prelacy till 1596, when it passed to Alonso de la Mota, of whom I shall speak hereafter.[74]

In the adjoining see of Michoacan, Bishop Quiroga had inaugurated a veritable golden era with his indefatigable efforts for the protection of the natives,

MICHOACAN.

the establishment of hospitals and schools, and the promotion of exemplary life.[75] After his deeply re-

[72] At Atoyac, February 15th. He had been appointed on July 6, 1582.

[73] A native of Madrigal, and a most benevolent man. He is supposed to have died at Mexico, June 28, 1596. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 182. Alcedo blunders about the date.

[74] Successively dean at Michoacan, Tlascala, and Mexico, and highly esteemed for his exemplary life and deeds. He was appointed October 22, 1597. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 93, 182, 193. *Vetancur, Trat. Mex.*, 23, 51; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., No. 1, 160–9, 185, 337; *Id.*, vii. 336–40; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 70.

[75] This will be more fully narrated on a succeeding page.

gretted death in 1565, the distinguished preacher Antonio Ruiz de Morales y Molina,[76] of the order of Santiago, ruled until 1572, when he was promoted to Puebla, partly on account of ill-health. He had taken a dislike to Patzcuaro as the episcopal residence, and after a quarrel with the local authorities, while they were celebrating the anniversary of the conquest of Michoacan, he made strong efforts for removing the seat to Valladolid, a change which was effected a few years later. Meanwhile the Augustinian Alonso de la Vera Cruz was tendered the prelacy, but declined in favor of a colleague named Diego de Chavez, and, he dying[77] before the confirmatory bulls arrived, Juan de Medina Rincon,[78] late provincial of the same order, was consecrated in 1574. For fourteen years he ruled, living ever the austere, self-denying life of the exemplary friar, and devoting his income to the sick and poor.[79]

His successor was appointed only in 1591, in the person of Alonso Guerra, a Dominican, born in Lima, Peru, and promoted to this see from that of Paraguay. He died in 1595,[80] and Domingo de Ulloa, another Dominican of high family, and lately bishop of Nicaragua and Popayan, took possession of the office in 1598, but he lived only four years.[81] At this

[76] Whose history he wrote. He was a native of Córdova, and nephew of the chronicler Morales. *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 246.

[77] February 14, 1573. Gonzalez Davila, *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 120, places his appointment after 1588, and states that he declined.

[78] A native of Segovia. He came to New Spain with his father, who held a high office in the real audiencia. In 1542 he took the habit of an Austin friar. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 115–20. Vetancurt, *Menolog.*, 82, asserts that the mitre was tendered by Philip II. to the Franciscan Juan de Ayora, and the royal cédula was found in the old friar's breviary after his death. The author leaves us in the dark as to the date of such choice. Ayora went to the Philippines in 1577, and died there in 1581.

[79] Rather than submit to a violation of the rules in regard to dress, which was a necessity in the tierra caliente, when provincial he threw up the *doctrinas* in Pánuco and some in Michoacan. However, after becoming bishop he recovered as many of them as he could. *Mich., Prov. S. Nic.*, 100.

[80] *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 72. Some say in 1596. *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 74.

[81] He died in Mexico and was there buried in the convent of his order. There is confusion among the old writers about the time of the appointment of this bishop and of his death. Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro Eccles.*, ii. 70, appoints him to Yucatan before he comes to Michoacan, which is probably an error in writing that word for Popayan. He also in the same page gives his

time the see contained forty-five parishes in charge of secular clergy, a dozen of them among the Spanish settlers and miners.[82]

On the death of Bishop Zárate of Oajaca,[83] another prominent Dominican, Bernardo Acuña de Alburquerque,[84] was chosen his successor, and since he

OAJACA.

had already occupied this field as a friar he gladly resumed his task, and labored with tireless ardor and

death in 1599. Another author places his appointment to Michoacan in Feb. 1599, stating that he ruled four years, in which last statement he follows Gonzalez Dávila. *Touron, Hist. Gen.*, vii. 247–8. A sister of his had founded three Jesuit colleges in Castile. The enemies of the order endeavored to influence him against its members but without avail. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 369.

[82] *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 91, 112–22; ii. 96; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., 1–4; *Id., 1555–65*, vi.–vii. 320–4; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 574–8, *Grijalua, Crón. S. August.*, 143–5; *Mich. Anál. Estad.*, 5; *Queipo, Col.*, 50; *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesus*, 210; *Mich. Prov. S. Nic.*, 19; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 62, 72; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 51; *Fernandez, Hist. Ecles.*, 116, 131; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 546–7.

[83] See pp. 391–2, this volume.

[84] During his labors in Oajaca he had written a catechism in Zapotec, and after his ministry here he attained to the highest honors of his order in New Spain.

self-denial.[85] Hardly less pious and benevolent was the third bishop, the Dominican Bartolomé de Ledesma, who ruled from 1581 to 1604, and left a distinguished name as a writer and patron of education.[86] When the first bishop took possession the diocese was exceedingly poor, with friars alone for ministers, but toward the close of Ledesma's rule there were forty well supplied parishes in charge of the secular clergy,[87] distributed among several hundred villages and four Spanish towns, the latter being Antequera, now quite a populous place, San Ildefonso, among the Zapotecs, Santiago de Nejapa, and Espíritu Santo, in Goazacoalco.[88]

One of the most favored dioceses was Puebla, which extended over Huexotzinco, Tlascala, Puebla, and Vera Cruz districts, with over a thousand native settlements, about two hundred of them designated as towns, and divided into more than eighty parishes, half in charge of convents, of which nineteen were Franciscan, twelve Dominican, nine Augustinian, and one Carmelite. The native tributaries numbered more than two hundred thousand, not counting Tlascala, whose people paid but a nominal tax. Of the Spanish towns Puebla had about five hundred settlers, and Vera Cruz three hundred, while a considerable num-

[85] He founded at his own expense the convent of Santa Catarina de Sena, at Antequera, and endowed it. The dedication took place in October 1577, with three Santa Clara nuns and seven novices, two being his nieces. *Burgoa, Geog. Discrip., Oaj.*, i. 89–92. Here his remains were deposited, after having been buried in San Pablo convent. The cathedral also claims to hold the grave of this saintly man.

[86] He founded the college of San Bartolomé, with a rental of 2,000 pesos for 12 poor collegians, who must be natives of the province; and he established the first chair of moral theology in New Spain. To his native town of Salamanca he left several endowments for poor clergymen. He died in February 1604 and was buried in the cathedral. One of his books, *De Septem Novæ Legis Sacramentis*, was printed at Mexico in 1568. 'Probably the first book printed in roman letter in Mexico,' says Rich, who also refers to an edition of 1566. Several other works were lost while on the way to Spain to be printed. *Concilios Prov.*, MS., No. 1; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 227.

[87] 'Seran tambien ricos.' *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 547.

[88] *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oaj.*, i. 64–80, ii. 410–11; *Mex., Informes*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. 449–51; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd.*, 291–303; and books already quoted.

ber were scattered throughout the country, and in such towns as Carrion, founded in Atlixco Valley by royal permit of 1579.[89] Puebla had fast assumed the second rank as a city in Mexico, and justly so with its respectable population, its cathedral,[90] and its many convents, representing nearly all the orders in New Spain.[91]

TLASCALA.

[89] *Torquemada*, i. 319–22. In San Pablo Valley were a number of Spanish agriculturists; at Tlascala resided 50; Atlixco Valley yielded fully 100,000 fanegas of wheat. The estimates of English visitors in 1556 to 1572 give Puebla 600 to 1,000 households; Tlascala, 200,000 Indians, who paid 13,000 fanegas of corn yearly. Hawks makes its population in 1572, 16,000 households, which paid no tribute. Huexotzinco had been reduced to 8,000 families, through disease and oppression. Cholula is credited with 60,000 Indians—others say 1,000 houses—and Acatzinco with 50,000. Cochineal culture was proposed for Tepcaca in 1580. *Henriquez, Instruc.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 489; *Chilton, Hawks*, and *Tomson*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 453–63; *Eerste Scheeps-Togt*, in *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, xxii.; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 546; *Franciscanos, Rel.*, in *Prov. del S. Evang.*, MS., 183–200; *Vetancvrt, Chron.*, 27–9. Tlascala still enjoyed special protection, and by decree of 1552 no Spaniard could there form estates to the prejudice of the natives. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 14.

[90] The latter was begun in 1552, according to the plans of Juan Gomez de Mora. Owing to frequent interruptions it stood still unfinished at the close of the century. *García, Catcd. Puebla*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 175.

[91] One dedicated to the stigmata of Saint Francis, built upon a site chosen in 1530 by Father Toribio Motolinia, on the bank of the River Atoyac, and containing a novitiate and a school of philosophy with over 70 religiosos. It was the burial-place of the blessed Sebastian de Aparicio, and contained a venerated image like that of Remedios, within a silver eagle, originally presented by Cortés to the Tlascaltec chief Acxotecatl Cocomitzin. Santa Bárbara of the barefooted Franciscans, founded in 1591, had a school of philosophy, and 50 religious; amongst its novices once was Felipe de Jesus, patron saint of the city of Mexico. The Dominicans had three convents and houses; the

Bishop Julian Garcés, the first appointed prelate in New Spain, had died in 1542 at the advanced age of ninety,[92] deeply regretted for his unobtrusive earnestness and his unostentatious benevolence. His successor, Pablo Gil de Talavera, appointed in 1543, survived his arrival in 1545 only a few days,[93] and the see was bestowed on Martin Sarmiento of Hojacastro, lately comisario of the Franciscans in New Spain, who emulated Garcés in earnest zeal, and showed himself ever the self-denying friar. He died in 1558,[94] and was succeeded by Fernando de Villagomez,[95] who ruled till 1571, when the vacancy was filled by the promotion from Michoacan of Bishop Morales y Molina. He lived only until 1576, after which Diego Romano, canon of Granada and inquisitor, was appointed, with the additional task of taking the residencia of Viceroy Zúñiga and of the audiencia at Guadalajara.[96] The selection proved admirable, for Romano possessed high administrative ability, combined with energy and zeal, and showed himself a patron of education by founding several colleges.

principal, containing the school and novitiate, the college of San Luis, and the Recoleccion de San Pablo. The Austin friars possessed one convent devoted to serious studies; it was the novitiate, with more than 40 inmates. The Carmelite convent, founded in 1586, was to contain, as a relic, one half of the cloth with which the virgin Mary wiped off the tears of her son; well authenticated. It owned also a piece of the true cross. The Jesuits had a college, and it is barely possible that the friars of San Juan de Dios had a hospital. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Puebla*, 54–5; *Id., Chron.*, 132, 148; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 154. By cédula of February 24, 1561, the city received the title of 'muy noble y muy leal,' and in 1567, the right of electing three alcaldes, one for Atlixco. Among its colleges was San Luis, a Dominican institution founded in 1558.

[92] *Vetancvrt, Trat. Puebla*, 50; *Monum. Domin. Esp.*, MS., v. 50. Calle writes 1543, *Mem. y Not.*, 62, and Alcalá, *Descrip. Puebla*, MS., 51, has 1541. He was buried in the Dominican convent. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 80–4.

[93] He was a native of Navamorquende and professor of canonic law at Valladolid university. His friend Fuenleal, the former president of the audiencia at Mexico, secured his appointment. *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 244.

[94] August 30th. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Puebla*, 51. 'Duró todo su gobierno hasta 19 de Octubre de 1557,' says Lorenzana, *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 245, but Gonzalez Dávila favors 1558.

[95] Lorenzana, ubi sup., points out that Vetancurt errs in calling him Bernardo. He was appointed February 10, 1559, and characterized as 'perspica, instructos, perfulgens.'

[96] He was born in 1538, and after studying at his native place of Valladolid, he became a doctor at Salamanca university.

Blindness and other infirmities coming upon him, he received a coadjutor, and died shortly after, in April 1606.[97]

[97] *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 248. Vetancurt writes 1607. *Trat. Puebla*, 51; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 62; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 680–4; *Villagomez, Testam.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xi. 102–18. For additional authorities on the different bishoprics see *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i., passim; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 383 et seq., 680–4, 702–3; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., Nos. 1–4, passim; *Id., 1555–65*, 209 et seq.; *Franciscanos, Rel.*, in *Prov. S. Evang.*, 193 et seq.; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, passim; *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesus*, 202–10, 230; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 60–2, 113–16, 184; *Mich., Prov. S. Nic.*, 59–61; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xi. 102–18; xv. 449–57; *N. Esp., Breve Res.*, MS., ii. 273–4, 300–15; *Moreno, Fragmentos*, 37–8; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, iii. 323, 409, etc.; *Cartas de Indias*, 661, 827–8; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 269, 439; ii. 410–11; iv. 680–1; v. 214–15; vi. 479, 524–8, 665; ix. 415, 804–5; x. 823; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, i. 181, 230; viii. 175, 539–44; 2da ép., iv. 188, 639–42; *Touron, Hist. Gen.*, vii. 9–27, 237, 289; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 167; *Museo Mex.*, i. 447–51; *Vazquez, Chron. Gvat.*, 535–6; *Torquemada*, iii. 535–8; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 102–3, 498; *Castillo, Dicc. Hist.*, 16, 156–7; *Grijalua, Cron. S. August.*, 201–2; *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 360; *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 209; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. iii. 240; *Iglesia, Fund. y Descrip.*, 15–21; *Iglesias y Conventos*, 324–7; *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, v. 157; *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, 104–23; *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 170–1; *Mendoza, Noc. Cronol.*, 161–2; *Gonzalez, Col. N. Leon*, 372–3; *Jal., Mem. Hist.*, 181.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

1550–1600.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NEW SPAIN—DISTINGUISHED PATRONS OF THE ORDER AND THEIR SERVICES—IMPORTATION OF HOLY RELICS—SPREAD OF THE JESUITS THROUGH THE COUNTRY—BROTHERS OF CHARITY AND ST HYPPOLYTUS—PURPOSES OF THE ASSOCIATION—THE CARMELITES—THEIR LABORS AND ADVANCEMENT—BENEDICTINES AND THEIR PRIORY IN MEXICO—THE FRANCISCANS AND THEIR SEVERAL PROVINCES—THEIR WORK AND INFLUENCE—TROUBLES WITH THE VICEROYS—NOTED FRANCISCANS IN THE SEVERAL PROVINCES—ORDER OF BAREFOOTED FRANCISCANS—THEIR CUSTODIAL AND PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION—THE DOMINICANS AND THEIR SUCCESSES—THEIR DISTINGUISHED MEN—THE ORDER OF ST AUGUSTINE—STRICT RULES—THE MERCENARIOS, OR ORDER OF MERCY—THEIR SETTLEMENT IN MEXICO—RELIGIOUS BROTHERHOODS AND THE OBJECTS OF THEIR DEVOTION—NUNNERIES IN MEXICO, OAJACA. AND MICHOACAN, AND THEIR USES.

HAVING placed before the reader the condition of the Mexican church at the close of the sixteenth century, and having shown the relations between its two branches, the secular and the regular, and between the church as a whole and the crown, I now proceed to give the private history of each religious order during the same epoch. The missionary army of New Spain was greatly strengthened in 1572 by the accession of the society of Jesus. The Jesuits had already missions planted in Habana and Florida; but becoming convinced that no good results could be expected among the natives of Florida, so fickle, hostile, and cruel, the expediency was urged upon the general, Francisco de Borja,[1] of discontinuing the establishments

[1] The same that was canonized in 1671 by Clement X. and appears in the Roman calendar as Saint Francis Borgia on the 10th of October. *Moreri* and

in those countries.[2] The general regretted the sacrifice of life in Florida and begged the king, at whose solicitation those men had been sent thither, that no more of his brethren might be uselessly exposed to destruction. Philip promptly acquiesced, leaving the matter entirely in the hands of the general.

A wealthy gentleman of Mexico, named Alonso de Villaseca, had endeavored six years earlier to bring hither the Jesuits at his own expense. His effort was then unsuccessful. Bishop Quiroga of Michoacan had also in 1566–7 tried to have members of the order sent to him. Viceroy Enriquez, a relative of the Jesuit general, as before shown, and with whom he held intimate relations when the latter was a duke and subsequently vicar general of the Jesuit order in Spain, was strongly imbued with the idea that families of rank and means in Mexico and other cities, of whom there were already a considerable number, would gladly intrust the education of their children to the society. The project being warmly advocated by the city council, the viceroy and audiencia were requested to petition the king, as the council also did, to have some Jesuits sent out.[3] King Philip, gladly assenting, wrote the provincial in Spain, March 7, 1571, to despatch priests, as he had before done to Peru and Florida, to found the order in New Spain; tendering the fleet and necessary supplies for their transportation. The general in Rome accordingly granted leave to twelve members of the order, with Doctor Pedro Sanchez as their first provincial, to go to Mexico, with his blessing.

Father Sanchez and his companions reached Seville

Miravel y Casadevante, Gran. Dicc., v. 236; *Roman Calendar*, in *Golden Manual*, 26.

[2] Fathers Segura and Quirós and six others of the order had been recently massacred by the Indians in Florida. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 41–66.

[3] The other religious orders and the secular clergy labor earnestly, the council's letter says; adding that if all the priests in christendom were to come to Mexico, their number would be insufficient to attend to all the countries and people needing instruction. *Ciud. de Mex., Carta al Rey*, in *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 71.

too late for the fleet, which sailed the 10th of August, and were obliged to await the next opportunity. During their detention in Spain they were engaged at their ministry, and in making further arrangements to secure the success of their undertaking. An increase of their number was finally decided upon, making the company in all eight priests and seven lay-brothers.[4] Before embarking the provincial ordered Father Sedeño to Mexico with instructions to pay in his name visits to the viceroy and other personages, and notify them that the mission would be ready to embark on the first fleet, which it did early in June 1572, arriving at Vera Cruz September 9th, and being received by the viceroy and other government authorities, the religious orders, and the people in general with every mark of respect and kindness. After resting a while they started for the city of Mexico, journeying on foot, and with great apparent humility and poverty, though surrounded by a people anxious to extend them aid and comfort. They embarked at Ayotzinco, and to avoid public demonstrations entered the city of Mexico at 9 o'clock at night on the 25th of September, going to the hospital where Sedeño had prepared lodgings for them. The next morning every man in authority and an immense concourse of people tendered them a cordial welcome, and supplied them with every thing needful to their purposes. Most of them were presently prostrated by fever, contracted during their fatiguing journey; and so great was the supply of poultry and preserves sent them that little more was required for the entire hospital

[4] Doctor Pedro Sanchez, provincial; Diego Lopez, first rector of the college of Mexico; Pedro Diaz, first master of novices of the province; Hernando Suarez de la Concha, Francisco de Bazan, Pedro Lopez de la Parra, Diego Lopez de Mesa, Alonso Camargo. Brothers Juan Curiel, Pedro Mercado, Juan Sanchez, Bartolomé Larios, Martin de Motilla, Martin Gonzalez, and Lope Navarro. Fathers Antonio Sedeño and Juan Roger, and the brothers Juan de la Carrera, Francisco de Villa-Real, Pedro Ruiz de Salvatierra, temporary coadjutors, and the novice Juan de Salcedo, remaining members of the vice province of Florida, were also placed under Provincial Sanchez. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 78–9; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 34; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 132.

during their stay. Father Bazan[5] died the 28th of October.

Alonso de Villaseca, already alluded to, sent Father Sanchez one hundred pesos, which was the first alms received by him in coin, and tendered his society the gift of certain lots of land near his residence, on which were several adobe buildings covered with straw. After some hesitation the father accepted the offer, and on the same night with all his companions he quietly moved from the hospital into the lowly quarters. Here they erected a humble altar.[6]

They were soon visited by all classes. The regidor Luis Castilla presented them with a set of fine ornaments, a silver chalice, and cruses. Others followed his example, and before long the humble church was provided with every thing needed for its services, and presented a very neat appearance. Such were the beginnings in Mexico of the society of Jesus, which in after years played so conspicuous a part.[7] Their church in Mexico was contiguous to the ground subsequently occupied by the college of San Gregorio.

[5] He was of the illustrious house of the marqués de Santa Cruz, the commander of the Spanish fleet at the famous battle of Lepanto. In order to be accepted as a humble coadjutor, he had concealed his name and birth, calling himself Arana. At his death the provincial desired to have him buried as any other indigent dying in the hospital; but persons of rank and station and the people took the matter out of his hands, and buried Bazan near the high altar of the hospital church. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 108–11; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 97–9.

[6] Villaseca was born in Spain of noble ancestors. It is unknown when he came to America; but in 1540 he was already wealthy, and the husband of a rich heiress, named Doña Francisca Moron. He was noted for his liberality to the poor, the church, and religious bodies, much of which became public only after his death; a man of few words, every one of which could be relied on. His death occurred at the mines of Ixmiquilpan, Sept. 8, 1580. During his last illness, the chief priests and others of the Jesuit order, whose great patron he had been, were constantly in attendance. His confessor was Father Bernardino de Acosta. In his last days he sent the society in bullion 24,000 pesos, of which 18,000 were for their building, and 6,000 to be distributed among the poor. He left the Jesuit college 8,300 pesos, and for other benevolent purposes 22,100. His gifts to the Jesuits exceeded 140,000 pesos. The remains, interred first with great pomp and honors in the church of San Gregorio, were transferred to that of the Colegio Máximo. *Salazar, Méx. en 1554*, 251–3; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesvs*, i. 175–7.

[7] Viceroy Enriquez remarked on their first appearance, 'Muy bien se muestra, que son hijos de su Santo Padre, y Fundador Ignacio de Loyola.' *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 102.

In January 1573 Antonio Cortés, the cacique of Tlacopan, with three thousand natives built them at his own cost a church one hundred and fifty-seven feet square, with three aisles, and covered with shingles. It was dedicated under the advocacy of Saint Gregory. The Jesuits called it San Gregorio de Jacalteopam.[8]

Inasmuch as the other religious orders had charge of the Indians, and little was done for the education of the Spaniards, the provincial resolved to found colleges in the several cities and chief towns, and by educating the young and preaching against the avarice and other vices of the adult Spaniards, he hoped also to aid indirectly in the spiritual conquest and happiness of the native race. Whether it was accident or design, whether the Jesuits were really superior in their foresight and shrewdness, it was certainly a master-stroke of policy. The natives were fast fading, and the Spaniards increasing and becoming stronger. To have the education of the Spanish children was of far more consequence than to have charge of the Indians. But the king had sent them hither at his own charge specially to convert the natives, and was it right now to neglect them? Thus asked the Jesuits themselves, particularly those who came later. But Father Sanchez did not propose to neglect the natives, for in this very way he could throw the largest number of missionaries into the field in the shortest possible time, that is, by educating Spaniards to be missionaries. A field was already chosen, almost before coming to Mexico; that is, to start from Sinaloa through Sonora and New Mexico, and gradually extend the conversion toward Florida.[9]

In November 1573 the provincial established in the

[8] The Dominicans, fearing that the close proximity of the Jesuits would prove injurious to their order, obtained a cédula of May 26, 1573, to compel their removal to another site, on which Father Sanchez afterward founded a college. But the viceroy intervened, and the Dominicans desisted. *Ramirez, Not. Mex.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., No. 6, 333.

[9] In the mean time the fathers learned Indian languages, preached, and taught Christianity to children in Mexico and neighboring towns. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 151–4.

city of Mexico an ecclesiastic college under the name of San Pedro y San Pablo, for which the viceroy had granted a site, and a number of persons subscribed the necessary funds to meet expenses and to support the scholars, of whom there were eight in the beginning.[10] This institution soon became very flourishing, and was followed by the founding of others.[11]

The society had a *casa profesa*, or house of novices, in the city of Mexico, which was built with borrowed money. In 1585 the house was free from debt, and in 1592 the viceroy granted permission for founding the profesa. Juan Luis Rivero and his wife built the church. Four members of the order were assigned to the institute on the day of its foundation. Hardly had the Jesuits begun work on the building, when the three mendicant orders instituted opposition, on the ground that the work would be injurious to them. The case went to the audiencia, who ordered the suspension of the work. The matter was referred to the council of the Indies, whose decision was against the Jesuits, who appealed to Rome. The case was finally

[10] Villaseca purchased the houses adjoining the old ones, which he also conveyed in 1576, and upon them was begun the building of the Colegio Màximo, which in after years has been known as the San Gregorio; the ground being a square of 110 varas; the building of the college and the church was prosecuted simultaneously. *Ramirez, Not. Mex.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, 333–4. Villaseca, the founder, donated for the purpose '4,000 pesos de oro comun, en plata diesmada.' *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 113–14, also 75–8. A law of November 2, 1576, provided that no literary degrees should be given in that college. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 205. A later one, April 14, 1579, made studies pursued in the Jesuit college serve for graduating at the university. It was the king's wish that the colleges should be fostered. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 160–1. The first rector was Father Diego Lopez, a good preacher, and a man of learning as well as virtue. His death occurred April 9, 1576. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesus*, 279; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 34; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 10. The fathers' labors in that institute were, nevertheless, discontinued in 1580, because they had established seminaries. They were notified by the patrons of the San Pedro y San Pablo that they must either close their seminaries or give up the management of the college. To this demand Father Plaza, the then provincial, and his companions responded by surrendering its keys and retiring from the building, which was in 1582 returned to them. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 171–2. *Ramirez, Not. Mex.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 334.

[11] In 1580 the order opened a seminary in Tepotzotlan, with the approval and aid of Archbishop Moya of Mexico, in charge of fathers Hernan Gomez and Juan de Tovar, who knew the Otomí, Mexican, and Masagua laugnages. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 188–90.

decided in their favor in 1595.[12] To show his high appreciation of the society and its labors the pope donated for the Colegio Máximo of San Pedro y San Pablo a large number of sacred relics of saints, taken out of the closed graves, and which arrived in Mexico, a portion in 1576 and the rest in 1578. All were placed in the church in their college with unequalled pomp and religious ceremony.[13]

In 1576 there arrived an accession of priests and brothers of the society;[14] and the ranks were further recruited both from colonists and natives. Among those admitted were several churchmen, all persons of high position and recognized talents, one of whom was a descendant of the kings of Tezcuco.

A further increase of Jesuits came in 1579, several of whom played distinguished parts in the country.[15] Father Pedro Diaz, who had charge of this last company, also brought out the commission as visitador to Doctor Juan de la Plaza, who was instructed to relieve Doctor Pedro Sanchez, as he had petitioned for a life

[12] *Ramirez, Not. Mex.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 336.

[13] The relics were: 11 of apostles; 57 of martyrs; 14 of doctors of the church, and among these one bone of Saint Thomas Aquinus; 24 of holy confessors; 27 of other saints; and the rest of saints who were unknown in this world. Besides the above, the pope made a gift to the college of two bones, one of Saint Peter and one of Saint Paul; a good-sized piece of the holy lignum crucis; one thorn from the redeemer's crown; two relics of Saint Anne, mother of the virgin Mary; and one bone of the patron saint of Mexico, Saint Hippolytus. Some of these relics had been shipped in 1575, in a vessel wrecked on the coast of Vera Cruz, and after some delay were recovered from the sailors, who had appropriated them. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 328–49, 359; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 127, 137–45; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro, Eccles.*, i. 38–40.

[14] Fathers, Alonso Ruiz, superior, Pedro de Hortigosa, Antonio Rubio, Doctor Pedro de Morales, Alonso Guillen, Francisco Vaez, Diego de Herrera, and Juan de Mendoza. Brothers, Marcos García, Hernando de la Palma, Gregorio Montes, and Alonso Perez. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 114–15.

[15] Fathers Pedro Diaz, Antonio de Torres, Bernardino de Acosta, Martin Fernandez, Juan Diaz, Andrés de Carried, Francisco Ramirez, Juan Ferro, and Alonso Sanchez. The last named became rector of San Pedro y San Pablo; later, vice-president of the Philippines; from thence some years afterward he visited China, and went inland about 70 leagues. He was also in Macao, and exercised much influence over the Portuguese to reconcile them to the annexation of Portugal to Spain. He sailed for Japan, was wrecked on the coast of Formosa, and, finally, with great difficulty returned to the Philippines. His career ended in Alcalá some time after he made in Rome the profession of fourth vow. He was a very austere man. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 154–9.

of repose, employing him at such work as he liked, and availing himself of the old provincial's great experience.[16] Father Plaza arrived from Peru in December 1579, bringing Father Diego García and Brother Marcos.[17] The services of the Jesuits were successfully employed by the viceroy in carrying Christian instruction into certain towns. During the great epidemic that decimated the natives in 1575–8, they labored assiduously in caring for and administering the sacraments to the sick and dying. In 1590 arrived as visitador of the province Father Diego de Avellaneda, one of the most learned and virtuous men that had come to America.[18]

The Jesuits early began to extend their field of labor. They entered Oajaca in 1575 and made good progress there.[19] In Puebla they had advanced considerably by 1580 and established the college of San Gerónimo, which they were, however, on the point

[16] Sanchez had been, before he was assigned to Mexico, rector at Alcalá. At his death, which occurred July 16, 1600, he was 81 years of age, and had served 50 years in the order. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 18, doubtingly gives July 15, 1609, as the date of Sanchez' demise. The viceroy, inquisitors, clergy, and community at large manifested their high respect and love during his last illness, and at his death their deep sorrow. The cortege that accompanied his remains to their last resting-place in the college of San Pedro y San Pablo consisted of the highest dignitaries and officials in the country, both secular and ecclesiastic, and an immense concourse of mourners from all classes. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 377–80.

[17] Doctor Plaza was a learned man of exemplary virtue and much experience, possessing an intimate knowledge of the spirit of the society of Jesus. Brother Márcos had been a companion of Francis Borgia, his Fidus Achates till the general's death. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 406–7; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 161–5. The second provincial council of the order took place in Mexico November 2, 1585, Father Pedro de Hortigosa being chosen its proctor at the courts of Rome and Madrid. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 200.

[18] He had been rector of a newly founded college in Madrid. Philip II. sent him to Germany with his embassador; he there rendered important service to the church. While in Vienna the marriage of the Princess Isabel, the emperor's daughter, with Charles IX. of France took place. The emperor attached him to her suite as father-confessor, and he accompanied her to the frontier of France. Finding that the French princes and nobility were not pleased with the idea of a Spaniard holding such a position at their court, however great his merit might be, he begged permission to retire, and returned to Vienna, where he won the admiration of Emperor Maximilian by his piety and wisdom. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 226–7. Early in 1595 took place in Mexico the third council of the order. *Id.*, i. 251.

[19] The order opened a college in Antequera, and in a short time spread its members throughout the diocese. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesus*, 229–30; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 96–101, 122–4, 172–3.

of abandoning in 1582, owing to invidious remarks. It was said that while pretending to accept no compensation, they took it secretly. The institute would have been broken up but for Bishop Romano, who stifled such hostile manifestations. The college soon after became prosperous.[20] Missionaries were sent from it to the valley of Atlixco and to Orizaba.

In 1578 the society founded a house at Vera Cruz, where fathers Alonso Guillen and Juan Roger preached daily, Guillen to the Spaniards and Roger to the mulattoes and negroes. The next year they obtained permission and money to found a hospital on the spot where the city was finally established in later years. The first member of the order to visit the diocese of Michoacan was Brother Juan Curiel; he went there in 1573, was kindly received, and ordained as a priest by Bishop Morales. After the translation of Morales to Puebla, and the death of Bishop Chavez, the chapter at Patzcuaro asked the provincial to establish his order there on a permanent footing. The provincial went there in person, when the chapter tendered him the sum of eight hundred pesos yearly, the church which till then had been the cathedral, and a good site for a college, together with a large fruit orchard. These offers were accepted, and soon after the provincial's return to Mexico he took steps to effect the foundation at Patzcaro, with Father Juan Curiel as rector, Father Juan Sanchez as superior of the college, and two brothers. This was when Medina Rincon had become the diocesan. The subsequent removal of the see to Valladolid proved a detriment to the society, as it had to establish another residence there with chairs of grammar and Latin, under Father Juan Sanchez, supporting it out of the small means from Patzcuaro.[21] The diocese

[20] The patron, Melchor de Covarrubias, died in 1592; he had once presented the crown with 10,000 pesos for the Catholics of France. The king commended him to the viceroy. He gave, besides, 38,000 pesos to two convents. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 252–4.

[21] The bishop added 400 pesos more. The church at Patzcuaro was re-

was not to have long the benefit of Curiel's services. He died in or about March 1576, tenderly cared for by the bishop and all classes, who deplored his loss.[22]

The house at Valladolid for upwards of a year relied almost wholly on the assistance of the Franciscan and Austin friars, and on alms begged from door to door. However, this poverty was not of long duration. A rich Basque, named Juan de Arbolancha, whose advanced age and infirmities forbade a formal admission into the society, took up his abode at the college in Patzcuaro, and on dying bequeathed it most of his fortune.[23] Viceroy Enriquez aided the college at Valladolid with one thousand pesos yearly. This relief was augmented in 1579 by the gift from Rodrigo Vazquez of a grazing farm with three thousand head of small stock. From both Patzcuaro and Valladolid missions were despatched to other towns. When some of the fathers were in Zamora the vicar of Guanajuato begged them to visit his parish. One of them accompanied him there, not without risk from the hostile Chichimecs.

Bishop Mendiola of New Galicia paved the way for the Jesuit order to enter that region, which they had planned to be the great field of their missionary labors. He asked for some of its members, and fathers Hernan de la Concha and Juan Sanchez were sent him about 1574. Those fathers subsequently visited Zacatecas and did ministerial duty there, but the provincial, not deeming it as yet a suitable field, promised to establish a house in that place at a future

paired by the Indians, 500 taking part in the work. Don Pedro Caltzonzi, a grandson of the last king of Michoacan, some years later joined the society, and became a school-teacher. He succumbed in 1575 during the epidemic, while ministering to his sick countrymen. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 218, 20; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 110–11, 119–22, 127–8.

[22] He was a native of Aranda del Duero in Spain; his parents were humble and poor, and, to pursue his studies, he had to beg for alms wherewith to sustain himself. He was a great peace-maker. Having overexerted himself in caring for the Indians during the epidemic, his health failed him, and after much suffering he died. *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 282–91.

[23] His remains were interred among the Jesuits as a benefactor of the order. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 146–7, 173–4.

day,[24] and meanwhile to send them preachers every lent season. Pursuant to a royal authorization of 1579, and a request of the governor of Manila, the provincial founded his order in the Philippine Islands in 1585, with the following members: Hernan Suarez, superior; fathers Raimundo Prat, and Francisco Almerico; Gaspar Gomez, temporary coadjutor.

The affairs of the society at the end of the century were in the most flourishing condition. Its members were held in high esteem by all classes, and by no one more so than the viceroy, who not only placed his three sons in their charge, but often took their advice on matters concerning religion and government.[25]

We have noticed the twofold object of the Jesuits in coming to New Spain, education and conversion. Another order was meanwhile established devoted wholly to charity. The order was named La Caridad y San Hipólito. The patriarch and founder, Bernardino Álvarez, came to Mexico at the age of twenty years as a private soldier, served some time, and retired. He became a gambler and a leader in many wicked adventures, and finally had to make his escape to Peru, again as a common soldier. Having made a fortune in that country he returned to Mexico. His mother's advice caused him to reflect upon his past life and he experienced a change of heart. From that time he devoted all his energies to charitable purposes.[26]

[24] Told those who were eager for Jesuits, 'tubiesen paciencia, que lo que se dilataba no se negaba.' *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesvs*, 209.

[25] In 1594 Father Estévan Paez and 37 companions came to swell the number of laborers. Special mention is made of the great services to the Indians rendered by Father Pedro de Morales, the society's proctor at Rome and Madrid. According to Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 275–7, he manifested his interest in the manner that would most quickly enliven their religious zeal. He brought out a large quantity of medals, rosaries, and other objects of devotion which had been blessed by Pope Gregory VIII. The trinkets were distributed to the Indians during the missions yearly undertaken by the fathers of the college of Mexico.

[26] During ten years he served the poor in the hospital of Jesus Nazarene; procured the foundation and enlargement of the Jesus María convent, and afforded aid to the indigent prisoners in the jail. At this time the idea occurred to him of founding hospitals, and an order of charity for all persons in indigence. *Arce, Vida Alvarez*, 1–45.

In 1566 Archbishop Montúfar gave him permission to erect a hospital.[27] In it the congregation of Brothers and order of Charity had origin, its object being the succor and care of the indigent and the sick.[28] Subsequently, Father Álvarez founded other hospitals, to wit: in Oaxtepec, Jalapa, Perote, and Puebla, this last in or about 1593.

The number of brothers having gradually increased, and also the resources at his command, Álvarez enlarged his plans. The San Hipólito in Mexico being too small, he obtained from the archbishop and viceroy the site and chapel adjoining it, and with his own resources and the aid of friends erected a spacious and solid building to which the sick were transferred. After he had begun the work the capitalist Alonso de Villaseca, of whom I have spoken as the friend of the Jesuits, offered him one hundred thousand pesos, if he would permit to be placed on the building his coat of arms, and a motto expressive of the fact that he, Villaseca, was its patron. Álvarez declined, as he could not dedicate the place at once to God and to man.[29] One day he was without means to feed the poor, who were many. So he started with an image of the ecce homo, accompanied by two little boys through the arcades of the petty traders, crying, "In the name of God, give for the living stones of Jesus Christ." He soon returned, it is asserted, with seven hundred pesos in money, a number of blankets, and other articles.

[27] In the small square later called San Bernardo, facing the street of that name and that of Porta Cœli. In 1567 a license was reissued for the foundation of the hospital of San Hipólito, where it was actually erected. Viceroy Enriquez also cheerfully authorized it, and after his departure the hospital was aided by the audiencia. *Id.*, 48–9.

[28] Its members were called hermanos, and their superior and ruler had the title of hermano mayor, or chief brother. The vows taken were of chastity, poverty, obedience, and hospitality. The pope on the 20th of May 1700 instituted the brotherhood with the name of Congregacion de San Hipólito, and under the rule of Saint Augustine. *Id.*, 453–5.

[29] His characteristic answer was: 'Que Dios, que era el Patron de aquella obra, daria con qué sustentar sus piedras vivas, que no avia de tener esta obra Patron, sino à un solo Dios.' The sole patron was God's image with the motto 'Dominus providevit.' *Id.*, 80–3, 91.

Father Álvarez not only gave to the hospital all he possessed, but declared it the heir of his share of the estate left by his parents, with the only condition that his brother and two sisters in Spain should enjoy its income during their lives.[30]

The order of Carmelites, represented by eleven of its members with their prelate, arrived in the city of Mexico on the 17th of October 1585,[31] and were given by the viceroy, January 18, 1586, the charge of the hermita de San Sebastian, which till then the Franciscans had held. On the 25th in a solemn procession and with the attendance of the archbishop the host was conveyed thence from the Franciscan convent. This was the first foundation of the order that became in later times so highly honored by the people of Mexico. Without loss of time the new-comers devoted themselves to their duties of instructing, consoling, and improving the natives.

Their province was constituted in 1588 under the

[30] In so doing he formally renounced all legal clauses favoring him, declaring that his poverty was of his own seeking: 'Yo tengo votada la dicha pobreza, que me he donado al dicho Hospital. Y assi no tengo necessidad de propriedad, ni usufructu de bienes.' This great philanthropist died in Mexico, August 12, 1584, aged 70. *Id.*, 75–6, 179. *Arce, Juan Dias de, Libro de vida del proximo evangelico, el Vener. Padre Bernardino Alvarez*, Mex. 1762, 12mo, 464 pp., 4 leaves and 2 cuts, gives a full account of the life and works of the venerable Father Bernardino Álvarez, founder of the order of charity and hospitalers in Mexico, under the advocacy of Saint Hyppolytus, and of the progress made by the order, as well as of the objects of its institution. The author held the highest offices in the archdiocese of Mexico, and earlier in that of the Isla Española. Like all works of the kind written in the early days by ecclesiastics it is exceedingly prolix, but at the same time exhaustive of its subject. See also *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 295, 337; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 39–40; *Diario Mex.*, vi. 422–3.

[31] *Granados, Tardes*, 340, says 1586. The founders of the order in Mexico were: Priests, Juan de la Madre de Dios, the prior; Pedro de los Apóstoles, Pedro de San Hilarion, Ignacio de Jesus, and Francisco de Bautista; choristers, José de Jesús María, Juan de Jesús María, and Hilarion de Jesús; lay-brothers, Arsenio de San Ildefonso, Gabriel de la Madre de Dios, and Anastasio de la Madre de Dios. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 36; *Medina, Chrón. San Diego*, 10; *Navarrete, Rel. Pereg.*, iii. 62; Ponce, *Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 141, says they were distributed between Mexico and Puebla. *Turon, Hist. Gen.*, vi. 199–200. Philip II. in his cédula of June 9, 1585, directed the viceroy to permit this order to preach in the Philippines, New Mexico, or anywhere else that its superiors desired, and to aid its members in every possible way, so that they could make their labors useful. *Ramirez, Not. Mex.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 338.

name of San Alberto, and the first provincial was Father Elisco de los Mártires, who arrived in Mexico in 1594, Father Pedro de los Apóstoles governing in his absence as vicario provincial. For divers reasons the Carmelites gave up the administration of the parish of San Sebastian in 1598, and occupied the convent, which they held from that time. The sons of Saint Therese were blamed for that abandonment, but a few years afterward the wisdom of the step was recognized when the ordinances demanded and obtained the full control of the parishes. A convent of barefooted Carmelites was founded October 1593 at Valladolid, Michoacan, and another August 20, 1597, at Celaya, Guanajuato, whose first prior was the venerable Father Pedro de San Hilarion. In the course of its existence in Mexico the Carmelite organization became very wealthy.[32]

The Benedictines, or friars of Saint Benedict, came to Mexico in 1589, and the next year founded the monastery and priory of Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, in the southern part of the city of Mexico.[33] The founder and first prior was Friar Luis de Boil, a man of stern piety, the greatest of iconoclasts, and of whom it is said that he destroyed one hundred and sixty thousand idols.

Of all the religious orders that labored in New Spain, the Franciscans, as we have seen, were the first authorized to engage in missionary work by the crown. Their first province, in the city of Mexico, founded in 1524 under the name of Santo Evangelio, became the mother of all Franciscan provinces in America. Gradually its area enlarged, until it was found necessary to make territorial subdivisions, which

[32] Zerecero, *Rev. Méx.*, 5, speaking of them asserts that at one time it owned estates in San Luis Potosí extending from the capital to Tampico, 120 leagues.

[33] In the same house where had been the 'Recogimiento de mugeres,' founded by Cipriano de Acevedo y Ovalle, the companion of Bernardino Álvarez. *Ramirez, Not. Mex.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 338; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 11.

constituted new provinces, and to which were given new names. Thus by the latter part of the sixteenth century New Spain consisted of three Franciscan provinces, namely, Mexico, or the original Santo Evangelio; Michoacan, or San Pedro y San Pablo; and Yucatan, or San José, the first embracing the whole archdiocese of Mexico and the diocese of Tlascala.

The Santo Evangelio used a seal that represented a Franciscan preaching from a pulpit, and Indians around it attentively listening.[34] The other two provinces, Michoacan and Yucatan, will be treated of in the proper place.

Owing to scarcity of priests from deaths and other causes, the vacancies left having been only partially filled[35] with new accessions from Spain, the Santo Evangelio, between 1564 and 1568, abandoned a number of its more distant houses, on the ground of necessity, and against the advice of the marqués del Valle.[36]

[34] In 1580 it had more than 80 convents and monasteries at an average distance of six or eight leagues apart. In 1584–5, for causes that will be explained, it had only 69, with a little less than 379 professed friars; of which houses 38 were in the archbishopric, 30 in the diocese of Tlascala, and one in Cuba, which with Florida belonged to the province. San Francisco of Zacatecas and San Salvador of Tampico were custodias under it. In 1595–6, with an increase of laborers, the number of convents had risen to 90, including 14 in Zacatecas and 10 in Tampico. The province also had charge of some houses in New Mexico, of three nunneries in Mexico city, and one in Puebla, and of the college for Indians in Tlatelulco. The province of Peru belonged to it till 1553, and that of Guatemala had been under it 20 years. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 545; *Torquemada*, iii. 303–4; *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 85–7; *Vetancvrt, Prov. S. Evang.*, 24–5; *Prov. S. Evang.*, MS., 1, 2. The following were the rulers that the Santo Evangelio had from its foundation to the end of the 16th century. At first it was a custodia, subject directly to the minister general of the 'minorites.' Custodios: Martin de Valencia, 1524–7; Luis de Fuensalida, 1527–30; Martin de Valencia, 1530–3; Jacobo de Testera, 1533–6. Provincials: García de Cisneros, 1536–7; Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, 1537–40; Marcos de Niza, 1540–3; Francisco de Soto, 1543–6; Alonso Rangel, 1546–8; Toribio Motolinia, 1548–51; Juan de Gaona, 1551–2; Juan de San Francisco, 1552–5; Francisco de Bustamante, 1555–7; Francisco de Toral, 1557–60; Luis Rodriguez, 1562–4; Diego de Olarte, 1564–7; Miguel Navarro, 1567–70; Alonso de Escalona, 1570–3; Antonio Roldan, 1573–6; Pedro Oroz, 1576–8; Domingo de Areizaga, 1578–81; Miguel Navarro, 1581–3; Pedro de San Sebastian, 1583–9; Domingo de Areizaga, 1589–92; Rodrigo de Santillan, 1592–5; Juan de Lazcano, 1598–1600; Buenaventura de Paredes, 1600. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 540–3; *Torquemada*, iii. 371–4.

[35] Of 24 friars sent out by the king with Father Miguel Navarro, the greater part were drowned, their ship having been stranded on Garden Keys. *Franciscanos, Abandono*, in *Prov. S. Evang.*, MS., No. 12, 169–77.

[36] He had told them to await the king's pleasure. From 80 to 100 friars were then much needed, as also a number of clergymen. The marquis, as

They again took charge of San Juan Iztaquimaxtitlan, however, as a mark of respect to the viceroy, and offered to do the same with any other he might desire.

From the poverty at all times displayed by the Franciscans grew the practice of giving them alms. With such gifts and the personal service of the natives were built, and provided with all necessaries, parish churches, convents, and numerous chapels. To give some idea of the contributions I may mention the church of Santiago, erected at the cost of 90,000 pesos.[37] The stone-cutters and masons as well as the common laborers, though receiving no pay, worked as heartily as for their full wages in money. A man, Juan Nieto, who had the contract for supplying the city of Mexico with beef, during thirty or thirty-five years, furnished the large convent, with its eighty or a hundred friars, all the meat required, free of charge. Nieto afterward met with disaster, lost his fortune, and ended his days in the convent of San Francisco, receiving for his sustenance one of the many rations that in his prosperity he had contributed to others. The Franciscans for forty years refused to receive the royal allowance to the religious orders engaged in the conversion of the Indians. But as the time came when voluntary contributions diminished, they were obliged to solicit the king's aid.[38]

The following rules were observed by the order in the reception of new members. Each novice prior to profession had to make a solemn declaration setting forth the names of his parents and his age; and that

early as Oct. 1563, had called the king's attention to this fact, particularly commending the Franciscans, whom the natives preferred to all other priests. He thought, moreover, that the order having neither property nor income, could be more easily controlled, and kept obedient to the royal behests. *Cortés, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cardenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 457–8.

[37] The memoranda of the old convent of San Francisco in Mexico showed entries of contributions of 7,000, 6,000, and 4,000 pesos, and an almost unlimited number of smaller sums, 'de mil, de quinientos, y de mas, y menos ceros, que estos.' *Torquemada*, iii. 218.

[38] In January 1587 the viceroy was directed to continue to them the stipend of 100 pesos and 50 fanegas of maize every year per man, as had been theretofore done with the three mendicant orders, without causing them useless delays. The order was issued at their own request. *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 124. *Torquemada*, iii. 263–4.

in professing he acted of his own free will. That declaration he subscribed in the presence of the father-guardian, the master of novices, and two other priests as witnesses. Newly professed friars were formally notified in the presence of the members of the convent assembled in chapter, that if at any time it should be discovered that they were descendants, within the fourth degree of lineage, of Moors, Jews, converts, or heretics sentenced to be burned alive or in effigy, their profession would become null, and they would be ignominiously expelled from the order. The friars thus warned were then required to sign their names to the declaration together with the guardian, master of novices, and others.[39]

In 1585 it was ordered that friars assigned to a province in the Indies could not be detached therefrom and sent to another by the ordinary prelates dwelling in any part of the Indies. Friars were to go direct to the places of their appointment. The comisarios who had procured such friars in Europe for the Indies could not bestow on them the degrees of preacher or confessor, nor give them a license to be ordained. Any religious who had gone to Spain from the Indies could not return unless his visit to Spain had been by the prelate's orders on special business.[40] And in a cédula of October 20, 1580, the king forbade the departure of any priest for Spain, without first obtaining a royal license; and demanded information as to the number of religiosos actually needed, so that he might provide them.[41]

[39] The *Libro de Recepciones* of the convent of San Francisco of Mexico, which in the original is in my library, is full of such declarations.

[40] *Estatvtos Generales de Barcelona, para la Familia Cismontana, de la Orden de nuestro Seraphico Padre S. Francisco.* Mexico, 1585, sm. fol., 125 fol. and 15 l., unpaged. This is a rare work, which contains the general rules of the Franciscan order, decreed by Father Francisco Gonzaga, minister general of the order; later reformed and recompiled by a number of priests who had been deputed therefor, and accepted and approved at the intermediate general chapter of the cismontane family, held at Toledo in the convent of San Juan de los Reyes of the province of Castile, in 1583, and confirmed by the general. The book contains nine chapters of rules, and much other information for the use of the Franciscan order.

[41] The cédula was addressed to all orders, including the Jesuits. *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 40.

The Franciscans having scattered themselves in several fields throughout America, the prelates general decided to commission a representative under the title of comisario general who should transact, within his jurisdiction, the important affairs of the order with the same powers as if the minister general were personally present. The jurisdiction of the comisario general of New Spain extended over the whole of Mexico, Yucatan inclusive, and Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Cuba.[42]

As the head of so large a section of a great order he possessed a power before which even the king's vicegerent was compelled to bow. This was instanced by an occurrence in 1578, exhibiting the haughtiness and presumption of one of these dignitaries, Friar Francisco de Rivera, which, but for the forbearance of Enriquez, might have been followed by a serious riot. Rivera one day visited the viceroy's palace, asking for an audience to treat on affairs of his order. The viceroy being engaged could not at once grant him the interview. The friar resented the delay as an affront to himself and his office and spoke of it from the pulpit.[43]

The viceroy consulted the audiencia on what he deemed an insult, and an order was issued to Rivera to depart forthwith for Spain. Knowing that he must go, the friar would have yet one more fling at the viceroy. Summoning all the members of his order, he marched at their head out of Mexico for Vera Cruz, carrying a cross and chanting the psalm "In

[42] The comisarios generales of the order that visited Mexico were: Alonso de Rozas, 1531–3, who died and was buried in Mexico; Juan de Granada, 1533–5; Francisco de Osuna, 1535–41; Jacobo de Testera, 1541–3; Martin de Hojacastro, 1543–7; Francisco de Bustamante, 1547–50; Francisco de Mena, 1550–9; none chosen till 1561; Francisco de Bustamante, 1561–3; Juan de San Miguel, 1563; Diego de Olarte, 1568—he died; Francisco de Rivera, 1569; Miguel Navarro, 1573; Rodrigo de Sequera, 1576; Pedro de Oroz, 1582; Alonso Ponce, 1584; Bernardino de San Cebrian, 1589; Pedro de Pila, 1595; Diego Muñoz, and Diego Caro, who died in a short while. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 543–5; *Torquemada*, iii. 374–6, 460–1.

[43] 'En Palacio todo se iguala, y no ai diferencia de lo Secular á lo Eclesiastico.' Father Torquemada, i. 647–8, in describing this incident naturally makes out a case for his Franciscan brother, whom he considers justly offended. Rivera, after his recall, retired to his province, San Miguel, and never again held office.

exitu Israel de Aegipto." The people, who were devoted to the Franciscans, became greatly excited, and there was fear of trouble. The viceroy felt angry of course, and was disposed to punish Rivera, but was persuaded from it by his friends, who brought the commissary back to the city, and restored the appearance of harmony for a time. But the viceroy wrote the king upon the matter, whereupon the indiscreet friar was at once recalled to Spain. At a later date the tables were turned.

In 1584 Friar Alonso Ponce came to Mexico holding that office. He presented his credentials to the archbishop-viceroy, and entered upon the discharge of his duties. But his mission was destined to hinderance and his person to insult at the hands of the provincial and definidores of the Santo Evangelio and others, who refused to recognize him as their superior. The viceroy and audiencia also treated Ponce with great indignity, disregarding every consideration due his person, office, age, and ill-health, and compelled him to leave Mexico before he had fulfilled his mission. Upon his return from Central America, on his way to Michoacan, he was again subjected to insults, and hindered in performing his duties. It would be an almost endless task to enter into the particulars of this scandalous affair. Suffice it to say that in the end the provincial of the Santo Evangelio was deprived of his office by the superior of the order in Spain, and all the acts of himself and the definidores, subsequent to their insubordination, were rejected by the next general chapter.[44]

[44] They had sent two deputies to the chapter, who went from Vera Cruz in the same ship that conveyed Father Pedro de Zárate, the deputy of the comisario general. The former quarrelled with the latter in Habana, and continued their voyage upon another vessel. They were captured by French corsairs, carried to La Rochelle, maltreated, and lost 12,000 pesos and many valuable things in their charge. When allowed to go to Spain, they found there Zárate, who had arrived in safety; and upon presenting themselves to take their seats in the chapter they were not admitted, whereas Zárate was recognized and took part in the proceedings. *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 24, 182–5. On the 28th or 29th of December 1587, owing to violent acts of the civil authorities and others in Puebla toward the comi-

The new comisario, who arrived in 1586, despatched to Spain six of the chief instigators of the disturbances, while Ponce, though justified by his superiors, was ignominiously sent to Spain by the viceroy in 1588; the provision made for him and his secretary being scanty and of inferior quality.[45]

The second Franciscan province in the order of precedence was that of Michoacan. Until 1565 it formed together with Jalisco a custodia that had been erected in 1535 by Father Martin de la Coruña, or de Jesus,[46] and it progressed so much in the foundation of new convents that the general chapter held at Valladolid, Spain, raised it to the rank of a separate province, with the name of San Pedro y San Pablo.[47] About 1570 it had, within sixty leagues, twenty-seven or twenty-eight convents with fifty friars.[48] In 1586 the province extended over one hundred and twenty leagues from east to west, with a comparatively small expanse from north to south. It was then in two distinct portions, namely, Michoacan with twenty-three convents and seventy-eight friars, and New Galicia with twenty-five convents. About this time New Galicia gave up three convents, retaining twenty-two, with fifty-seven friars. It being impossible for one provincial to visit and rule so vast a territory, a comisario provincial was created, and when the provincial was in Jalisco the comisario ruled in Michoacan,

sario general, against which the provisor in the name of the absent bishop had solemnly protested, with excommunication, the provisor caused the lighted candles to be extinguished, the doors of the alcalde mayor, of a delegate of the viceroy, and of the other excommunicated persons, to be stoned; and as he was proceeding, an order came from the viceroy, under penalty of forfeiture of temporalities and of banishment, to raise the interdict for 30 days, absolve the excommunicated, and go to Mexico with the papers in the case to see if his acts were just. The provisor obeyed. *Ponce, Rel.* in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lviii. 310.

[45] The whole account may be found in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii.–lviii., in hundreds of pages.

[46] He died in 1558. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 475–8.

[47] Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, v. 599, has it in 1566; it is possible this was the year when the chapter's decree had effect.

[48] Most of them were very old, but they did their best, and indeed accomplished more than many young priests elsewhere. *Mex. Rel.*, in *Prov. S. Evang.*, MS., No. 1, 1, 2.

and *vice versa*.[49] The fathers were successful in making converts among the natives, aided in their efforts by a bull of Pope Paulus IV.; but after a time new idolatrous rites sprang up under the garb of Christianity, and in the Ávalos province among the Teules incendiaries sought in 1558–59 to thwart their work by destroying the church of Chapulac, the hospital at Zapotlan, and the convent at Jala. Supernatural manifestations were not wanting to lend interest to the religious history of this province. Comisario general Ponce reports sorcerers in Zapotlan, and tells of the flames coming up in a hole dug by an Indian; they were extinguished by the alcalde mayor, by pouring in holy water.[50]

The custodia of Zacatecas was created in 1566 with five convents, namely, Nombre de Dios, San Juan Bautista in Durango, San Pedro y San Pablo in Topia, one in the San Bartolomé Valley, and San Buenaventura of Peñol Blanco, later San Juan del Rio. Its first custodio was Father Pedro de Espinareda, famous for his work in Durango and beyond.[51] This district had been controlled by the province of Michoacan, but, Santo Evangelio friars prevailing in number, it was transferred to their province, the convent owned at Zacatecas by the Michoacan friars being exchanged for one at Querétaro.[52] Such was the beginning of the afterward famous province of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas.[53] Zacatecas thus became the head, which till then had been Nombre de Dios. The Franciscan order lost many of its most pious and energetic members during the second half of the century, sacrificed by the savages

[49] This custom, however, had been discontinued lately. It was clear that the province should be divided into two, each under its own prelate. *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 517–19.

[50] *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lviii. 101.

[51] About 1596 it had 14 monasteries. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 545.

[52] The exchange was not actually completed till 1578. *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 40–3.

[53] In 1736 it already had 54 convents. *Arlegui, Id.*, 51–130; *Iglesias y Conventos*, 312–16; *Mex. Rel.*, in *Prov. S. Evang.*, MS., No. 1, 1; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 567.

among whom they were engaged. Others were subjected to blows, floggings, wounds, incarceration, and general ill-treatment.[54]

The province of Yucatan was founded as a custodia in 1533, but owing to an Indian revolt it was left vacant for eleven years, until 1544, when it was reoccupied by Father Lorenzo de Bienvenida.[55] From 1534 to 1593 thirteen bands of Franciscans arrived, the total number of friars being one hundred and fifty-six.[56] The first custodial chapter held September 29, 1549, presided over by Comisario La Puerta, elected Father Luis de Villalpando first custodio.[57] Yucatan and Guatemala by authorization of the general chapter at Aquila, were joined in one province and seceded from that of the Santo Evangelio of Mexico in 1559, the provincial to be alternately taken from the two sections. The first provincial chapter, held September 13, 1561, chose Father Diego de Landa first provincial.[58] Father Bienvenida attended the general chapter

[54] The following appear as murdered: Bernard Cossin, a Frenchman, for whom the honor of protho-martyr was claimed, but denied in favor of brother Juan Calero, said to have been the first 'cristiano viejo' sacrificed in New Galicia in or about 1541; Antonio de Cuéllar, Juan de Padilla, Juan de Tapia, Juan Serrato, Francisco López, Juan de Santa María, Agustin Rodriguez, Pedro de Búrgos, Francisco Doncel, Francisco Lorenzo or Laurencio, Pablo de Acevedo, Juan de Herrera, Alonso de Villalobos, Andrés de la Puebla, Juan del Rio, Francisco Gil, and Andrés de Ayala. Of the last-named the Indians who killed him said, 'no habian podido cocer la cabeza.' The murders of Ayala and Gil and Indians in their service was avenged by a force from Guadalajara, and about 900 of the revolted Indians were captured and carried to that city, a number being put to death and quartered. The rest were made slaves, some for life, and others for a term of years. Mention is also made of eight or ten other Franciscans who fell victims to savage fury; their names are not given. *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 735–68; *Torquemada*, iii. 606–34; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 15; *Fernandez, Hist. Ecles.*, 158–9; *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lviii. 52–3.

[55] *Vetancvrt, Chrón. S. Evang.*, 24.

[56] The first party was that of Father Jacobo de la Testera; the largest, of 30 or 34, came under Diego de Landa; there were several of 18, 16, 12, and 10. Among those friars are worthy of mention, besides Bienvenida and Landa, Gerónimo de Leon, Luis de Villalpando, Juan Coronel, and Pedro Cardete, *Cogolludo, Hist Yuc.*, 336–58, 388–9, 414–15, 515–31, 552–8, 591–2, 734–5, 758–9; *Vazquez, Chrón. Gvat.*, 536–8.

[57] The custodia was erected with only two convents. *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 382. The succeeding custodios were: Lorenzo de Bienvenida, 1553; Francisco Navarro, 1556; Diego de Landa, 1559; Francisco de la Torre, 1560. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 268–9, 288–90, 306–8.

[58] The second was Francisco de la Torre, chosen 1563, vice Landa resigned; see remarks on relations between Bishop Toral and Landa. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*,

at Valladolid in 1565, and obtained the separation of Yucatan from Guatemala, to form a separate province named San José. On the 13th of April 1567, the first chapter of the new province was held at Mérida, and Francisco de la Torre was made first provincial.[59]

The Franciscans held the whole field in Yucatan, apparently disliking the introduction of other orders. It is said that in 1553 there was a great famine in the region of Itzamal, and the people would have greatly suffered but for the help of Father Landa, the guardian of the convent, who during six months supplied maize not only to the local population, but also to strangers who came to him for relief.[60]

There were many Franciscans in Mexico besides those named, who, for their pious life, learning, and valuable services in the cause of conversion, deserve a special mention. Among them are the following: Bernardino de Sahagun, the distinguished writer who came to Mexico in 1529, and died in 1590; Francisco de Zamora, a man of high birth and office at court, who gave up all and became a humble friar; Alonso de Huete; Juan Fucher, or Focher, a French lawyer, who joined the order and became a legal light in Mexico; Juan de Mesa, Hernando Pobre, Juan de Romanones, Alonso Urbano, Miguel de Torrejoncillo, Alonso de Topas, Juan de Béjar, Francisco de Villal-

308, 524; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 382–5; *Vetancvrt, Chrón. Prov. S. Evang.*, 24; *Vazquez, Chrón. Gvat.*, 144–8, 179–80.

[59] His sucecssors were: Juan de Armallones, chosen 1570; Tomé de Arenas, 1573; Pedro de Noriega, 1576; Hernando Sopuerta, a native of Mérida, and son of one of the conquerors; 1579, Tomé de Arenas, reëlected 1582; Pedro Cardete, 1585; Alonso de Rio-frio, 1588; Hernando de Sopuerta, reëlected 1591; Gerónimo de Leon, 1594, who died the same year, and Sopuerta completed his term; Alonso de Rio-frio, reëlected 1597; and Francisco Arias Bustamante, 1600. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 307–8, 325–6, 336, 386–8, 393–4, 411–15, 423. *Vazquez, Chrón. Gvat.*, 274; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 383, 545–8; *Torquemada*, iii. 337; *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 24–5, lviii. 382, 394, 479; *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 166–9.

[60] It is reported by Cogolludo, *Hist. Yuc.*, 291, that no diminution was apparent in the convent's granary at the end of the famine. The same writer tells of the virgin of Itzamal, how the image was brought from Guatemala and placed in the convent at that place, where the Indians venerated it. The Spaniards wanted it in Mérida, but their efforts to carry it away proved in vain, the virgin herself resisting. 'No bastaron fuerças humanas para mouerla del pueblo.' Numberless miracles are attributed to this image.

bal, Francisco de Marquina, Francisco de Leon, and Melchor de Benavente. All the above figured in the province of the Santo Evangelio.[61] Another very remarkable man was the lay brother of minorites Friar Sebastian de Aparicio, a native of Gudiña, in the province of Galicia, Spain, of humble birth. On coming to New Spain, he was for several years engaged in lowly pursuits, but always noted for the purity of his life. He was twice married, and yet it is alleged that he maintained continence. At the early death of his second wife he surrendered all worldly goods and joined the Franciscans as a *donado*, becoming afterward a brother. He served in the convent of Puebla as its solicitor for alms until his death, which occurred at the age of ninety-eight, on the 25th of February 1600. Many miracles are ascribed to him; he was beatified and canonized,[62] since which time he has been recorded in the Roman calendar as the *beato*.

Among the distinguished Franciscans of Michoacan were Pedro de Oroz, a great theologian and linguist, who died about 1597; Miguel de Gomalez, theologian and linguist, who is said to have mastered the Tarascan language in 80 days; Gerónimo de la Cruz; Joseph de Angulo, one of the conquerors of New Spain, and late captain and treasurer of New Galicia; Juan de San Miguel; and Maturin Gilberti, a Frenchman.[63]

Some members of the Santo Evangelio, in or a little prior to 1544, under the impression that the old vow of poverty and strict discipline were already declining, resolved to found another province for attaining greater observance of the rule. Father Alonso de

[61] *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 639–67, 677–715; *Torquemada*, 466–556; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 68.

[62] His gift of miracles was made to appear at the Roman curia, and Pope Clement XIII., on the 2d of May 1768, decreed him duly beatified and canonized, which caused great joy not only in Galicia but in all Mexico, and particularly in Puebla. *Rodriguez, Vida de Aparicio*, 1–234, with portrait. The city of Puebla formally made him its patron saint. *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 17–24; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 580–4.

[63] *Torquemada*, iii. 556–61.

Escalona for himself and others applied to the ministro general for the requisite permission, which was granted;[64] the new province being named after the father general, Andrés de la Ínsula, Provincia Insulana, with Escalona for first provincial. They journeyed into the interior, but could find no suitable spot on which to plant themselves. Everywhere they encountered obstacles until they saw the uselessness of further effort, when by common consent they returned and were kindly received into the old fold. At this time, 1554, the order had occasion to send religious to Guatemala, and Escalona started barefooted as the prelate of nine others for that field, where they labored several years ineffectually, and then returned to Mexico.

Another order of Franciscans entered the field of Mexico in 1580 or 1581, consisting of fifteen barefooted friars under Father Pedro del Monte, belonging to the province of Saint Joseph in Spain.[65] They were given habitation in the hospital of San Cosme and San Damian.[66] This was the foundation of the province of San Diego de Alcalá. Through Father Monte's exertions[67] the erection of a convent was effected on the plaza de San Hipólito with the ordinary's permission and the assistance of friends.[68] The construction was begun in 1591, and occupied several years; indeed it was not finished till 1621. When the barefooted Franciscans had several convents, though not com-

[64] Eight priests, among them Juan de Ribas, one of the original 12 pioneers, and four lay brothers united in the effort. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 623, 668–9; *Torquemada*, iii. 491–2.

[65] In 1576 or 1578 a party of 21 under Pedro de Alfaro, came to Mexico. Soon after most of them, if not all, went to the Philippines. *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 8; *Ramirez, Not. Mex.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 341.

[66] It was asserted that they also were bound for the Philippines, but did not go. *Ramirez, Not. Mex.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, 324, 321.

[67] Father Monte was highly esteemed by Archbishop Moya and Viceroy Conde de la Coruña, and often consulted on government affairs, being also entrusted by the former with a delicate commission to Spain and Rome. He was the first visitador of his order in the Philippines, whence he did not come back to Mexico, owing to age and infirmities. *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 15, 23.

[68] Mateo Mauleon and his wife supplied the funds and obtained the honor and right of patronage. *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 27; *Ramirez, Not. Mex.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 341.

pleted, in New Spain, they were constituted into a custodia, subject to the province of San Gregorio of Manila, which was confirmed by Philip II. Father Pedro Ortiz was made custodio, and departed from Spain at the head of fifty religious destined for the Philippines. He was at once recognized in Mexico, August 19, 1593.[69]

In 1599 the custodia of San Diego had seven convents, one of them in Oajaca, and made application for a separate government as a province detached from that of Manila. As there was no opposition, the pope issued his brief September 16th constituting the new provinces with its custodio, father Gabriel Baptista, as provincial. This was sanctioned by the crown on the 24th of December following.[70]

The Dominican order at the end of the 16th century had in New Spain two provinces, namely: Santiago de Mexico with forty-eight monasteries, and San Hipólito de Oajaca with twenty-one. From the acts passed by the several chapters of the order prior to 1589, we may infer that members were strictly held to the rules of poverty and mendicancy. They were to be not only virtuous and chaste, but were to avoid temptation. They were not to expose themselves to false charges; and every member was forbidden to ask from any person of whatever race anything, for himself, any one else, or his convent, save what the rule prescribed. No one was to go to Spain without written permission from the provincial. It was enjoined

[69] Ortiz went as a missionary to the Philippines, and later to Cambodge, where he perished at the hands of the Laos. *Medina, Chrón. San Diego*, 36.

[70] This erection of the province was confirmed in the general chapter of the order in Toledo, 1606, together with that of San Francisco of Zacatecas. *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 40. During the period named the following friars of the order also distinguished themselves: Francisco Torantos, Antonio de Santa María, Cristóbal de la Cruz, Cristóbal de Ibarra, Miguel de Talavera. The last named was a doctor of theology of the university of Alcalá, a man of extraordinary eloquence, who had been the guardian of his convent in Madrid. About 1585 he brought out a party of missionaries, who, after tarrying for a time in Mexico, were most of them sent to the Philippines under Peter Baptist as commissary. Talavera retained a few to help form the custodia. *Medina*, 15, 23–6. *Granados, Tardes*, 339.

that no member of the order should be present at the election of officials in Indian towns, or in any way interfere with those officials in the discharge of their duties, or assume a right to inflict corporal punishment on or demand pecuniary penalties from Indians. Marriage cases of an objectionable or doubtful nature were to be referred to the diocesan. The religious were to win the natives by kindness, "con amorosas y graciosas palabras," not preaching words to amuse, but sound doctrine to fructify their souls. The Indians were not to be charged for the administration of the sacraments, ringing of bells, or other service, but their gifts might be accepted. The penalties for violations of the rules passed by the chapter were quite severe.[71] If they grew careless there was an eye upon them; the king had to remind the Dominicans, and with them the Austin friars, on the 18th of July 1562, that they were mendicants.[72]

The Dominican community founded in Mexico in 1526 was ruled from this time to 1535 by a vicario general;[73] from 1535 to 1568, by a provincial whose term was of three years; from and after 1568, of four years.[74] The first to hold the office was Domingo de Betanzos,[75]

[71] *Actas Prov.*, MS., 1–178. The *Actas Provinciales de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico del Orden de Predicadores*, a manuscript of my collection, are the original minutes from 1549 to 1589 of the chapters held by the Dominican province of Mexico, furnishing lists of its members at different periods, where they were stationed, and other information touching that order.

[72] *Mex. Col. Leyes* (1861), Introd. xlvii. Nine members of the order were honored with the office of father confessor of the ruling viceroy. Of those who had passed some portion of their lives in Mexico, four became archbishops; fifteen obtained bishoprics; five were appointed bishops and declined to accept the office; two were governors of the archdiocese of Mexico; and several others were professors of the university. *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 310–11.

[73] 1. Thomas Ortiz, who afterward became bishop of Santa Marta; 2. Vicente de Santa María; 3. Domingo de Betanzos; 4. Francisco de San Miguel, who came from La Española; he later called himself provincial of Mexico under an election made of him in 1534. But his claim to the office is denied on the plea that the electoral rules had not been observed. *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 284–5.

[74] Pope Julius II. regarded the reasons for the change as good, and ordered the provincial's term to be quadriennial; and the intermediate chapters to be held every two years instead of every year as formerly. The general, Father Vicente Justiniano, by his patent of May 12, 1560, ordered it carried out, and 'el oficio de Prouincial dure quatro años.' *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 57.

[75] His successors were, in the order given: Pedro Delgado, 1538; Domingo

who later declined the bishopric of Guatemala. A prior's term never exceeded two years.

In 1550 an order had been issued to segregate from the province of Santiago in Mexico all convents and houses existing in Chiapas and Guatemala, and they went to form a part of the newly created province of San Vicente de Chiapas y Guatemala. This took effect from August 15, 1551.[76] As the chief convent belonging to the order was in a state of rapid decay, notwithstanding heavy expenditure by the friars, in 1552 the king ordered that it should be rebuilt at the expense of the crown.[77]

Among the Dominicans who distinguished themselves in Mexico, aside from provincials, are Juan Lopez Castellanos, Hernando de la Paz, Juan de Alcázar, noted for his great eloquence, in the Spanish, Mexican, and Zapotec languages; Diego Osorio, afterward visitador to Peru, who declined the bishopric of Carthagena, and to whom the university of Mexico paid doctor's honors at his funeral. Pedro de Pravia was a learned man who held the office of definidor in the order, as well as other positions of honor and trust. He declined the mitre of Panamá, and on the departure of Archbishop Moya for Spain was left as governor of the archdiocese, which office he filled till

de la Cruz, 1541, who declined the see of New Galicia; Pedro Delgado, 1544; he refused the see of Las Charcas; Domingo de Santa María, 1547; Andrés de Moguer, 1550; Bernardo de Alburquerque, 1553, later bishop of Oajaca; Domingo de Santa María, 1556; Pedro de la Peña, 1559, who became bishop of Quito; Cristóbal de la Cruz, 1562; Pedro de Feria, later bishop of Chiapas; Juan de Córdoba, 1568; Domingo de Aguinaga, 1572; Gabriel de San Joseph, 1576; Andrés de Ubilla, 1581, became bishop of Chiapas, and later chosen for Michoacan; Domingo de Aguinaga, 1585; Gabriel de San Joseph, 1589; Pedro Guerrero, 1593; Pascual de la Anunciacion, who after one year resigned; the office then went into the hands of the vicario general and visitador; and Juan de Bohorques, 1599, who afterward was bishop of Venezuela, and later of Oajaca. *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 284–5.

[76] The request came from the province in Mexico, whose rulers did not approve of a very extended area, preferring to provide a requisite number of ministers so that every place within its territory could be properly attended to. *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd.*, 110–11. August 8, 1551, the king ordered that each Dominican friar should be allowed yearly one and one half arrobas of wine for sacramental use. *Puga, Cedulario*, 182; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 532–5.

[77] *Real Cédula*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxvi. 205; *Puga, Cedulario*, 185; *Mex. Col. Leyes* (1861), i., Introd., xlvii.

his death, which occurred at the age of sixty-two. His government was strict. Besides these were Juan de Córdoba, an old soldier, and one of the humblest as well as most efficient members; Francisco de Aguilar, one of Cortés' prominent and trusted soldiers at the conquest of Mexico, a man of lofty thoughts and generous impulses, beloved by the natives, and who wore the habit forty-two years, proving himself as good a soldier of Christ as he had been of the king; Juan de la Magdalena, a son of Juan Alonso de Estrada, who was governor of Mexico in 1527, and who died in Ciudad Real of Chiapas in 1579; Tomás de San Juan, a good scholar, exemplary, religious, and an eloquent preacher; and Domingo de la Anunciacion, who never ate flesh, wore linen, or rode on horseback. Of the last named it is said that once when in great peril of being drowned, he was saved by a piece of the lignum crucis that he carried on his person. He died in Mexico in 1591, at the age of eighty, an object of love and veneration.[78]

The rich province of Oajaca was almost entirely intrusted to the Dominicans. They lost no time in taking possession of the most convenient places, where they erected convents, many of whose priests won for themselves and their order honorable distinction. Their progress seems to have been slow at first, and beset with much difficulty, the old idolatrous doctrines having such a powerful hold on the Indian heart.[79] Cociyopu, king of Tehuantepec, who had been dispossessed of his dominions, notwithstanding he had adopted Christianity and submitted in peace to the Spanish rule, feeling indignant at such treatment, and believing that a religion which permitted

[78] *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 106–8, 115; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 160–2, 307–8; *Dávila, Padilla, Hist. Fvnd.*, 343–91, 468–599; *Dicc. Univ.*, ii. 632; iv. 708; viii. 100–1, 144, 370–1, 528; ix. 143–5, 232.

[79] In many places idols were discovered by the priests buried under a cross, which was apparently well cared for and venerated, or under the very altars in the churches, and on which the heathenish sacrifices were sometimes offered. All such idols, in whatever form, were destroyed. *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd.*, 635–44; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oaj.*, ii. 387.

injustice and oppression must be false, abandoned it and returned to his old faith, and was discovered sacrificing as high-priest to the idols, with six of his people. Father Bernardino de Santa María, the vicar general, admonished him in private, reasoning tenderly, but, as he persisted, he and his accomplices were imprisoned in the Dominican convent. The people clamored for his liberty, and the civil authority, fearing possible trouble, asked the priest to persuade Cociyopu to speak to his people and calm them. The king replied that his vassals were his children, and were righteously grieved; nevertheless he asked them not to add to his sorrows by violent acts. "It is the will of heaven," he said. "I am well treated and happy, and you must not break the peace." Nevertheless, he refused to recognize the jurisdiction of Bishop Alburquerque's commissioners to try him, because as a subject of the Spanish crown his case should go to the viceroy and audiencia, before whom it had been already laid. He went to Mexico about the year 1563, summoned to appear before the high court of the audiencia, and on his journey, though apparently in custody, was greeted everywhere as befitted the king of Tehuantepec, the son of Cociyoeza, grandson of one Mexican emperor, and brother-in-law of another. His efforts availed him nothing, however, for after spending a year in the endeavor to obtain justice, he was stripped of everything.[80]

According to Bishop Zárate, affairs in this province were not in an enviable condition down to the year 1550. There were at the time very few priests and only two convents, of the Dominican order, one at Oajaca and the other at Miztecapan. On account of the unsettled affairs of Cortés the valley seemed to have been neglected, particularly by his sturdy enemy the

[80] Deprived of his property and rank by the sentence of the court, he set out on his return to Tehuantepec, and died of apoplexy at Nejápa, a town just without the boundaries of his lost kingdom, where he did not meet with the same distinguished reception as on the journey out. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 825–9. Brasseur calls him Cocyopy.

viceroy. The few wealthy settlers had died, and those remaining were in distress; their condition was such that in the absence of fortresses or other defences[81] they were in continuous fear of the Indians. The whole number of Spaniards in the city was scarcely thirty, and these were anxious to depart. Contrary to the opinion of Zárate,[82] Mendoza claimed that the site of Antequera was a good one, being where Montezuma had his garrison of Mexicans. When the Spaniards went to live there they took possession of the Indian dwellings. Cortés had a house upon a temple and Francisco Maldonado another.

Between 1551 and 1580 affairs assumed a new aspect, and much religious progress was made; and what was no less important to the apostolic laborers, a large extent of country was secured for the aggrandizement of the order which in 1555 already had a good supply of priests, and in Antequera a vicar general of the provincial for the government of the Zapotec, Miztec, and Mije regions. The convent of Tehuantepec was in 1551 attached to the province of Guatemala, as being nearer thereto, and one hundred and thirty leagues from that of Mexico; but three years later that arrangement was found inconvenient, and the convent was restored in 1555 to the latter.

In 1554 was founded an establishment in Guajolotitlan, and in 1555 one in Cuilapa and another in Ocotlan. These foundations were followed by others in Villa Alta de San Ildefonso, Xustlahuaca, Achiuhtla, Xaltepec, Tecomastlahuaca, Nochistlan, Tilan-

[81] In 1550 the settlers petitioned for a fortress; but the government declined. *Mendoza, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 514.

[82] Bishop Zárate affirms that the city of Antequera, or Oajaca, was founded on an unsuitable spot with the evil intent of injuring the marqués del Valle, and that the settlers had been the sufferers, for the Indians had increased in numbers and occupied the environs. Thus the Spaniards had no outlet for their live-stock, no pastures, nor lands to cultivate. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vii. 546–51. Father Santa María stated in 1548, that the Indians of Tepoxcolula, a town 16 leagues north-east of Antequera, desired to settle near the monastery, and the bishop would not allow it; a royal decree should be issued permitting it, as it would prove beneficial to the natives. *Carta*, in *Id.*, 207.

tongo, Cimatlan del Valle by Bishop Alburquerque, Chichicapa, Santa Catarina, Santa Ana, Teticpaque, Tlacuehahuaya, Juquila, and Chuapa.[83] All, as well as can be made out, were created within the period above named. In 1575 the order laid the corner-stone of another convent in Antequera,[84] which toward the end of the century found itself at the head of one hundred and twenty religious establishments in this diocese. The creation of a separate Dominican province of Oajaca had been contemplated prior to 1580; but for various reasons the division was not made until Father Antonio de la Serna obtained the final order from the general chapter held at Venice in 1592.[85]

The Chontales, a fierce people, were brought under subjection to the crown after hard fighting. They paid tribute, but never would countenance the sojourn of Europeans among them, nor dwell in permanent towns. The first Christian churches erected in their country were mere huts of boughs hidden among the ravines, and scarcely distinguishable from the trees and undergrowth. The people would place food for the missionaries on the ground at the entrance of the huts and say to the Indian attendant, "Tell them to eat and go away, for we have no need of their mass." Father Domingo Carranza went among them with his staff and a rosary, attended by his Zapotec servant. At first the Chontales fled from him, and he was reduced to live on wild fruits; but after a while some

[83] Santa Catarina, Santa Ana, Teticpaque, Villa Alta, and Chuapa were mere doctrinas. *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip., Oaj.*, ii. 225–32, 266–73, 280–5, 300–1, 307–11.

[84] A rock was chosen on which to build, because of earthquakes. The construction was begun with 15 pesos, and a cart with two mules; at first 1,000 pesos were spent on it yearly; then 2,000, and finally 6,000. All the Dominican houses in Oajaca aided. *Remesal, Hist. Chyaya*, 713; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip., Oaj.*, ii. 340.

[85] Father Francisco Jimenez was made the first provincial; at his death Alonso de Vayllo accepted the charge, September 29, 1593, and one year later took possession. The first chapter was held in Oajaca April 26, 1595. Provincial Vayllo's term expired September 29, 1597, and Martin de Zárate ruled as vicar general till April 19, 1598. The second chapter, the first electoral one, was then held, and Father Antonio de la Serna chosen. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 711–12. The new province in 1596 had 48 monasteries. *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 546.

began to listen, and by spending twelve years among them, he succeeded in converting some.[86]

The Chinantecs were believed by the first Spanish conquerors to be ferocious giants who would not accept alliance or religion. The Dominican priest Francisco de Saravia was the first Spaniard to visit them. He learned their language, and in four years taught them Christianity, and induced them to live in towns and practise the arts of civilization. He taught their youths to read and write, and to translate into their language a prayer-book.[87] The Mijes also taxed the patience of the worthy missionaries. When the Spanish arms reached that country the Zapotecs of the sierra and the Mijes were at war. Gaspar Pacheco, sent there by Cortés with a force, found no trouble in obtaining the allegiance of the former with a promise of help to destroy their foes. Being a nomad people the conquest of the Mijes was a difficult task; it was accomplished, however, with the aid of Father Gonzalo Lucero, whose zeal prompted him to attempt in 1531 their conversion, for which he was given two assistants. The nation being numerous and restless, to keep them in check the Spanish commander founded in their midst the Villa Alta de San Ildefonso with thirty Spanish vecinos, and near it on the west a town of Mexicans, named Analco. The villa was destroyed by fire in 1580, and afterward rebuilt.

The Dominicans in charge of the Chinantecs and Mijes enjoyed, under a royal order of 1556, a yearly allowance of 1,000 pesos besides the necessary oil and wine, church ornaments, etc. The natives were taught reading, writing, and the useful arts by fathers Jordan de Santa Catarina, Pedro Guerrero, and Pablo de San

[86] Bad health obliged Carranza to leave the field; his successors were the fathers Domingo de Grijelmo and Diego Serrano; after 1595, Mateo Daroca. *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip., Oaj.*, ii. 339.

[87] He lived among them 30 years. Several of the chiefs learned to wear silk garments like the Spaniards, to carry swords, and to ride fine mules with elegant saddles and bridles, proud of their good forms and manners, and of their ability to write a good hand and compose well. *Burgoa, Id.*, ii. 289–90; *Murguía y Galardi*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, vii. 205–10.

Pedro, and the lay-brother Friar Fabian de Santo Domingo.[88] It was said that Saravia and Guerrero built one hundred and sixty churches in as many towns.

Among the Dominican priests of this diocese who distinguished themselves, and obtained high positions in and out of their order, besides those already named, are Martin de Zárate, Alonzo Lopez, Francisco Ávila, Antonio de la Serna, the two last being natives of Oajaca; Gregorio de Beteta, who became bishop of Cartagena; Pedro de la Veña, made bishop of Quito in Ecuador; Pedro de Feria, afterward bishop of Chiapas; Domingo de Salazar, prior of Antequera, first bishop and archbishop of the Philippines, who died soon after receiving the pallium in Madrid.

Juan Ramirez was a friar of Mexico and provincial, and served among the Miztecs; after which he went to Spain to defend the Indians, and died there. Juan de Bohorques, provincial, was later bishop of Venezuela, and subsequently of Oajaca. Domingo de Santa Ana, noted for his purity, found himself imperilled by the blandishments of a rich and handsome Indian princess, who was desperately enamored of him. As he rejected all her proffered caresses, she one night entered his room, and while he slept threw herself into his arms. Awakening, he succeeded in getting out of bed, and with a shoe beat the tempter till she screamed.[89] People rushed in from the church and discovered the much abashed *cacica;* the good father meanwhile looking as if he had been fighting a legion of demons.

Tomás del Espíritu Santo was one of the great lights of the order. Domingo de Aguiñaga was a noted minister and prelate; as prior in Mexico he was exemplary, and as vicar-general much beloved. He

[88] Guerrero was a man of letters, and became the provincial of the order in Mexico, before the province was divided. *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip., Oaj.*, i. 43.

[89] 'Le dió tales golpes á la desenrroscada serpiēte.' *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oaj.*, i. 88.

was the confessor of Viceroy Enriquez, twice elected provincial, and venerated as a saint. Alonso Garcés was burned to death in Villa Alta de San Ildefonso, in 1580. Alonso de la Anunciacion was killed by the fall of a platform on which he was officiating in Etla, and by which accident over one hundred persons were severely injured. Bernardo de Santa Catarina came to Mexico in 1550, served among the Zapotecs, and destroyed a great number of idols. When he died, February 6, 1592, in Oajaca, the people crowded his cell to cut locks from his hair and pieces from his habit.[90]

The Augustinians having increased their numbers, and made much progress in the foundation of convents throughout the country, under the rule of a vicar general, dependent of the provincial of Castile, it was decided to create a separate province in Mexico, subject only to the minister general of the order. The division was effected in 1543, and Father Juan de San Roman became the first provincial.[91] The term of office was fixed at three years. During the

[90] The following authorities have been consulted on Dominican missionary work in Oajaca; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oaj.*, i. 34–6, 81–92, 104–8, 149–82, 189–94; ii. 202–50, 265–85, 300–11, 336–40, 387–8, 410–11; *Hist. Chyapa*, 713–15; *Puga, Cedulario*, 186; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd.*, 238–46, 461–4, 483–6, 504–16, 545–58, 625–50; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 89, 226; *Fernandez, Hist. Ecles.*, 108–12; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 154, 285.

[91] He went to Spain in the same year with the provincials of the other two mendicant orders to represent at court the affairs of the country; during his absence Father Alonso de la Veracruz ruled the province as vicar general nearly two years; the successors were: Juan de Estacio, 1545–8; Alonso de la Veracruz, 1548–51; Gerónimo de Santi Estévan, 1551–4; Diego de Vertadillo, 1554–7; Alonso de Veracruz, reëlected, 1557–60; Agustin de la Coruña, 1560–3; Diego de Vertadillo, reëlected, 1563–6; Juan de Medina Rincon, 1566–9; Juan de San Roman, reëlected, 1569–72; Juan Adriano, 1572–5; Alonso de la Veracruz, 2d reëlection, 1575–8; Juan de San Roman, 2d reëlection, 1578–81; Antonio de Mendoza, a son of Captain Luis Marin, one of the first conquerors, and María de Mendoza, of the house of the marqués de Aguilar, 1581, who died a few days afterward; Pedro Suarez de Escobar, 1581–4; Pedro de Agurto, 1584–7; Luis Marin, a brother of the late Father Mendoza, 1587–90; Juan Adriano, reëlected 1590–3; Gerónimo Morante, 1593–6; Juan de Alvarado, a cousin of Pedro de Alvarado, 1596–9; Dionisio de Zárate, 1599–1602. During 12 years till the election of Adriano, the provincials chosen were natives of Mexico. Father Luis Marin tried to check that partiality, and thus do away with all spirit of jealousy. *Grijalua, Crón. S. Augustin*, 185–213; *Mich. Prov. S. Nicolas*, 112.

second term of one of his successors, Alonso de la Veracruz, strenuous exertions were made by the order to secure for the religious orders the tithes paid by the natives.[92]

The discipline prescribed by the rules becoming relaxed, to the scandal of the order, Provincial Medina Rincon, a man of much equanimity though capable of sternness when occasion demanded it, summoned to his presence in Culhuacan the offending members and despatched them to Spain. They attempted remonstrance, and even bluster, but the provincial was firm.[93] So large was the number thus offending that some of the convents had to be abandoned in consequence, but the progress of the order was not retarded thereby, and good discipline was restored. At this time the Philippines were under the province of Mexico, which supplied them with such missionaries as it could spare. Under Father Adriano's rule the increased number of friars permitted the districts to be divided for more thorough administration.[94]

Father Veracruz brought from Spain the lignum

[92] Through the efforts of Veracruz the Indians were much favored in the matter of tithes. He was one of the most learned as well as pious and industrious men the religious orders had in Mexico. After the expiration of his second triennial he went to Spain in 1562, and was the object of high consideration at court. He declined the mitre of Michoacan as well as the office of comisario general of New Spain, Peru, and the Philippines, with residence in Madrid, and a salary from the royal treasury equivalent to that of the Franciscan comisario. While in Madrid he was prior of the convent there and visitador of New Castile; finally, the general made him vicar general and visitador of New Spain and the Philippines. After a sojourn of 11 years in Spain he returned to Mexico. He served his fourth term as provincial, and then retired to the convent in Mexico, where after a lingering illness he died at the ripe age of 80. His remains were buried in the chapel of the San Pablo College, founded by him. *Mich. Prov. S. Nicolas*, 35–40; *Grijalua, Crón. S. Augustin*, 145; *Salazar, Méx. en 1554*, 57–66.

[93] 'Vayanse con honra, si no quieren q̃ los embie con deshonra,' he sternly told them. The priests must have continued in their misbehavior in Spain, for the provincial of Castile wrote to Medina Rincon to tell him beforehand something about their character when such friars were sent back, using the quaint expression, 'quando embiase Frayles semejãtes que dixesse. Agua va.' *Grijalua, Crón. S. Augustin*, 123.

[94] Some of the priories retained 40 towns in their charge, others 60; and these at first had been ministered to with great difficulty. Toward the end of his term the same provincial laid before the chapter an order of the general making the provincial's term four years; for himself he declined the extension, and discountenanced the innovation. *Grijalua, Crón. S. Augustin*, 140.

crucis[95] and also a royal grant of the San Pablo building to his order, which met with some objection on the part of the ordinary, but the viceroy favored the friars. They were then assisted by friends, and the provincial built a house for the theological college with accommodations for about twenty religious. Thus was the old San Pablo building brought into use. The establishment soon became one of the most notable in Mexico; a fine library was brought from Spain for it by Veracruz. Father Pedro de Agurto was the first rector. The order did not confine its efforts to the archbishopric of Mexico. It had convents in Puebla, Antequera, Zacatecas,[96] and Michoacan, which was one of its great fields. The convents in the last named bishopric were begun in 1537. The first foundations were those of Tiripitío, Ucareo, and Jacona, which till then had been in charge of the Franciscans.[97] There was for a time some opposition on the part of the bishop, till 1562, when the crown stopped it. After that the Augustinians founded convents in many places within that diocese.[98] Two deserve special notice; that of Charo, where lived and died Father Basalenque, a celebrated writer of the following century, and that of Tiripitío. Father Veracruz, of grave, austere habits, and very learned, obtained from Emperor Charles a cédula to found the university of Tiripitío, which he superintended from 1540 to 1551, when he was prevailed on to transfer it to Mexico.[99] The order had in 1596 seventy-six mon-

[95] On placing it in the convent's church the archbishop assisted, a high mass was celebrated, and the bishop of Puebla preached the sermon. After the ceremonies were concluded the archbishop asked for a piece of the sacred wood for his cathedral, which being granted, the ceremonies were repeated. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 35–6.

[96] *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 226.

[97] The Austin friars were a hard-working body and very successful in their labors among the Tarascos. *Sin. Mem.*, MS., 1; *Mich. Prov. S. Nicolas*, 78 etc.

[98] Previously to the trouble it had houses in Guachinango, Charo, Quitzeo, Guango, Yuririapúndaro, and Valladolid. Afterward one in Cupándaro, Tzrosto, Patzcuaro, Chucándiro, Tinganbato, San Felipe, Undameo, and San Luis Potosí. In 1573 the Franciscans turned over to the order the convents at Tonalá and Ocotlan. *Mich. Prov. S. Nicolas*, 69 et seq.; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, 470; *Morelia*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 629, 633.

[99] The order had other men of distinction in Mexico, aside from those

asteries in New Spain, which early in the next century was divided into two provinces.[100]

The Mercenarios, or religiosos of the order of our Lady of Mercy, were originally brought to Mexico by Hernan Cortés, but finding that field already occupied they proceeded to Guatemala,[101] where they established a province. Some of their members went to Mexico in 1582 to attend the university. In 1589 a convent was founded in a house bought by the order in the San Lázaro district of the Mexican capital. This convent was erected into a college in 1593, pursuant to a decree of Viceroy Velasco, which was subsequently confirmed by Philip II. The fathers also obtained permission from the king to found other convents in America,[102] and toward the end of the century one was established in Oajaca. At one time they endeavored to obtain a footing in Yucatan, but the Franciscans prevented them.[103]

In 1580 was brought from Catalonia in Spain by two rich Spaniards, Diego Jimenez and Fernando Moreno, an image of the virgin of Montserrat, a copy

already named for services in the province. Father Gerónimo de Santi Estévan was one of the missionaries who went with Lopez de Villalobos to the Phi ippines; he wandered seven years without attaining his object, travelled around the world as many more, and returned to Spain by way of the East Indies. An humble disciple of Christ, he was always ready to sacrifice himself in the cause of the master. He died at the age of 77 after passing 55 years in spreading the gospel. Andrés de Mata, Juan de la Vcracruz, Juan Perez, Gregorio Rodriguez, and Pedro García. *Grijalva, Crón. S. Augustin*, 134–5.

[100] A party of 28 Austin friars passed through Mexico in 1580, and embarked at Acapulco for the Philippines. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 546.

[101] I see, however, that on the 4th of August 1533 some friars of the order came to Mexico to found a monastery, as they said, for the spiritual benefit of the Spaniards and Indian conversion. They asked the ayuntamiento for the grant of a site. The petition was referred to a committee of one alcalde and some regidores, with instruction to report. Another entry of the book of that corporation says that the site was granted. *Mex. Col. Leyes* (1861), i., Introd., xxxviii.–ix.

[102] *Vetancvrt*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 36; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 10; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2ª ép., i. 729.

[103] The comisario and definitorio of the Franciscans, on the 1st of Feb. 1547, wrote the council of the Indies from Mérida, and among other things suggested to reform, 'una órden de Mercenarios que por acá anda, ó sean echados de la tierra.' It seems the Mercenarios did not take root. *Extract. Sueltos*, in *Squier's MSS.*, xxii. 101.

of the one in that country. They built a chapel for it, and endowed it with funds, agreeing to bequeath their estates to the new establishment.[104] In 1582 the brotherhood of the Descendimiento y Sepulcro de Cristo was established under the advocation of Saint Magdalen.[105] In 1584 a similar organization was founded under the title of the Cofradía del Rosario. It is related that Friar Tomás del Rosario when very ill saw Lucifer coming toward him with a terrific and threatening aspect. The frightened monk called on the virgin to protect him. She forthwith appeared and taking his hand in hers, said: "Arise, recite my rosary, and I will favor thee." The devil disappeared and the monk was cured, and from that moment began to exert himself to establish the cofradía, and succeeded in obtaining many brethren. A silver image costing over five thousand pesos was made. Offerings arrived from all parts, and the worship of the vírgen del Rosario increased rapidly after 1584. A cofradía was soon founded in Puebla, and another in Oajaca.[106]

In 1588 there were seven nunneries and one school for girls in the city of Mexico, all under the ordinary. One of the nunneries, of the order of Saint Jerome, was used as a place of detention for married women undergoing trial, and for those who had been sentenced for violation of their marriage vows.[107]

During Bishop Guerra's pastorate was founded in Valladolid, Michoacan, the convent of Santa Catalina de Sena of Dominican nuns. A convent of Capuchin nuns existed in Oajaca at the end of the century, and in 1589 a convent of the order of Santa Clara was founded in Mérida, Yucatan.

[104] A brotherhood was organized, and the pope granted it the same rights enjoyed by the one in Catalonia. *Iglesias y Conventos*, 113–14.

[105] *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fund.*, 561.

[106] *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 99–100.

[107] The convent of Jesus María, finished in 1588, was built for the poor descendants of the conquerors and early settlers. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 38; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Parayso Occid.*, 5–11.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH VICEROYS.

1580–1589.

SUAREZ DE MENDOZA, CONDE DE LA CORUÑA—A TOO BENIGNANT RULE—GOLDEN TIMES FOR THE CORRUPT OFFICIALS—SUAREZ WELL OUT OF IT—ARCHBISHOP MOYA Y CONTRERAS MADE VISITADOR—THEN VICEROY—A STERN RULER—HE MAKES MONEY FOR HIS MASTER—HARD TIMES FOR THE WICKED OFFICIALS—THEY BEG DELIVERANCE FROM MOYA—AND RECEIVE IT—ZÚÑIGA, MARQUÉS DE VILLAMANRIQUE—A JUST AND MODERATE RULE—PIRATES ON THE WEST COAST—CAVENDISH CAPTURES A GALLEON—A RARE PRIZE—CALIFORNIA COAST DEFENCES—COMMERCE ON THE ATLANTIC—EPIDEMIC, EARTHQUAKES, AND SOCIAL DISRUPTION—VILLAMANRIQUE DEPOSED AND HUMILIATED.

LORENZO SUAREZ DE MENDOZA, conde de la Coruña, received an enthusiastic welcome in the capital on the 4th of October 1580, as the fifth viceroy of New Spain, the ceremonies being conducted with unusual pomp. With the increase of the Spanish population, and the development of stock-raising and mining, wealth and luxury had assumed magnificent proportions, and the viceregal dignity swelled accordingly. In the present instance the high station and rare personal qualities of Suarez had something to do with the unusually brilliant reception. He was a member of the illustrious family of the first viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, whose memory was still cherished; he was advanced in age, enjoying the fame of a great soldier and gallant courtier, and with a disposition more affable, frank, and generous than that of any of his predecessors. Thus he at once captivated all with whom he came in contact.

Naturally from his rule the people expected the

best results, and deemed it not unreasonable to look forward to a period of peaceful progress which would still further develop their growing prosperity. But they were doomed to disappointment. The count was a man too good for the place. He was too mild, too lenient; he lacked energy; he was utterly unable to cope with the corrupt officials who as a rule were ever at hand to disgrace the government of New Spain. His inability in this and other respects was increased by the restrictions which had been placed upon vice-regal power during the time of Velasco, and by such royal provisions as that permitting the first purchasers of notarial offices to sell them again to the highest bidder, paying one third of the purchase-money into the royal treasury.[1]

Taking advantage of the viceroy's weakness, government servants became more bold; public funds were misappropriated, and the venality of the judges was without precedent. Viceroy Enriquez had well known the country and the people, and in order that his successors might profit by his experience, the king had requested him, as we have seen, to write out instructions to serve as a guide for the future viceroys of New Spain.[2] Under the present circumstances these were of little value. Suarez' only remedy lay at court; and in a secret report to the king he set forth the disadvantages under which he labored, the wickedness of the audiencia, and their disregard for his authority. He requested that a visitador be sent from Spain, clothed with sufficient power to chastise the malefactors.

But all was superfluous; the Great Assuager was at hand to deliver the sadly beset count from all his budding troubles. Bowed by the weight of years, and the vexatious duties of his office, he died, June 19, 1582. He left no family to mourn his loss, and the

[1] This permission to sell the *oficios de pluma* was granted by the king, November 13, 1581. *Reales Cédulas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvii. 368.

[2] *Instrucciones, Vireyes, Nueva España*, 242–50.

pompous rites of the official funeral were hollow in the extreme, with more than usual mockery.[3] Had a strong man been present to take his place, the death of Suarez might have been of benefit to the country. But such an one was not at hand, and before the funeral ceremonies were over the audiencia assumed gubernatorial powers under the presidency of Dr Luis de Villanueva.[4] Their evil rule was of short duration, however. Suarez' private report, and information of the doings of the audiencia, had their effect upon the king, and in 1583 the archbishop of Mexico, Pedro de Moya y Contreras, was appointed visitador.

The prelate had long observed the arbitrary proceedings of the oidores, and his austere disposition and rigid principles offered little hope for mercy. His power was dreaded the more because he might wield it in secret as a minister of the holy office, the first inquisitor of Mexico. Moya manifested no great haste in his action against the culprits, but proceeded with prudence to gather information and prepare the necessary proofs. His preparations completed, he reported to the crown and asked for further instructions. He pointed out the great offenders, and recommended to royal favor the few who had been faithful. The king's reply was brief; the archbishop was appointed viceroy with plenary power, and on September 25, 1584, he took formal charge of the government as sixth viceroy of New Spain, thus being the sole incumbent of the three most powerful positions in the country, namely, viceroy, archbishop, and inquisitor.

Seldom, if ever, during those times was the confidence of the monarch more judiciously bestowed. His elevation was hailed with joy by all save the

[3] In *Torquemada*, i. 648, the date of his death is not given, while Vetancurt and others erroneously give July 19, 1582.

[4] He died October 25, 1593. The subsequent personnel of the audiencia consisted of Pedro Farfan, Pedro Sanchez Paredes, Francisco de Sande, Fernando de Robles, and Diego García de Palacio. Alcalde de chancillería, Santiago del Riego; fiscal, Licenciado Eugenio de Salazar; secretary, Sancho Lopez de Agurto. *Concilios Prov.*, MS., i. 267; iii. 69.

audiencia and its satellites.[5] Proceedings now were short and decisive. Some of the minor delinquents were fortunate enough to escape with removal from office; others were heavily fined and punished, while several of the chief culprits were hanged. Men of proverbial probity were then appointed to fill the vacancies, and thus by the fearless and energetic rule of this remarkable man, order and justice soon reigned. The immediate effect of this procedure against the officials was that in 1585 Moya was enabled to replenish the royal coffers by shipping to Spain three million three hundred thousand ducats in coined silver, and eleven hundred marks of gold in bars, together with valuable cargoes of the products of the country.

Feeling his great responsibility, his zeal was incessant, no less in temporal than in spiritual matters. At the solicitation of the priest Juan de la Plaza, he founded a seminary intended exclusively for Indians, in which they were instructed in the elementary branches. The college was under the direction of the Jesuits, and soon became noted for the wonderful progress of its students. In his other efforts to benefit the natives he was only partially successful.

The government of the archbishop was too severe to be of long duration. While the people would have looked with favor on the prolongation of his power, he had been the terror of certain persons, who resorted to intrigue so common at the time to effect his removal. The long list of charges preferred against him, however, found little credence in Spain.[6]

Scarcely thirteen months after Moya took charge of the government, and while he was actively engaged

[5] 'Hablaba, y obraba, como Poderoso en todo, y todos callaban, y sufrian, como rendidos, y alebestrados.' *Torquemada*, i. 649.

[6] Under date of July 1, 1586, a series of 181 charges against Moya were forwarded to the India Council, by Cristóbal Martin of Mexico, concerning 'los eçesos é otras cosas que don Pedro Moya de Contreras...hizo é cometió en desseruiçio de Dios Nuestro Señor é de su magestad, é mal exemplo y escándalo de la república, assí españoles como naturales della.' *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 348–9. In this document he is accused of incapacity to govern, the

in his many duties, his successor arrived. After continuing his visitatorial functions for a further period, during which he was still the scourge of evil-doers, he finally returned to Spain, and was appointed president of the India Council. He died in Madrid toward the end of December 1591.[7]

On the 18th of October 1585[8] the seventh viceroy of New Spain, Alonso Manrique de Zúñiga, marqués de Villamanrique, and brother of the duque de Béjar, was received in Mexico with the customary pomp, and with rejoicing by the classes that were glad to be rid of their late tormentor. He brought with him his wife and daughter, his brother-in-law, and a large retinue of servants. At first the new viceroy was highly esteemed, much on account of the amiable marchioness; but in due time the newness of the man wore off, and as Torquemada observes, "though he was wise, sagacious, and prudent, during the course of his subsequent proceedings, he gave not the satisfaction he might."

Dissensions between the temporal and spiritual authorities were becoming chronic in New Spain, so that it was hardly to be expected that a viceroy and archbishop could encounter without coming to words. Hence we are not at all surprised to learn that at a meeting with Moya, at Guadalupe, a discussion arose concerning political and ecclesiastical affairs which left the high dignitaries enemies for life.[9] The breach

last charge we should expect to see preferred; of being a bad ecclesiastic, disobedient to royal authority, living in concubinage, as careless, vicious, dishonest; of being addicted to cards, proud, vengeful, inhuman, and of possessing what other bad or criminal qualities might be attributed to the worst of men.

[7] The time of death is variously stated as having occurred in January and in December 1591. It seems that the deceased had been so poor that Philip was obliged to pay his debts and funeral expenses. Further information of Moya may be found in *Sosa, Episcopado Mex.*, 27–40; *Torquemada*, i. 649; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 208–9; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. ap. 16; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 35–40.

[8] *Concilios Prov.*, MS., i. 271; *Mex. Hieroglyphical Hist.*, 126; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 10–11. Some of the modern authors, as Lorenzana, Alaman, Rivera, and others, give the date as October 17th.

[9] One of the principal causes of their lasting enmity was that the viceroy

between the two great bodies widened still more when in the early part of the following year the viceroy for the second time notified the three orders, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, to comply with the commands of the king concerning the administration of the Catholic faith in New Spain, previously given by Viceroy Enriquez. The provincials, evading, replied as before, and the viceroy insisting they appealed to the king.

It would seem to us from the present point of view that the reappearance of pirates in American waters would prove a pleasing divertisement from official bickering at the capital. However that may be, the viceroy was greatly alarmed when he heard that Francis Drake had taken Santo Domingo, and threatened Habana. Messengers were sent along the coast from Pánuco and Yucatan, and into Guatemala and Honduras, ordering coast defences to be made ready all along the border to Nombre de Dios. Diego de Velasco, brother-in-law of Villamanrique, was appointed commander of the fortress San Juan de Ulua, and two hundred and fifty men were sent to defend Habana. The flurry, however, passed away, and news that the royal fleet was approaching made the Spaniards breathe freely again.[10]

Since the founding of Manila in 1564, by Miguel Gomez de Legazpi, a profitable trade had sprung up with New Spain. It was natural, therefore, that when fears for the shipping on the Atlantic became somewhat abated, the people should begin to tremble for the safety of their richly laden galleons plying between the Philippine Islands and Acapulco. Of the early voyages to the Philippine Islands little is known; but by chance a record has been preserved of one made a few years after the departure of Francis

favored the oidores, who were subject to investigation by the archbishop as visitador. See *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 182.

[10] See the report of the viceroy to Philip II. in *Cartas de Indias*, 353–7, 703.

Drake from the Pacific. Francisco de Gali,[11] having sailed from Acapulco in March 1582, left Macao on his return July 24, 1584. Taking the usual northern route, he sighted the American coast in latitude 37° 30′, and without anchoring followed it to Acapulco.[12] Subsequently the islands were governed by an audiencia, but, the commercial intercourse with New Spain increasing, it was thought expedient to make the government and judiciary of the Philippines dependent on the viceroy and audiencia of Mexico.[13] The voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines and return generally occupied thirteen or fourteen months, and usually one vessel was despatched every year.[14]

With regard to the pirates, it proved as the people of Mexico had feared. They were indeed again in the waters of the Pacific. The country was aroused, and an armed force was at once hurried to Acapulco, under Dr Palacio. Arrived at the port, it was found that the pirates had not touched there, but had been in that vicinity.[15] It appears that Thomas Cavendish,

[11] Also written Gualle, or Galle.

[12] The original Spanish diary not being extant, our only knowledge of the voyage comes from a Dutch translation published in *Linschoten, Reys Gheschrift*, of which the first edition appeared in 1596.

[13] This change was effected about the year 1590 by Velasco, successor to Villamanrique, when Gomez Perez das Mariñas was appointed governor of the Philippines. Agreeable to a special royal commission Velasco appointed Herrero del Corral visitador to take the residencia of the oidores, and organize the government of the islands. The change does not seem to have worked to advantage, however, as we are told that there were continual dissensions between Governor Mariñas and the clergy, and some difficulties with the emperor of Japan. *Torquemada*, i. 654–6; 669–70. A royal decree of January 11, 1593, provided that thereafter New Spain should be the only possession in Spanish America allowed to send vessels to the Philippine Islands for trade, and merchandise was not to be brought from there to any other part of America under penalty of forfeiture. *Reales Cédulas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvii. 420–1.

[14] The climate of the islands proved so fatal to the Spaniards, that of the 14,000 who had gone there during the previous 20 years, 13,000 had died. *Vizcaino*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 560.

[15] It was believed at the time, and some of the old authorities, as Torquemada, Cavo, and others, followed by a host of modern authors, state positively that this raid in 1587, during which the Spanish galleon *Santa Ana* was captured, was made by Francis Drake, who, as is well known, in that year scoured the coasts of Spain. Of these modern authors I will only mention Zamacois, who gives a detailed account of the affair, and says the pirate was 'Francisco Drak.' Previously he makes a short and vague mention that one 'Tomás Cawendisk' took a ship coming from Manila in 1586. See his *Hist. Méj.*, v. 190–2.

or Candish, as it is sometimes written, in a voyage of circumnavigation and for plunder, had sailed from Plymouth on July 21, 1586, with one hundred and twenty-three men, on the *Desire*, *Content*, and *Hugh Gallant*, of one hundred and twenty, sixty, and forty tons respectively.[16]

The fleet had entered the Pacific on February 24, 1587, and from March to June had ravaged the coast of South America, taking several prizes with a moderate booty, and retaining such prisoners as might in the commander's opinion be of use later. Yet he found the Spaniards less unprotected than had Drake; for he deemed it wise to pass by several towns without landing to attack, and on each of two occasions he lost twelve men in battle.

On the 1st of July Cavendish approached the coast of North America,[17] and on the 9th captured and burned a new vessel without cargo from Guatemala. From a prisoner, the pilot, Michael Sancius, he learned that a large galleon was expected at an early date from the Philippines. Soon another vessel was taken, supposed to have been sent to warn the galleon. On July 26th Cavendish anchored in the river Copolita, several leagues from Huatulco, and during the night sent his pinnace with thirty men to the town, which

[16] The standard authority for Cavendish's voyage is *The admirable and prosperous Voyage of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimly in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire... by Master Francis Pretty... a Gentleman employed in the same action*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 803–25. In the same collection, 825–36, are *Certain rare and special notes concerning the heights, soundings, etc.*, by Thomas Fuller of the *Desire*. A brief account was also published in the first edition of *Haklvyt*, in 1589, 809–13. Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex., Viage Introd.*, liv.–v., saw two original documents on the subject—a statement of Captain Alzola of the *Santa Ana*, made on his arrival at Acapulco, and a declaration by Antonio de Sierra, one of the passengers, made before the audiencia of Guadalajara January 24, 1588. Torquemada, i. 699, gives the only account extant of the return of the *Santa Ana* to Acapulco. The above mentioned are the only sources of original information on the expedition, or at least on that part of it concerning our territory. The following secondary authorities are before me: *Voyages, Hist. Acct.*, i. 162–237; *Voyages, New Col.*, i. 43–62; *Kerr's Voy.*, x. 66–93; *La Harpe, Abrégé*, xv. 22–5; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, ii. 85–9; *Taylor*, in *Browne's L. Cal.*, 20–1; *Gottfriedt, N. Welt*, 367–8; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 214; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 99—a list which might be easily augmented.

[17] The *Hugh Gallant* had been exchanged for a prize, the *George*, which was also soon abandoned.

they burned, after capturing a bark from Sonsonate, laden with cacao and indigo.[18] On the 29th Cavendish anchored off Huatulco and landed in person. A raid of several miles into the interior also proved profitable to the pirate, and on August 2d he set sail, holding his course northward along the coast.

But the prudent filibuster was satisfied to attack the less defended places on the coast, and would not trust himself into the harbor of Acapulco, having been informed by Michael Sancius that this was the rendezvous of the Philippine fleet. Though not difficult to clear the narrow entrance to the harbor, it might be a more serious matter to retreat in case of a failure to take the town. It therefore appeared to Master Cavendish much like a dangerous rat-trap, which he wisely concluded to evade.[19]

The next field of his depredations was Navidad, near the present Manzanillo, where he landed August 24th, and captured a mulatto who had been sent along the coast with letters to give the alarm. The town and two large ships on the stocks were burned. From August 26th to September 2d Cavendish was in the port of Santiago, obtaining water from the river; and on the next day, from a port called Malaca, a little further west, the pirates went two leagues inland, and 'defaced' the Indian village of Acatlan. A similar raid was made at Chacala,[20] where a party of men were held until ransomed by their wives with plantains and other fruits, one carpenter and a 'Por-

[18] 'Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the church and custome-house which was very faire and large: in which house were 600 bags of anile to dye cloth; euery bag whereof was worth 40 crownes, and 400 bags of cacaos; every bag whereof is worth ten crownes.' Speaking of the cacao the report of Master Pretty here continues; 'They are very like unto an almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste; they eate them, and make drinke of them.' *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 814.

[19] Here we have the reason why Palacio failed to find him in or about the port of Acapulco. Master Pretty at this stage of his narrative remarks: 'Here wee ouershipped the hauen of Acapulco, from whence the shippes are set foorth for the Philipinas.' *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 815.

[20] Described as 18 leagues from Cape Corrientes. Burney, *Discov. South Sea*, ii. 86, without specifying any other than the Hakluyt account, calls it the 'Bay of Compostella, probably San Blas,' as it very likely was.

tugal' being carried away. From the 12th to the 17th of September the Englishmen laid in a store of fowl and seal meat on the little island of San Andrés, arriving on the 24th at Mazatlan.[21]

Having obtained "good fruites, though not without danger," they repaired the vessels on the small island just north of Mazatlan. Here, digging in the sand, they obtained water "by the assistance of God in that our great neede...otherwise wee had gon backe 20 or 30 leagues to water; which might have bene occasion that we might haue missed our prey wee had long wayted for." Poor indeed must he be who has not a god according to his purposes! Here the operations of Cavendish were watched by a party of Spanish horsemen from the main, who were supposed to have come from Chametla, some eleven leagues distant. On the 9th of October the fleet left the island and bore across to San Lúcas, arriving on the 14th, and watering at a river which flowed into the Aguada Segura, since known as the bay of San Bernabé, or Puerto del Cabo. It was time the galleon should be coming; ah, what a rare robbery it would be!

The vessel lay off and on till the 4th of November, when early in the morning the cry, A sail! was heard from the mast-head. It was indeed the galleon, the *Santa Ana* of seven hundred tons, captain Tomás de Alzola,[22] from the Philippines bound for Acapulco, and having on board 122,000 pesos in gold, besides a rich cargo of silks and other Asiatic goods. O rare and righteous luck! Let now both sides pray, and God defend the right!

The stupid Spaniard seems never to have suspected anything wrong, for he came lazily along through the tranquil waters, thankful that the long voyage was at last over; thankful for the rich results, that would glad-

[21] This is perhaps the earliest mention of this name, which is still retained.

[22] Pretty says, Tomás de Ersola was a pilot and was taken by Cavendish to the Ladrones; but Navarrete consulted Alzola's declaration in the affair and can hardly be in error. He gives the name of the pilot as Sebastian Rodriguez.

den the hearts of a hundred thousand men and women, old and young. The *Desire* stood out under all sail as if to give the old ocean-battered bark a friendly greeting; and the Spaniard seems not to have realized the situation until awakened to it by a broadside from the pirate, which was now at close range. Instantly all was activity on board the *Santa Ana* as the surprised Spaniards prepared for action, keeping down behind the bulwarks out of sight. After a few volleys of small shot the Britons somewhat too hastily attempted to board. The Spaniards sprang forward, armed "with lances, iauelings, rapiers, and targets, and an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw overboord upon our heads and into our ship so fast, and being so many of them, that they put vs off the shippe againe, with the losse of 2 of our men which were slaine, and with the hurting of 4 or 5."

A prolonged shout from the Spaniards followed the receding foe, but the heavy guns were again brought into play, and a murderous broadside was once more thrown into the galleon. Though the damage inflicted on the Spaniards was great, "their Captaine still like a valiant man with his company stood very stoutly vnto his close fights, not yeelding as yet." But courage and endurance were of no avail: the *Santa Ana* was doomed.

After a fight of five or six hours, when twelve of his men had been killed and the *Santa Ana* was in imminent danger of sinking, the Spaniard struck his flag, and lowering boats at the command of Cavendish, he went on board the *Desire* to surrender and sue for mercy. Cavendish turned his benignant face to the Spanish captain and "most graciously pardoned both him and the rest vpon promise of their true dealing with him," and "of his great mercy and humanitie, promised their lives and good vsage."

On the 6th the prize was towed into Aguada Segura,[23] the work of transferring the cargo began, and

[23] Salmeron, *Rel.*, 16, says it was Magdalena Bay.

the Spaniards to the number of one hundred and ninety were put on shore, all of them save a few who, it was thought, might be useful as interpreters or pilots at the Islands. When the Englishmen proceeded to divide their booty, difficulties, as usual, arose with threats of mutiny; especially from the men of the *Content*, which vessel had done but little during the fight, though finally, much to the satisfaction of the frightened prisoners, all was in due time amicably arranged. On the 17th the anniversary of the queen's coronation was celebrated on board the pirate with salutes, fireworks, and general rejoicing, and on the 19th they "set sayle ioyfully homewardes towardes England." The *Content* was left in the roads and was never heard of again; but the *Desire* completed the circumnavigation of the earth and anchored in Plymouth harbor September 9, 1588.

Cavendish prided himself on being a most humane and Christian pirate; he would not kill the people of the *Santa Ana* for the mere pleasure of it. He did not ravish the women, or throw overboard the children. After taking what he wanted out of the galleon, leaving still some five hundred tons of valuable cargo, and after setting fire to the vessel, he was not particular to see that every plank was burned before he left it. There was nothing mean about Cavendish; though it does not appear why he did not leave the ship to the Spaniards so that in it they might bring him more gold to capture. Another mark of Cavendish's humanity and fine gentlemanly feeling: before burning the *Santa Ana* he permitted the Spaniards to take away the sails with which to make themselves tents on the beach, and also some planks out of which they might build some boats to take them to Acapulco, so that they were quite comfortable. They were put ashore on the lower end of the peninsula, if we may believe the gentle highwayman, in a place "where they had a fayre river of fresh water, with great store of fresh fish, foule, and wood, and also many hares and conies

vpon the maine land;" and Cavendish left them "great store of victuals, of garuansos, peason, and some wine." And when the filibuster took leave of the captain, he "gaue him a royall reward" which consisted "both of swords, targets, pieces, shot, and powder," and a piece of ordnance.

But better fortune was in store for them than even Cavendish had intended. The galleon had been fired when at anchor a short distance from the land. When her cables burned off she drifted to the shore, and ballast being thrown out, the hulk was found in a condition capable of being repaired, as we are informed by Torquemada, so as to carry the whole party to Acapulco.

When they entered the port and their sorrowful tale reached the ear of the viceroy, Palacio was again despatched to capture the pirate, but without success. For so serious a loss somebody must be to blame, and there were many who accused the viceroy of not having taken sufficient precautions to prevent the calamity.

It was, indeed, necessary that steps should be taken to render safer the Asiatic commerce, for under the existing state of things the reward was too tempting to escape notice. If such wealth could be so easily secured by a handful of sea-robbers, then it were better for all the world to turn thieves. It was along the California coast, where robbers lay in wait, that there was the greatest danger; and as the galleons were obliged to go northward to catch the trade-winds in crossing the ocean, a more northern port, somewhere on the California coast, was first of all desirable, which might serve as a station for armed vessels to watch for and escort the galleons to Acapulco.

To this end, in 1595, the *San Agustin* was despatched from the Philippines by Governor Gomez Perez das Mariñas, at the order of Viceroy Velasco, the son, under the pilot Sebastian Rodriguez Cer-

meñon, for the express purpose of exploring the coast. All that is known of the result is that the *San Agustin* ran ashore behind the point a little later called Reyes, in the bay now bearing the name of Drake, or Jack Harbor, but then named San Francisco, probably from the day of arrival.[24]

But the matter was not allowed to drop. The same viceroy entered into a contract with Sebastian Vizcaino to explore anew and occupy for Spain the Islas Californias. Velasco's successor, the count of Monterey, ratified the contract and despatched the expedition in 1597.[25]

Though Vizcaino sailed from Acapulco with three vessels, and a large force, the expedition again proved a failure, and those of the discomfited Spaniards who were fortunate enough to escape with their lives, subsequently returned to Acapulco.[26]

Meanwhile on the Atlantic, where the necessity for the protection of commerce from the pirates was greater than on the Pacific, more efficient measures were introduced. Commercial intercourse with the mother country must at all hazards be preserved. Hence *navíos de registro* were formed into fleets, and periodically despatched from Spain to Vera Cruz, convoyed by war-vessels, the first coming in 1581.[27]

[24] The further fate of the vessel and crew is left to conjecture; but the pilot Francisco de Bolaños lived to visit the bay again in 1603 with Vizcaino, and from him apparently comes all that is known of the voyage. *Torquemada*, i. 717–18; *Ascension, Rel. Breve*, 558; *Cabrera Bueno, Nav. Especvl.*, passim; *Salmeron, Rel.*, 20; *Niel, Apunt.*, 74; *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, lvi.–vii. The question is fully discussed in *Hist. North Mex. States* and *Hist. Cal.*, this series.

[25] Torquemada, followed apparently by all other writers, states that in 1596 the king ordered Viceroy Monterey to send Vizcaino to California, and that the expedition was made the same year; but there is a royal cédula of August 2, 1628, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d series, iii. 442–3, in which the facts are stated as I have given them, Monterey ordering Vizcaino to fulfil his contract, 'no embargante que en la sustancia y capacidad de su persona, halló algunos inconvenientes.' Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 89–91, tell us without any known authority that Vizcaino had been on the *Santa Ana* that was captured by Cavendish.

[26] For the interesting details of this expedition and the adventures of the Spaniards in California, see *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., and *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.

[27] In 1582 new laws and regulations were promulgated concerning these

Eleven of such fleets arrived at Vera Cruz during the last twenty years of the century, carrying back to Spain the accumulated treasures of the New World.[23] The expense of equipping and maintaining such a large number of vessels was sometimes so great that all the treasure carried would not pay expenses. Occasionally it would happen as with an armada despatched from Seville in 1593, having a capacity of 9,500 tons, with 3,500 men. It was commanded by Francisco Caloma, but never reached its destination, being obliged to convoy back the fleet of Álvaro Flores from New Spain, with which it had fallen in on the high sea.[29]

The unloading of ships at Vera Cruz was tedious, expensive, and generally attended with the loss of many lives from disease. The time usually occupied for discharging was four months, and nine or ten months elapsed before the ships were again despatched. For this reason many vessels were damaged or lost; freights were excessive, and passage rates high.[33] Ships for Europe at this time sailed from San Juan de Ulua for Habana, which occupied some twenty-

fleets, their outfit, and the manner in which the sailors and even passengers were obliged to go armed. *Ordenanzas, Casa de Contratacion*, 60.

[28] This subject will be more fully considered in my next volume on New Spain. See also *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 455; *Arróniz, Hist. y Cron.*, 327–8; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 20.

[29] The cost of Caloma's subsequent expedition, in 1594, exceeded 800,000 ducats, which was much in excess of the ultimate amount realized. *Vazquez, Apunt.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lii. 535–6. In the same year Prince Juan Andrea Doria, in a letter to the king, accused the India Council of incompetence in this matter and recommended that treasure should be conveyed to Spain in faster vessels than those of the English. He thought the transportation too dangerous in 'galeones de armada,' however well they might be equipped; if they engaged in combat, success was doubtful, and, even if favorable, there was no certainty that while fighting one or the other of the treasure-ships might not go down. *Doria, Carta al Rey*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, ii. 171–2. In 1591 a large fleet on its way to New Spain was destroyed by the enemy, and another at Cádiz, when about to sail. *Vazquez, Apunt.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lii. 537–65. The losses at sea were severe and continued, in addition to which, as the king said, 'hauiendome encargado (sin poderlo escusar) dela defensa de toda la christiandad demas dela demis Reynos.' This, among other original cédulas, signed *Yo El Rey* by Philip II., with royal seal attached and countersigned by the secretary Joan de Ybarra, may be found in *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 132.

[30] Goods were kept a long time in launches and barges; large quantities were stolen or smuggled, and the crown lost much of its dues. *Mansilla, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 156–8.

five days. There they took in supplies, waiting about fifteen days for the fleet from Nombre de Dios, which brought the treasures from Peru; thence passing through the Bahama Channel, off Cape Cañaveral, they sailed away for Spain.[31] Of course there were shipwrecks, one of the most notable of early times being the loss of the admiral's ship, coming with an anxiously expected fleet from Spain, which was dashed to pieces on the reefs at the mouth of Vera Cruz Harbor, during a norther early in 1588. Over one hundred and eighty persons perished in sight of the town, for lack of boats on shore to deliver them.[32]

A consulate or commercial tribunal was originated in the city of Mexico in 1581, under whose protection the growing commerce of the country might be regulated. The merchants hailed this institution with satisfaction, for Mexico was now the commercial centre for traders from Asia, America, and Europe, and the harbors of Vera Cruz and Acapulco had become famous in the trafficking world.[33]

But what were shipwrecks, and the depredations of filibusters, and the loss of galleons, with the consequent curses of the men, and the low long-drawn complaints of women; what to the unhappy representative of royalty were such troubles compared with those attending the regulations of the social spheres? "By thee, O king! we live and move and have our being," the maids and matrons of New Spain might say. "Thou givest us better than corn and wine—husbands great or small according to thy good pleasure; and frocks and ribbons, in thy great Majesty determining the extent and colors of them." And if Philip so said, Villamanrique must take his viceregal seat on

[31] *Hortop's Travailes*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 493.

[32] The admiral and over 100 persons were saved by the exertions of some few who ventured out in boats to their assistance. *Ponce, Relacion*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lviii. 480.

[33] Though begun in 1581, the establishment of the consulate was not fully established until 10 or 12 years later. For details and list of officers see *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 53; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 30–1.

the pinnacle of Popocatepetl and thence direct the ebb and flow of ocean, the movements of the clouds, the growth of plants, and the respiration of all organic things.

There was in force a royal decree, issued some years previously, forbidding any government officials in America from marrying within the district where they held jurisdiction, without special permission from the king, under penalty of forfeiture of the royal favor and the offices they held; nor might they ever again hold any office in the Indies.[34] Hitherto the law had been little heeded; either officials had not desired to break it, or, breaking it, little notice had been taken of the offence.

But the time had come when the king's authority must be enforced. In defiance of the law an oidor of the audiencia of Guadalajara had married, and the royal procurator of that district had allowed his daughter to marry.[35] Villamanrique ordered their arrest. The officers resisted, and dissensions followed, during which the question of jurisdiction was brought forward. None of the opponents yielded, until the viceroy, becoming exasperated, despatched a military force against the audiencia. Other troops were there ready to oppose them. For a time war was imminent, but, by the wise interference of lovers of peace, harmony was at length restored.[36]

Other historic troubles followed. In 1588 the native population of New Spain was again decimated by a pestilence like that of 1576. The provinces suffering most were Tlascala and Toluca; though here, where

[34] Contracts of marriage, verbal or in writing, made with the idea or hope that the royal license would be forthcoming, were to be treated the same as formal marriages, so far as the penalties were concerned. The decree was dated at Lisbon February 26, 1582. *Real Cédula*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xviii. 244–7.

[35] 'Also the kings Atturney of Guadalajara maried his daughter of 8 yeres old with a boy of 12 yeres old.' *Cano*, *Letter*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 396–7.

[36] According to Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 221, the viceroy was moved to relent by a Jesuit's sermon on forgiveness. Torquemada, i. 650, says that the viceroy was removed for this affair. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 216–17, tells us the quarrel was about the jurisdiction over certain towns.

the Matlalzinco, Mexican, and Otomí nations lived intermixed, the two latter remained in a measure free from the ravages of the disease.[37]

The following year, 1589, was not less calamitous. On April 11th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, there was a great earthquake in the city of Mexico and throughout the province; and on the 26th of the same month there were three heavy shocks, two within half an hour, and the other during the night. In the city of Mexico several walls fell, and many buildings were otherwise injured; in Coyuhuacan much of the work on the Dominican convent was destroyed; but for all this the inhabitants were more frightened than hurt.[38]

And now came the usual petitions to the king asking for a change of government. At all events, they want this viceroy recalled; the crown can do as it likes about sending another. There was nothing in particular with which to charge him; Villamanrique had been wise, honest, and humane, instant in fulfilling his duties to the people and loyal to his king. But the pirates had come and captured the galleon, an epidemic had caused many to mourn, and the earthquakes had frightened them, and the viceroy would not let the oidor marry a wife. That the viceroy's only daughter should die, thus bringing to the father's heart more poignant grief than otherwise all New Spain combined could do, was nothing to them.

The memorials and unfavorable reports had their effect upon the king, who feared most of all a repetition of the Guadalajara difficulties, and so Villamanrique was removed from office. Luis de Velasco, a son of the former viceroy of that name, was appointed in his stead, and Pedro Romano, bishop of Tlascala, was charged to take the residencia of the deposed viceroy. This latter appointment was unfortunate for Villa-

[37] In 1596 a like pestilence appeared, accompanied by measles, mumps, and spotted fever, which carried off an immense number. *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 515–19.

[38] Another shock was felt on May 9th, but slight. *Ponce, Relacion, in Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lviii. 516.

manrique. Bishop Romano was an uncompromising enemy, who had long awaited such an opportunity. He now invited all to present charges, no matter how trivial they appeared; he would make them large enough. Especially were all claims for money allowed.[39] The ecclesiastic succeeded well in all these operations. A faithful servant of the king was humiliated, his peace of mind destroyed, his pride brought low, his family reduced to poverty. Romano was happy. Very different from his grand viceregal entry into Mexico was Villamanrique's departure; the former was a triumph, the latter a funeral. With his afflicted marchioness, and carrying with them the remains of their dead daughter, the late viceroy departed from a land where he had met with nothing but misfortune and sorrow.[40]

[39] Romano even went so far as to attach the linen and wearing apparel of the marchioness, Doña Blanca. *Torquemada*, i. 650–1; *Cartas de Indias*, 866.

[40] Many of Bishop Romano's decisions were subsequently revoked, and the release of Villamanrique's property was decreed; but at the time of his death only part of it had been restored. *Torquemada*, i. 650–1; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 10, 11. The latter informs us that he subsequently retired to a Franciscan convent in Spain, where he died.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

1589–1600.

RUMORED INSURRECTION—FEARS OF VELASCO, THE NEW VICEROY—RECEPTION—CITY IMPROVEMENTS—THE CHICHIMECS—THE MINES OF GUANAJUATO, SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, AND ZACATECAS—FOUNDING OF TOWNS—PHILIP WANTS MORE MONEY—VELASCO'S ASTUTE MEASURE—CONDE DE MONTEREY, VICEROY—FUTILE EFFORTS TO MOVE THE INDIAN—RACE INTERMIXTURES—NUEVO LEON—OCCUPATION OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRY—GOVERNOR CARABAJAL—REVIEW OF THE CENTURY—BIBLIOGRAPHICAL—WRITERS SUBSEQUENT TO THE CONQUEST—TORQUEMADA AMONG OTHERS.

IT was some time during the month of December 1589, that Luis de Velasco, conde de Santiago and son of the second viceroy, cautiously approached the shores of New Spain as its eighth viceroy. First he touched at the port of Tameagua, afraid to proceed at once to San Juan de Ulua on account of rumored disturbances in the country. Either Mexico had been taken by the audiencia of Guadalajara, or Villamanrique had revolted; there were dire and uncertain ebullitions in the land, and it behooved this son of his father to be circumspect. Assured at his first landing-place that the rumors of political troubles which had reached Spain were unfounded, Velasco proceeded to Vera Cruz, and on the 25th of January 1590 he entered the capital.[1]

The city put on its brightest smile of welcome. The new viceroy was no stranger to the inhabitants.

[1] Torquemada, i. 652; Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 219, and others, agree upon this date, while Rivera, *Hist. Jalapa*, i. 76, gives January 29th; Lorenzana, *Viage*, in *Cortés' Hist. N. España*, 18; Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, v. 198, the 27th; and Vetancvrt, *Trat. Mex.*, 11, the 26th.

He had been there with his father; had indeed resided in the country many years, filling various important positions, particularly those of alférez real of the ayuntamiento of Mexico and regidor of Cempoala. He was more one of themselves than any who had hitherto represented the crown in New Spain; and as he was popular, well beloved for himself, and came with all the prestige of rank and worthy performance, all that wealth and warm hearts and high anticipation could do was done to make his reception befitting. Shortly before his present appointment he had been employed in the diplomatic service of the king.[2]

A better selection for the rulership of New Spain could not have been made at this juncture. There had been troubles throughout the land, some real and some imaginary, the latter usually the hardest to bear; now all were in the humor for a reign of prosperity and rejoicing. Gold and silver were plentiful, the fruits of the earth abundant, the native nations throughout their broad area for the most part at peace; now might the sons of the conquerors rest; they might put on gay attire and become fat and effeminate. Velasco possessed ability and energy; he was intelligent and learned. Above all he was loyal, not to the king alone but to the people. He was honest upon instinct.

One of his first endeavors was to elevate the condition of the people, white and red. He was wise enough to know that the best thing for them was work, which manifested, indeed, great intelligence as coming from a Spaniard. Among other beneficent measures, he decreed on June 1, 1590, the reopening and operating of the extensive wool and cotton fac-

[2] Alaman, *Disert.*, iii. app. 18, and Rivera, *Hist. Jalapa*, 76, assert that Velasco was a native of Mexico. This is an error. He came to New Spain with his father in 1550, when 11 years of age, and was married in 1556 at the age of 17. During a subsequent trip to Spain he received many favors at the hands of the king. When Villamanrique arrived he was at first on friendly terms with Velasco, but enmity arising the latter again went to Spain. There he was appointed ambassador to Florence, whence he was recalled to assume the present position. He was at present a widower, 51 years of age, and had four children, who resided in Mexico. *Torquemada*, i. 651; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 217.

tories, established by the first viceroy, and which had been closed. This gave employment to hundreds of idle persons, and the benefits flowing from this industry were soon felt throughout the country. The consumers paid less for the home-made article, and the money remained in the country.

Then he thought it would be well to beautify the capital, one of the results of which was the alameda, for centuries the favorite resort of all classes in search of relaxation and recreation, and remaining such to-day, a beautiful certificate to the taste and liberality of this ruler.[3] The city now contained about three thousand Spanish families, besides a numerous Indian and mixed population. During the successive decades it had slowly unfolded into magnificent proportions from the ruins of old Tenochtitlan. There were broad streets bordered by fine dwellings, with here and there temples and public buildings presenting a yet more imposing aspect.[4]

Velasco also put laborers at work to strengthen the fortifications at San Juan de Ulua, and to erect new forts for the better protection of the harbor and approaches to Vera Cruz.[5] This was but a preliminary step to the transfer of the city itself, in 1599, to its immediate vicinity, upon the very site where Cortés had nominally founded Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz fourscore years before. The transfer had been several times recommended, owing to the unhealthiness of the site, its inconvenience for trade, and its exposure to floods and attacks.[6] Few people indeed lived there

[3] The alameda was laid out by the viceroy in 1593, the name coming originally from *álamo*, poplar, and applying to a peculiar grouping of trees, or a promenade. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 11; *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Mon. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 90–1.

[4] A contemporary religious narrator, extolling the fine houses and streets of Mexico, gravely affirms that 'beautiful children and fine horses grew there.' *Ponce, Relacion*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lvii. 174–9.

[5] In 1568 a garrison of 50 men was stationed there, with about 150 negro laborers. It now became quite populous.

[6] This was forcibly represented by the episcopal council of November 1555, wherein it was termed a 'sepoltura de vivos.' Lencero was suggested for a new site. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 524–6. English travellers also bear witness to its unhealthiness. Infants generally died there, and

permanently, and it was only during the presence of the fleet, from September to March, that it assumed the appearance of the leading seaport of New Spain. After that all who could removed to the interior, notably to the beautiful Jalapa.[7] The new site of Vera Cruz, if by no means healthy, was certainly better than the former, and the city made rapid strides under its alcaldes mayores.[8]

Another matter of importance was brought to a successful issue. While the conquerors had from the first grasped at vast areas, they really occupied few other than mining districts, at least in the north. Thus population was distributed without order, and with wide distances between one settlement and another, to the obvious jeopardy of the invading race. When the natives had recovered from their first surprise at the Spanish entry, and were relieved from the superstitious awe of sorcery supposed to be exercised by the new-comers, perceiving that their sole object was to rule them, many abandoned the towns where they had temporarily submitted to the Spaniards, and betook themselves to the mountains, thence to sally forth and harass the settlers. More particularly was this the case with regard to the roving barbarous Chichimecs, who, gathering into strong bands, would suddenly burst from their strongholds, and as quickly return to them after their raids. Much had been done toward pacifying them, during the government of Enriquez, by the establishment of presidios along the northern borders. Though that ruler was greatly assisted in his efforts at pacification by Luis de

women on finding themselves enceinte went to the country 'to avoid the perill of the infected aire.' *Chilton*, in *Haklvyt's Voy.*, iii. 456. See also *Tomson* and *Hawks* in *Id.*, 453, 462; *Moreri, Gran. Dicc.*, ix. 108, x. 475. In June 1589, a storm assisted the swollen river to create immense damage among the buildings and shipping. *Ponce, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, lviii. 535–6.

[7] Cortés there founded a Franciscan convent, which was finished in 1555. Perote, on the route to Mexico, had quite a settlement in 1568.

[8] *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 68; *Clavigero*, iii. 30; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 276–7; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 27–8. Panes confounds the date of transfer with those of later cédulas granting favors. Coat of arms was conferred June 20, 1618. *Veracruz*, MS., 1–2. See also *Hist. Mex.*, i. 154, this series.

Carabajal, subsequently governor of Nuevo Leon, their joint labors proved but partially and temporarily successful.[9]

Nevertheless, spells of comparative quiet were obtained, affording the sorely distressed settlements round the mines of Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas the opportunity to develop their wealth, and attract much needed immigration. Zacatecas, which since its discovery in 1546 had been exposed to repeated ravages, received such an impetus that in 1585 it was raised to the rank of a city.[10]

Twenty years before the Franciscan order had proved sufficiently numerous to form here a custodia, the beginning of the later provincia de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, which became so famous for its missionary labors throughout the vast north. Most of the settlements in this region also owed their origin to Zacatecas, whose alcaldes mayores, subject to Nueva Galicia, sent forth or promoted numerous expeditions to open mines, among them San Martin. This was made the seat of a new alcaldía mayor which extended and controlled settlements far into Durango,[11] where Nombre de

[9] In 1581 Viceroy Suarez complained much of the continued hostilities of the Chichimecs, 'tan lebantado y con tanto numero y desberguença.' *Coruña, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 340.

[10] To which was added in 1588 the title of 'muy noble y leal,' together with a coat of arms. *Arlegui, Cron. Zac.*, 43–4. This was due to the effort of Baltasar Tremiño. *Berghes, Zac.*, 3. Rivera Bernardez confounds the two dates. *Zac.*, 27–8, 35. The population was at first settled toward the north, where the earlier mines were discovered, and there the first church was built on the hacienda of Domingo Tagle Bracho. Afterward, on the coming of two images of Christ, imported by Alonso Guerrero Villaseca, and placed on his two haciendas, the population settled where it now is. *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 208–9. Subject to it was a settlement of Mexicans named Mejicalpa, now corrupted to Mejicapa. The municipal houses of Zacatecas were built in 1559. The first minister was the Franciscan friar, Gerónimo de Mendoza, from Mexico. *Arlegui, Cron. Zac.*, 13–14; *Mier y Campa, Muralla, Zac.*, in *Revista Cient.*, ii. 111–12; *Museo Mex.*, iv. 118. The first parish was founded in 1567, with Fernando Maldonado for curate, according to the municipal records reproduced in *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 1033, 1078–82. At the time the title of city was bestowed the actual settlers numbered about 400, not counting women and children. There were fully as many traders and others of a floating character, and a large number of slaves and native workers. The first corregidor was Félix Guzman y Avellaneda.

[11] Under Juan Vazquez de Ulua, the alcalde mayor then ruling at Zacatecas, was Gaspar de Tapia. One of his successors, Hernan Martel, in 1563 founded Santa María de los Lagos as a check upon the Huachipiles, like

Dios soon became a leading settlement.[12] The records concerning the population and yield of the Zacatecas region are meagre, but it appears that while it at one time drew settlers away from the Guadalajara districts, and became the most populous settlement in New Spain, next to Mexico, the more northern discoveries of Ibarra created a reaction,[13] as did the new foundations to the south, such as Aguascalientes, so named after its springs,[14] and the mining districts eastward, centring round Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí.

With the conquest of Querétaro and the founding of Zacatecas the regions intermediate and eastward were soon occupied. Silao was settled in 1553 by seven Spaniards, attended by a number of Otomís, and to the following year is ascribed the founding of Guanajuato, the most famous of mining towns. San Miguel el Grande, the later Allende, rose six years afterward, and in 1562 San Felipe was founded by the brother of Viceroy Velasco, as a frontier presidio or advance post against the Chichimecs, the adjoining

Jerez de la Frontera. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 233, 552–7; *Parra, Conq. Xal.*, MS., 31. Ulua speedily became unpopular, and was replaced in 1562 by Captain García Colio or Celio. Francisco de Ibarra claimed the discovery of several of the most important mines. *Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. 464. A report on their condition in 1575 is given in *Miranda, Rel.*, in *Id.*, xvi. 563–70, and shows even then a decline among many.

[12] Fresnillo also assumed prominence, becoming a presidio and seat of an alcalde mayor. Sombrerete also said to have been discovered by Juan de Tolosa in 1555 or 1558, was made a villa in 1570. *Arlegui, Cron. Zac.*, 64; *García*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 23; *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 1035. Among other mines are named Aviño, San Lúcas, Pinos, Indé, Parral, Santa Bárbara, and Mazapil.

[13] As will be shown in *Hist. North Mex.*, i., this series. In 1550 it contained 160 Spaniards, 60 of prominence, working 75 veins of metal, and possessing 45 reduction works and 5 churches, says Marcha, in *Ternaux-Compans, Recueil*, 197–8. Bernardez assumes that in 1562 there were only 35 reduction works. *Zac.*, 42. In 1569 the region had 800 male Spaniards, 150 being occupied on the mines within 30 leagues of the town. *Informe del Cabildo*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 494. Estimates of yield, partly from Humboldt, are given in *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 1034; *Museo Mex.*, iv, 115–19, and others. See also *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, MS., 805, 814, 1088, and *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 83–4.

[14] Juan de Montoro, Gerónimo de la Cueva, and Alonso de Alarcon were commissioned on October 22, 1575, to found it as a villa, and although the title never was formally confirmed, yet its ayuntamiento was ever after addressed as 'muy ilustre.' *Parra, Conq. Xal.*, MS., 30–31. Medina, *Chrón. S. Diego*, i. 257, gives it the religious name of 'Assŭpcion.' *Aguirre, Doc. Antiguos*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép., iii. 17–19; *Beltrami, Mex.*, i. 174.

town being formed by a few Spanish settlers assisted by a number of allies.[15] Celaya and other towns also sprang up, and by 1680 the district claimed six hundred Spaniards. In 1576 Luis de Leixa had penetrated north-eastward, and on the slope of a metal-bearing mountain he founded the town of San Luis Potosí, which became the seat of an alcaldía mayor controlling for a time the whole region northward,[16] and promoting thence its settlement.

Very naturally these rich and promising districts were objects of parental solicitude to the government, and as armed measures availed so little against the inroads of the savages, Velasco determined to try concession. In 1591, while seeking to devise the best means for the accomplishment of his purpose, he was gladdened by the arrival of an embassy from the hostile tribes, desirous to sue for peace. The Indians had been persuaded to this step by the mestizo, Captain Caldera, whose mother was a Chichimec. Caldera was a brave soldier, and a person of influence among his mother's people. He had been able to convince them that continued war against the stronger race was useless, and they had now decided to make a treaty. The ambassadors were cordially received by the viceroy, and when, in return for their allegiance,

[15] At this place existed a relic venerated generally, under the name of Señor de la Conquista, and also a crucifix spotted with the blood of Father Francisco Doncel, the minister of Chamacuero in the same district, who with Friar Pedro Burgense had been murdered by Indians. With the pacification of Indians San Felipe declined. *Torquemada*, i. 640–2; *Mex., Informes*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. 247; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ix. 110, 143.

[16] It was named after Leixa, Potosí being added because of its similarity in rich veins and site to the Peruvian city. Friar Diego de la Magdalena is also claimed as the founder. Its alcalde mayor in 1584 was Gaspar de Castaño. In 1656 it was made a city and so confirmed by cédula of Aug. 17, 1658. In 1787 it had 22,000 inhabitants. Among the settlements founded in this region are Matechula, 1550; San Gerónimo de Agua Hedionda, 1552; Charcas Viejas, formerly Real Natividad, 1564, whose site was changed in 1583, and San Pedro mines, about 1568. The Tlascaltec towns of Tlascalilla, Mezquitic, and El Venado, 1580 to 1595; Santa María del Rio, whose site was afterward changed, 1589. See *Torquemada*, i. 640; *Arlegui, Cron. Zac.*, 73 et seq.; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 280; *Castillo*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3da ép., v. 497, 503–8; *Iturribarria*, in *Museo Mex.*, iv. 12; *Gonzalez, Col. Doc. N. Leon*, p. vi.

they demanded an annual supply of cattle and clothes, although it was quite reversing the orthodox order of things, under the circumstances the viceroy did not hesitate to agree to the terms. But to insure the permanency of the pacificacion, he asked permission to send among the Chichimecs a number of christianized Indian families, to assist them in forming settlements and encourage them to change their mode of life. This was granted and the treaty concluded.

An additional measure was the founding of special colonies by christianized allies to serve as nuclei and patterns for Chichimec towns, and as a protection to missionaries. The Tlascaltecs had from the beginning been the friends of the Spaniards. They were at the same time the most tractable of the natives, and enjoyed certain immunities from taxes and tributes for loyal conduct. From these Velasco selected four hundred families to colonize among the Chichimecs, and under the direction of the Franciscan friars and Captain Caldera the measure was accomplished, and four new colonies were founded. Here the Tlascaltecs and Chichimecs continued to live in peaceful community, though they would never intermarry nor dwell together in the same house. Otomís and Aztecs also joined these colonies, one of which, San Luis de la Paz, was founded by Jesuits, who made rapid strides toward converting and settling the roaming natives, and thus promoted the pacification of the country.[17]

Yet another and more disagreeable and thankless task demanded the attention of the viceroy. King Philip wanted money. He was engaged in ruinous European wars, which so drained his coffers that the enormous treasures constantly pouring in from the New World were not sufficient to meet the necessi-

[17] *Ribas, Triumphos de la Fé*, 723–6; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 280–1, 356–8. Cavo places the introduction of Tlascaltecs in 1591, *Tres Siglos*, i. 220–1, in which year 60 were massacred at San Andrés. *Torquemada*, iii. 351. Orozco y Berra, *Geog.*, 285, intimates hastily that the settlement occurred in 1588. Among the towns formed by them are Colotlan, Venado, San Miguel, Mezquitic, and suburbs near Saltillo and other Spanish settlements.

ties. The ordinary means for levying taxes were exhausted, and recourse must be had to forced loans. A revenue system, covering internal, import, and export duties, had been introduced by Viceroy Enriquez in 1574, pursuant to royal decree of 1571, which the merchants, however, strenuously opposed. They claimed that commerce then in a flourishing state, would greatly suffer by the system, as by exemption only could the merchants of the mother country make it profitable to bring hither their merchandise. Nevertheless Enriquez remained inflexible, alleging that the commerce of the country was so widely extended and permanently established that its interests could not be prejudiced. It appeared to him unjust that Mexico, whose commerce was the most important of any of the New World provinces, should alone enjoy such exemption.[18]

These forced loans of the Spanish king fell heavily on the natives, who neither knew nor cared about wars on the other side of the globe. Their tribute before this had been four reals, and it was eight reals that each must now pay. No mention is made of refunding this difference on the part of the king. It was with reluctance that the viceroy proceeded to impose this tax, knowing how difficult it was to collect even the ordinary tribute. An astute plan, however, was devised which would greatly relieve the red tax-payer from the infliction. For gold and silver one must dig, but beasts and birds grow of themselves. That this European fight in which the Ameri-

[18] The tax imposed at first was 2 per cent on every thing sold or exchanged. Then 3 per cent was collected on all importations; 4 per cent on real and personal property; 6 per cent on goods confiscated and on negroes imported, who were valued at $150 each. Exempt were ecclesiastical communities; the clergy in particular, and all that pertained to divine service, churches, convents, and monastaries, including their income from whatever source; property sold for religious uses; mining utensils and machinery; printing material, and a limited list of other articles and products of the soil. *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 45–50; *Fonseca y Urrutia, Real Hacienda*, ii. 5–118; *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. app. 7; *Rivera, Governantes*, i. 47. The second custom-house according to seniority was at Acapulco. The treasury officials in Mexico had charge of the collection of duties, but this ceased in 1597 and the port was placed on the same footing as Vera Cruz. *Mex., Mem. Hacienda*, 1825, i. 4.

can aboriginal could not take a hand might be less burdensome, it was decreed by the viceroy that of the four additional reals demanded by the king, only three should be required in money, a fowl being held equivalent to one real. It was intended as a masterstroke, and might have been called "The raising of revenue made easy." Unfortunately for the Indian, who usually neglected to provide himself with the required fowl, and who was predestined to be cheated even in the payment of an imposition, Spanish speculators bought up the fowls, and advanced the price two hundred or three hundred per cent, so that to obtain a fowl, which in his Majesty's forced loan was to take the place of one real in money, the red subject must pay perhaps three reals in money.[19]

But for all this the country made steady progress in every branch of industry during Velasco's rule; political, commercial, and social conditions were improved, and prosperity prevailed. Under this government were also begun the first preparations for the conquest of New Mexico, which were not wholly completed when the present term was brought to a close. The eminent services of Velasco were duly acknowledged by the crown, many favors being bestowed on him and his family; and on June 7, 1595, he was appointed viceroy for Peru.[20]

On September 18, 1595, the ninth viceroy of New Spain, Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acebedo, count of Monterey, landed at Vera Cruz, and on the 5th of the following month, after observing the usual formalities with respect to the departing viceroy, he entered the

[19] The act was subsequently revoked by the succeeding viceroy, Monterey. *Torquemada*, i. 653.

[20] In 1603 he was assigned a pension of 6,000 ducats, and after his death 4,000 ducats to his eldest son for life; 2,000 ducats to his daughter for life, and the same after death to her daughter. Besides these pensions, when Velasco returned from Peru, he was assigned 20,000 ducats from the treasury of Mexico. See *Real Cédula*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xviii. 256–9; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 55–6. In 1607 we shall meet with Velasco, then marqués de Salinas, again as viceroy of Mexico.

city of Mexico and took charge of the government. Monterey was reputed to be a man of austere disposition, sound judgment, and great probity, but lacking the urbane qualities so prominent in his predecessor. He was, therefore, looked upon in the beginning with some feelings of distrust, as to how he might conduct himself. There was at this juncture more than the usual speculation upon the question of his future policy, as the people were now enjoying the fruits of the felicitous rule of Luis de Velasco.

Monterey, however, was in no haste to gratify curiosity, or determine a policy prematurely. Some gathered from this that he was either weak or indifferent; but the truth is, he was simply cautious. He could not see how one could rule wisely without knowing something of the country and the necessities of the people. More particularly would he sound the vexed Indian question, which so far had baffled successful solution; it did not take him long to abolish the infamous fowl tax. He saw that the natives had greatly diminished in number, and were still rapidly diminishing, notwithstanding the claim set up by Christianity and civilization that they were better now than formerly, when under their own religion and rulers.[21]

It was now estimated that since the coming of the Spaniards the native population had fallen off three fourths. The causes of this decline were obvious. Aside from war and pestilence many were deprived of their lands, and so rendered homeless in their own country. They appealed to the tribunals, only to invite greater evil by alluring more despoilers. Their opponents generally managed by false evidence or bribery to obtain such decision as they desired, and thus with the addition of grants, usurpation, and other means, the Spaniards soon obtained possession of nearly all the choice land in the country.[22] The un-

[21] This assertion is made in *Memorial*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 183–4.

[22] An Austin friar, Pedro Juarez de Escobar, writing from New Spain to the king, among other wise suggestions for the good government of the

tillable lands, and those located at great distances from Spanish settlements, were alone left the natives.

What the officials, descendants of the conquerors,[23] and other Spanish settlers did not possess, was held by the friars, who through bestowals, testaments, or endowments had in time succeeded in obtaining possession of large areas of the finest land. This had been a comparatively easy task for the friars, though it was done in violation of the law, which forbade their holding lands or other property.[24]

Like those of some other countries Spain's Indian regulations were good enough in theory. Indians must not be conquered, but they may be pacified; they must not be enslaved, but they may be forced to work all their lives in the mines at half a real a day; the provincial council might place their soul and body on an equal footing with those of the conqueror, even permitting them to take orders and become priests, yet there was ever present the iron heel beneath which it is the destiny of the weaker to be ground to dust. How were the tender consciences of Isabella, of Charles, and of Philip appeased! Was there not a cédula of December 29, 1593, which required the audiencia to punish Spaniards who mal-

Indies, speaks of the necessity of providing that there should be only one lawyer, one proctor, and one interpreter to attend to Indian affairs, as the natives were constantly victimized by pettifoggers. He also urges that the chiefs be protected in their possessions, for they were often swindled out of them. The masses of the native population should be relieved of taxes, and their ignorance be considered in the imposition of penalties for offences; their imprisonment or detention for debts should be done away with. *Escobar, Gob.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, xi. 197–200.

[23] A complete list of these descendants with brief remarks may be found in *Mem. de los Hijos de Conquist. en 1590*, in *Monumentos Hist. y Polit.*, MS., preface. As the more prominent of these are mentioned in the course of this history, I do not deem it desirable here to repeat their names.

[24] Nor could the Indians legally transfer what they did not legally own; their lands were deemed the property of the crown, except the patrimony of chiefs, who were the only natives having property in land, and the right of disposal. See *Memorial*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 185. It was recommended that the king should institute an examination of the titles to lands held by Spaniards and friars; and that all possessions not held under legal tenure should revert to the crown. Also, among various other measures, that future grants should be prohibited; tributes to be assessed according to the value of the lands.

treated Indians, with the same punishment applied to those who had offended Spaniards? And was there not a cédula forbidding officials to capture Indians in war or peace, and were there not a hundred other laws against outrages which could never be prevented?[25]

A law had long since been issued requiring Indians to collect in towns, and Velasco, the previous viceroy, after his successful negotiation with the wild Chichimecs, determined to carry out this law with regard to all dispersed natives within the settled regions. He met with much more opposition, however, than had been anticipated, and with some heart-rending scenes that affected even the most callous among the officials. An Otomí, for instance, who was to be forcibly removed from his miserable hovel, evinced his attachment for home by killing his wife and children, and cattle, and then hanging himself. This occurrence, with others like it, made a deep impression on Velasco, and he directed his officials to stop further attempts to remove the natives.

Monterey thought that by a little judicious severity in the beginning, most beneficial results must accrue,[26] and he proceeded energetically to carry out this scheme. One hundred commissioners, accompanied by as many missionaries, were appointed to decide upon sites for new towns, with instructions to examine every promising locality in each province, and report thereon under oath.[27] The Spanish set-

[25] For an account of the abuses of Indians, and also of the efforts made in their behalf, and recommendations to the king to abolish the system of repartimientos, and to improve their condition in general, see *Concilios Prov.*, MS., i. 39–46, 78–96, 120; *Id.*, iii. 255; iv. 17, 35–50, 113–56, 210–26; *Larenaudière, Mex. et Guat.*, 148; *Repartimientos*, 73–5, in *Prov. S. Evang.*, MS., i.; *Informe*, 149, in *Id.*, viii.; *Silva, Advert. Import. Gov. Ind.*, 1–110; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráfica*, 346; *Hazart, Kirchen-Geschichte*, ii. 538–41; *Gil, Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 493; *Leyes, Varias Anot.*, MS., 153–62, 210; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 125–6; *Mena, Gob.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xi. 186–93; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 47.

[26] 'Verdad sea, que aunque al Conde le movió buen celo, fue apretando mucho la Cedula, y añadiendo inteligencias á racones, que venian en ella bien claras, y manifiestas.' *Torquemada*, i. 687–8.

[27] From these preliminaries we may judge of the importance Monterey attached to the matter, particularly as every one of these commissioners received a salary of 2,000 pesos in advance. 'Son docientos mil Pesos, los

tlers, however, were on the alert, and when a location was decided on which the Spaniards desired for themselves, as it happened in most cases, they bribed the commissioners to oppose the selection, and a less favorable or even wholly unfit locality was chosen. The charge of bribery is positively maintained by Torquemada, who says that for this reason "the Indians suffered and the Spaniards prevailed," protesting that he speaks not at random, but of well known facts. This author, himself a prominent friar, dwells with a sigh upon the circumstance that those missionaries had so little influence in the matter, "because now, when the religious and ecclesiastics in these Indies do speak the truth, it is looked upon with suspicion by those who govern, on account of our great sins."

When the different locations were finally determined, another commission was appointed by the viceroy to enforce the actual migration of the natives and the formation of the new towns. These being entirely new men, they were also desirous of profiting by their office. A new series of abuses sprang up; and so matters continued; for every device by government for the protection of the natives there were twenty by the settlers for their undoing.

It was, indeed, sorrowful when the commissioner came to drive the Indian from the home of his ancestors, evermore with his family to dwell in strange parts. They were gathered like a flock of sheep, their dwellings burned, their fields destroyed, and lamenting they were driven away. Those who complained were not heeded, and those who bore their misfortune in silence were treated like beasts. And though it was provided by the crown that when Indians were removed to other localities none of the land thus vacated should be taken from them and given to Spaniards, the command was but temporarily respected, and soon

que de ante mano se gastaron en esta Comision, para sola la vista de los Sitios, y Pueblos, donde avia de ser la Gente congregada.' *Torquemada*, i. 687.

all the ancient possessions yielded to the avarice of the conqueror.

Monterey was not immediately aware of the atrocities committed by his officials, but imagined that he was performing a pious duty. Complaints grew finally so loud and so frequent that no doubt was left; he therefore countermanded the worst part of his orders, and reported to the king the impracticability of the undertaking.

In answer came a cédula prohibiting further steps in the matter, and it was proclaimed that all Indians who desired might return to their original homes. A few took advantage of the permission, but the majority, reduced to poverty and helplessness, had not the courage nor the means to return to their destroyed homes and begin anew the cultivation of their fields; "and most pernicious damage," as we are told by Torquemada, resulted from the formation of these settlements.[28]

New races and race intermixtures were springing up, however, to fill the widening gaps in native ranks, and among them the negroes and Indian zambos,[29] the latter offspring of Indians and negroes, appeared conspicuous, not alone from their number, but from their vicious tendencies, which were regarded as dangerous. The Indian zambos in particular would not apply themselves to mechanical trades nor cultivate the soil. Their favorite occupation was herding cattle, in which they could lead a free and roving life; they were particularly fond of living among the Indians, an association dangerous to the Spaniards in case of revolt, and incentive to troubles. Besides, they as well as fugitive slaves were constantly committing

[28] I have preferred to follow the statements of Torquemada, who has given us the fairest account of all the steps taken in the matter and the results. He had the best opportunity of knowing, as he lived in Mexico at the time, and in company with other friars took a prominent part in the endeavors to protect the natives from the lawless acts of the commissioners.

[29] 'Zambo de indio.' The matter of race intermixtures and terms is more fully given in *Hist. Mex.*, iii., this series.

depredations in Vera Cruz and its environs, between the city of Antequera and Huatulco, in the province of Pánuco and other places; and to stop this evil the government had been obliged to pursue and punish the criminals; after which, such of them as were slaves were restored to their masters.[30]

With each year the introduction of negro slaves increased, as their services were needed for the mines, and no better laborers for that purpose could be obtained. The natives were poor workmen, being naturally lazy, and encouraged in this vice by knowledge of existing laws against their enforced labor. Marriages between negro men and Indian women were common, the latter preferring negroes to Indians, and the negro males being more fond of Indian women. The cause of this reciprocal feeling may perhaps be found in a wise and humane law, which provided that all offspring of these unions should be born free.

Alarmed at the great number of zambo children born in the country, Viceroy Enriquez had asked the king to decree that the latter should be born slaves. And the pope was requested to forbid future marriages between the two races, but the proposals failed. Meanwhile an officer was appointed to keep a record of all zambos of both sexes, to watch over them, and see that they were engaged in honest pursuits, and to punish vagrants.[31]

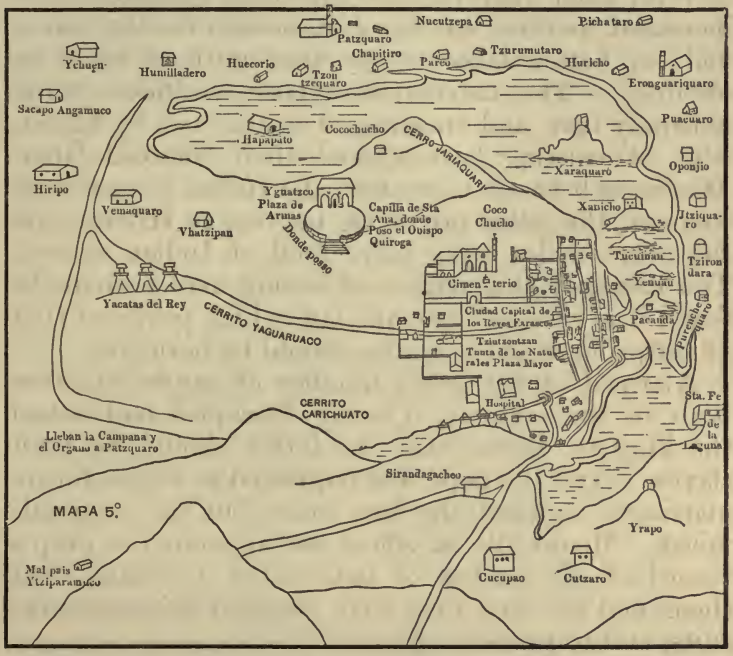
But if Count Monterey failed in some particulars, in others he was eminently successful—instance the state of affairs in Michoacan, which under the energetic and beneficent rule of Quiroga, first as visitador and then as bishop, had been sent forward on a

[30] A law of 1557 forbade the landing from any vessel of negroes without a license of the king's officers, who were to keep account of every negro landed. Masters convicted of violating the law were to be punished with forfeiture of their vessels, and imprisonment. It was a crime under the laws of 1568–73 for any negro, mulatto, mestizo, or other of mixed breed to carry weapons. *Recop., Ind.*, ii. 361, 363; *Zamora, Leg. Ult.*, iii. 109, iv. 461–2.

[31] See *Enriquez, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 298–300.

broad road of peace and prosperity, broken only by occasional disturbance on the eastern border.[32]

As a province subject to the audiencia of Mexico, it was ruled by alcaldes mayores,[33] to whom were answerable a number of lieutenants and chiefs, controlling different towns and tribes.[34] Their residence



TRANSFER OF EPISCOPAL SEAT.

[32] At Yuririapúndaro are still to be seen in the convent garden three trees, called 'Trompon y de las mujeres libertadas,' and planted in commemoration of the rescue by the Indian chief Trompon of two women who in 1588 had been carried off from the town by Chichimec raiders. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ix. 163.

[33] The first person whose name is preserved to us by the records is Juan del Hierro, who in 1581 was succeeded by Doctor Alonso Martinez. For subsequent rulers see *Linares*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép., iv. 637–8.

[34] Among these chiefs were descendants of the unfortunate Tangaxoan, one of whose blood, Diego Tomás, was made captain general of the Chichimec frontier and principal chief of the Tarascan cacique, receiving also the title of hijodalgo, together with the grant of Panjamo. A letter from the audiencia in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 206, alludes to several sons of Tangaxoan. Beaumont refers only to the career of Antonio, and his son Pablo, married to a Spanish lady, and enjoying an annuity from the crown. *Cró., Mich.*, iii. 361. Brasseur de Bourbourg mentions also Fernando, and a docu-

was at Patzcuaro, which in 1554 had been made the leading city by the transfer of the episcopal seat from Tzintzuntzan.[35] This blow at the ancient seat of royalty in favor of an Indian suburb, as Patzcuaro was classed, created no little remonstrance, appeals being sent also to the king. Despite the continued clamor, no attention was accorded till Bishop Morales proposed a solution by recommending the transfer of political and ecclesiastical government to the growing city of Valladolid. This took effect in 1580 or 1582, although not without further protests.[36] The place had been founded in 1541 by Viceroy Mendoza, when on the way to the Mixton war, and was occasionally termed Guayangareo, after the valley in which it lay.[37]

Tzintzuntzan appears to have suffered less from this

ARMS OF THE CITY OF VALLADOLID.

ment in *Orozco y Berra, Hist. Ant.*, ii. 207, speaks of Constantino as a son of Antonio. See also *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ix. 133–4.

[35] The royal order to this effect had been obtained by Quiroga while in Spain, the papal approval being dated July 8, 1550. *Nueva Esp., Breve Res.*, MS., ii. 250–74. Beaumont gives a native painting which I reproduce on p. 773, recording the transfer. *Crón. Mich.*, MS., app. A description of the arms of Patzcuaro is given in the same book.

[36] Florencia states that but for the Jesuits the Indians would have forcibly resisted the transfer. They were appeased by the grant of a venerated bell. *Hist. Prov. Jesus*, 225–7. The protest of Tzintzuntzan appears in *Mich., Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 244–7; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 128–9; *Mich., Prov. S. Nicolás*, 42. The objection to Patzcuaro was that the centre of business had moved away from its district, and that it suffered from heavy rains in summer. *Villa Señor, Theatro*, ii. 8. It had at this time 100 Spanish households, two convents, and a Jesuit college.

[37] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 139. According to Tello, it received a coat of arms in 1563. With the transfer it received great impulse, and a costly cathedral added to its attractions. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 450, 460; v. 548. The coat of arms given above is a fac-simile from *Id.*, MS., app.; *Mex. Col. Leyes*, i., p. xlvii.; *Romero*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 540.

last change than from the previous, for it prospered sufficiently to be endowed in 1593 with the title of city.[38] There were four other Spanish towns in the province and about three hundred native towns and villages.[39] The population suffered much less here from the epidemics of 1563 and 1575–6, thanks to the many hospitals erected by friars, and to which Quiroga had given impulse by his establishment at Santa Fé.[40] The memory of this good bishop is to this day venerated throughout the province for his

Arms of the City of Tzintzuntzan.

many beneficent acts and fatherly supervision, continued until his death in 1565, the fruits remaining as a bright example to his successors. Of gigantic stat-

[38] The above cut is from *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, MS., app. Government buildings had been projected there as early as 1531. *Salmeron*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. 451.

[39] With over 40,000 tribute-payers. The Spanish towns were San Miguel, San Felipe, Zacatula, and Colima. The last was made a villa in 1554, with the name of Santiago de los Caballeros. It suffered severely from a hurricane and earthquake on November 14, 1573. Ships were built at Salagua or Manzanillo. Cajitlan is also spoken of as a prominent town. *Colima, Representacion*, 5–7; *Informe por Cabildo de Guad.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 507; *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 237.

[40] He left an income to support it, with instructions for its management. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 570–81.

ure, great strength and endurance, and swarthy complexion, the prelate was indefatigable in his efforts for the advancement of Christianity, particularly among the Indians, who alluded to him affectionately as Tata Vasco. He visited even the remotest parts of his vast diocese, setting his hand personally to rude tasks, erecting churches and schools for children and artisans, and giving to all the example of a humane and moral life.[41]

Monterey's administration was also marked by the extension of Spanish settlements in the north, particularly in the region then called the Nuevo Reino de Leon, whose conquest and settlement proper fall within this period, though earlier attempts more or less successful had been made. The territory was inhabited partially by some of those wild tribes coming under the general name of Chichimecs with whom Viceroy Velasco had concluded a treaty, and by others properly belonging to the adjoining province of Tamaulipas.

We are told that in the year 1580 Franciscan missionaries came from Jalisco to Nuevo Leon in charge of Fray Lorenzo de Gavira; and after preaching for some time in different places, they retired to Saltillo, where in 1582 they founded the convent of San Estévan. Gavira then returned to Jalisco. Two years later we find established in the territory Diego de Montemayor, said to have come to Saltillo in 1575, whence he petitioned Gaspar de Castaño, alcalde

[41] He died aged 95, March 14, 1565, at Uruapan, whilst on a pastoral tour, and was buried in his favorite town of Patzcuaro, where he had endowed the college of San Nicolás. At the time the cathedral was removed to Valladolid the chapter attempted to take away the bishop's remains, but the Indians of Patzcuaro prevented it; the bones were preserved in silk bags in the church which had been placed in charge of the Jesuits. Valladolid, now Morelia, possessed the staff wherewith, according to tradition, he struck the rock from which sprang the potable water used in that city; also his hat bearing the marks of perspiration. Several portraits exist in Michoacan, and represent him as of dark complexion and gigantic stature. *Villa Señor, Theatro*, ii. 7 et seq.; *Romero*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 538–40; *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesus*, 210, 226–7; *Alegre*, ii.; *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, 132–3. The fullest account of his life is given in *Moreno, Fragmentos de la Vida...de Quiroga*, Mex. 1766, 202, 30, written by a canon of Guadalajara, and containing also interesting matter on the history of the province.

mayor of San Luis Potosí, who controlled all this region, for a grant of the lands and water of the hacienda San Francisco.[42] This petition was signed by Montemayor as royal treasurer, showing that even then he was a prominent personage.

The favorable features and resources of the region soon became known, and Luis de Carabajal y de la Cueva, a frontiersman, made a contract to effectually colonize it at his own expense, in consideration for the appointment of governor. His original jurisdiction under the name of Nuevo Reino de Leon was to comprise a vaguely defined territory, from the port of Tampico along the River Pánuco as a basis, thence extending northward, but not to exceed two hundred leagues either way, which would seem to have included all of Tamaulipas. To pacify and colonize the new territory Carabajal was allowed to employ one hundred soldiers and take with him sixty married laborers, including their wives and children.[43] Armed with this concession he appeared at Mexico in the early autumn of 1580, and began to prepare for occupying his territory. But the allurements of the rich mining districts of San Luis Potosí and Guanajuato tended to eclipse the more pastoral vistas offered by New Leon, and the enrolment proved slow.[44] In 1584, however, he appears to have set out, and on reaching the Spanish settlement already established at Santa Lucía, in Estremadura Valley,[45] he determined there to plant his colony, changing the name of the place to

[42] The present town of San Francisco de Apodaca. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3da ép. i. 231.

[43] This capitulation was dated May 31, 1579. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 104–8. Gonzalez, *Col. N. Leon.*, p. xvii. 6, the historian of the province, followed by a writer in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3da ép. i. 224–5, argues strenuously that Carabajal was appointed in 1569, but this date is disproved not only by Calle's document, but by the admitted fact that Carabajal did not enter the province till 1584–5.

[44] An appeal must have been made to the king, for by a cédula of April 19, 1583, the viceroy was charged to promote the undertaking in every way. See also *Instruccion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 480–99.

[45] Founded probably by Father Gavira and Diego de Montemayor. Yet some assume that General Urdiñola senior may have brought the settlers here established.

that of City of Leon; and segregating the territory from the jurisdiction of the alcalde mayor of San Luis Potosí, he established the New Kingdom of Leon, by

KINGDOM OF NEW LEON.

virtue of his contract with the crown. At this place he must have fallen in with Diego de Montemayor,

for we find that on the 16th of August 1585 the grants extended to the latter by the alcalde referred to, were confirmed and amplified by Governor Carabajal.[46]

The new city of Leon does not appear to have made much progress under Governor Carabajal. But we have no further data concerning the province at this time, except that in 1591 Gaspar de Castaño, who seems to have acted as lieutenant-governor of New Leon, marched with about two hundred men through that territory and Coahuila, on his way to New Mexico.[47]

Two years later the first Franciscans obtained a permanent foothold in the province, under Father Andrés de Leon, who was accompanied by fathers Diego de Arcaya and Antonio Zalduende. These friars were of the number who accompanied the expedition despatched by Velasco, with the Tlascaltec families, to colonize the Chichimec country. Having reached Saltillo, where they founded the village of San Estévan, adjoining the convent of that name, they penetrated to the valley of Estremadura, and founded a large mission at a place known to-day as Piedra Parada, distant about a league from Leon. Father Zalduende then returned and continued his missionary labors in the interior of Coahuila.

Governor Carabajal died about 1595,[48] and Pedro Rodriguez, who may have been an alcalde, was left in charge of the government when the colony was struggling for existence. In 1596 Diego de Montemayor was made lieutenant-governor and captain general of

[46] 'Este auto de revalidacion está puesto en la ciudad de Leon, del Nuevo Reyno de Leon.' *Gonzalez, Col. N. Leon*, p. vi. 5. 'He hallado aquí un documento...que prueba que el año de 1584 San Luis era villa, y capital de la provincia, regida por un alcalde Mayor, que lo era Gaspar de Castaño, cuya jurisdiccion se estendia hasta el Nuevo Reyno de Leon.' No mention is made of the proceedings of Carabajal after this, but it is not improbable he employed several years in completing his project.

[47] *Sosa, Mem.*, in *Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 283–354; also *Id.*, xv. 191–261.

[48] *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 105. The exact time of his death is not given.

New Leon, and by special commission from Viceroy Monterey he proceeded to reorganize the government and settle the province. It is claimed that for this purpose he brought thirty-four Spanish families, but it seems more probable that he undertook the task with those he may have brought thither at the beginning, or those who remained of Carabajal's colony, and the Indians gathered at the mission by Father Andrés de Leon. There is no evidence that Montemayor ever left the province after his first arrival.

On the 20th of September 1596 the lieutenant-governor solemnly incorporated the capital of the province, changing the name of Leon to the City of Our Lady of Monterey, in honor of the ruling viceroy; but the province retained the name of New Leon.[49] This act of incorporation shows that Montemayor himself was the first to introduce disorder, and lay the foundation of future discontent, by giving to the ayuntamiento and the church of the new city six Indian tribes in encomienda.

The civil and judicial affairs of New Leon continued subject to the government of Mexico, while ecclesiastical matters were under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Guadalajara. Father Andrés de Leon was the first to receive the appointment to the curateship proper of Monterey. Of the general progress of that city during the latter part of the sixteenth century little is known. During the early years of the next century more Franciscans arrived from Zacatecas, who founded a convent in Monterey. Then Father Andrés

[49] The document of incorporation, or carta de fundacion, preserved in the municipal archives of Monterey, bears date, 'en el valle de Estremadura Ojos de Santa Lucía, Jurisdiccion del Nuevo Reyno de Leon,' September 20, 1596, signed by Diego de Montemayor. The first municipal officers were Alonso de Berreda and Pedro Iñigo, alcaldes ordinarios; Juan Perez de los Rios, Diego Diaz de Verlanga, and Diego Maldonado, regidores; Diego de Montemayor, procurador general; the regidor Verlanga acting at the same time as notary of the cabildo. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3da ép., i. 225: *Gonzalez, Col. N. Leon*, 8–11. The following authorities erroneously place the founding of Monterey in the year 1599. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 231; *Villa Señor, Theatro*, ii. 295; *Mayer, Mex. Aztec.*, i. 175; *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 884. The article on 'Nuevo Leon' in the latter work is replete with errors, in facts and dates. Mota Padilla gives the year 1602, and Arlegui 1603.

was better enabled to follow up his religious labors, so that in 1603 thirty-five thousand Indians had been baptized, besides three thousand who had died in the mean time. These numbers Arlegui claims to have taken from a public document. Thus the permanent colonization of New Leon became one of the successful undertakings of Count Monterey, the capital of which province perpetuates his name to this day.

Many other attempts were made during the last quarter of this century to explore and populate the north-western and more northerly regions of New Spain as far as the interior of New Mexico, a fuller account of which is given in my *History of the North Mexican States*. After the expedition of Vasquez de Coronado in 1540–2 and his subsequent retreat, this vast region was almost forgotten for forty years. In 1581 the ill-fated priest, Agustin Rodriguez, penetrated north, over two hundred leagues, into the Tiguas province, on the Rio del Norte. Then came, in the following year, the expedition of Antonio de Espejo and Father Bernardino Beltran, which advanced through the valley of Rio Conchos up the valley of the Rio Grande to the Pueblo territory and beyond, in a north-westerly direction. There they found traces of the Coronado expedition, and after some exploring in the vicinity they returned in safety. The next Spaniards to explore in that direction were those under Gaspar de Castaño, in 1590, mentioned in this chapter. He set out probably from New Leon, and was subsequently arrested by order of Velasco. Then came the expedition, in 1594 to 1596, under Bonilla and Humaña, in search of Quivira, which came to such an unfortunate end that but one Spaniard and a mulatto girl are said to have escaped.

Meanwhile arrangements for the conquest of New Mexico had been completed between Viceroy Velasco and Juan de Oñate, on August 24, 1595. Many and serious difficulties arose about the matter between

Monterey and the principal leaders of the enterprise, so that several years elapsed before the expedition was fairly under way. Finally, in the autumn of 1597, Oñate set out with four hundred men, one hundred and thirty of whom had families. Many were the hardships, reverses, and successes of this important expedition, until formal possession of the newly conquered territory was taken in the name of the crown, by Juan de Oñate, on April 30, 1598, thus adding another important province to the rapidly expanding boundaries of New Spain.[50]

Thus terminated the sixteenth century in New Spain, the opening of which had beheld at the zenith of its glory the most advanced and powerful empire in America, as yet undreamed of by the Spanish adventurers who were scouring the western seas in search of India. Within two brief years it fell, thereafter to serve as a base for the extension of a new power. The ancient capital of the Aztecs was made the metropolis of yet vaster domains. The decade following the fall of Mexico saw these Spaniards spreading in small but irresistible bands southward over Chiapas and Guatemala, until, stayed in Honduras by the current of invasion from the Isthmian capital, they turned to subjugate the still untrodden north, advancing on the one side beyond Pánuco, on the other to the borders of Sinaloa, nearly opposite Lower California. Another decade saw the conquest of the peninsula of Yucatan in the east, while in the north exploring expeditions disclosed the other great peninsula, that of California, entering the gulf by its side, and passing through Sonora and Arizona into the land of Cíbola, and beyond, to the borders of Kansas. Meanwhile a few wanderers had crossed their track and traversed the broad expanse of continent from Florida to the shores of the gulf of California. The following dec-

[50] For particulars and full narrative of these various expeditions, some of which are absolutely ignored by modern writers, see *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., and *Hist. New Mex. and Arix.*, this series.

ades witness the mining excitement which confines exploration within the latitudes of Querétaro and Chihuahua, and the coast ranges east and west. Here a number of metalliferous districts and towns sprang up under the protecting wing of presidios and armed camps, most of which still exist as famous mining centres and state and county capitals.

Then the long and fitful dream of treasures which had danced the early adventurers hither and thither, bringing blood-hounds and fire-tortures on many a luckless chief, had become fixed and realized. And although for a time the numerous mines discovered proved the chief attraction and the more immediate source of wealth, gradually attention was turned to the more enduring forms of prosperity, agriculture and manufactures, which will more clearly be brought to light in the succeeding volumes of this history.

And all along through the century we have seen explorers and conquerors, city-builders and miners, side by side with self-denying and exemplary friars, who, while replacing a cruel and debasing worship with a gentler faith, sought to ameliorate the condition of their charge, ever mysteriously fading into the immaterial before their pitying eyes.

Meanwhile able men appear at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, and the church rises into power, gaining for the millions lost in the Old World millions in the New. Government becomes organized; conquerors give way to encomenderos; adelantados to audiencias and viceroys, who by mutual aid and restraint form an administration which with a few exceptions may be called beneficial. Society improves, wealth and refinement come, education advances, and the aboriginal culture is replaced by a higher civilization. As with increasing age the conscience of Philip becomes yet more tender, gradually fall the shackles of an enslaved people; sympathizers of the superior class born upon the soil come to their support, and from

this union springs a new people destined in time to revive the faded glories of the past.

Mexican history during the viceregal rule has one attraction not possessed by the preceding annals of the conquest, that of novelty; since, as I have intimated, no narratives of this period exist in English beyond vague generalizations and bare fragmentary outlines, in connection with treatises on modern Mexico and its resources. Even the works in Spanish, by Cavo, Ribera, and Zamacois, are most unsatisfactory, especially for the sixteenth century, which is treated in a brief, uneven, and fragmentary manner. This is chiefly owing to their neglect of, and want of access to, the voluminous documents in different ancient and modern collections, and even in a number of quite attainable chronicles and histories. The lack of research is augmented by a neglect of generalization, of institutional topics, of local annals, and of the critical and philosophical treatment of subjects so essential to proper history.

The sources for material on the period subsequent to the fall of Mexico change as the din of battle ceases, and the cross takes possession of the field opened for its labors. For a while it advances side by side with the sword; at times it even becomes the precursor, and finally the peaceful symbol becomes dominant. Yet soldier-chroniclers continue for some years as leading narrators of events, notably Cortés, in his clear, concise *Cartas*, supplemented by Oviedo with testimony from different sources, while Las Casas furnishes views from the other side, exaggerated though they may be from excess of zeal. Gossippy Bernal Diaz, so full and thorough for the earlier period, becomes fragmentary and less reliable, describing now this expedition from personal experience, now a number of others from vague hearsay; or he jots down events as they occur to his fading memory. Gomara concentrates his coloring upon the closing achievements of his patron, while disclosing many important points. But Herrera, who so far had followed him pretty closely, maintains an even tenor, borrowing now from more varied sources wherewith to fill his bald and stulted decades. Despite his false method, want of breadth, and pronounced Castilian tendencies, he stands forth brimful of facts, the most complete general writer on American events for the first half of the century. Elegant Solis, like philosophic Clavigero, stops with dramatic tact at the fall, but a successor arises in Salazar y Olarte, a man who, in undertaking to continue his narrative from the material offered in a few printed versions, seeks also to clothe it in florid language befitting the original, only to degenerate into a verbose and spiritless declaimer whose word-painting excites derision. Robertson's attractive outline dwindles into a brief philosophic review of progress in Spanish-American colonies, and Prescott becomes after the fall merely the biographer of his hero, and his allusions to contemporary history do not pretend to be more than a culling from a few accessible authors.

The places gradually vacated by soldier-chroniclers and their followers are occupied by civilians, visitadores, judges, viceroys, and municipal bodies, who in voluminous reports or less complete letters disclose political unfoldings and factions, dwell on the development of settlements and mines, and discourse on local affairs and social features. Singly they furnish but frag-

mentary evidence, jointly they cover their field satisfactorily, as will be found by the investigator who patiently searches through the many and voluminous collections into which their writings have been gathered, as *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos*, in over 50 volumes; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Coleccion de Documentos*, in over 40; *Documentos para Historia de Mexico*, in over 20; *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voyages*, and other issues, in more than 20; the even more bulky *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía*, *Boletin*, the collections of Navarrete, Icazbalceta, Ramirez, Hakluyt, Purchas, *Cartas de Indias*, *Archivo Mexicano*, *Florida Coleccion de Documentos*, the unique *Squier's MSS.*, in over 20 volumes; the original minutes and records in *Concilios Provinciales*, MS., and *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS.; the curious material in *Monumentos de la Dominacion Española*, MS.; *Id.*, *Históricos y Políticos*, MS., and *Libro de Cabildo*, MS.; the collections and summaries of laws in *Puga*, *Cedulario*, *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., and *Reales Órdenes*, MS., both in a number of volumes, in *Recopilacion de Indias*, *Montemayor*, and *Zamora*, and so forth.

Nevertheless there remain many features not touched by civilians, such as the wide-spread labors of religious, who to a great extent acted also as peaceful conquerors of vast provinces, and as rulers in their districts, guiding the destinies of millions. The labors and observations of these men were incorporated in monk-chronicles, written in many instances by themselves, and the better known by formally appointed historians for the orders and provinces concerned. While their attention is bent chiefly on religious topics, miracles, and biographies of friars, they narrate also political and kindred topics, although not with much connection, thoroughness, or impartiality. They nevertheless form a check on statements from the opposite side, and in this their very antagonism becomes valuable to the student in sifting the truth from varied testimony. Among the earliest of chroniclers stands Motolinia, whose *Historia de los Indios* relates in rambling and naïve manner the personal experience of a founder of the Franciscan order in New Spain, and dwells also upon the relation between church, friars, and state, and the treatment of his native protégés. His follower, Mendieta, was an equally ardent defender both of his order and of the natives, yet more talented as a writer, so much so that he was appointed official historian of his province, and gained great distinction. His *Historia Eclesiástica* gives the most thorough account of religious labors for the greater part of the sixteenth century. Neither of these histories was published, however, till of late, and Torquemada stepped forward to avail himself of them, in connection with a mass of other material in print and manuscript, presenting in his *Monarquia Indiana* the most complete general history for the century of ecclesiastical, political, and Indian affairs. He is consequently copied by a number of both general and local writers, such as Vetancurt, who, while less full, adds a mass of information on orders, churches, cities, and other topics, in his numerous histories and treatises. Beaumont figures in his *Crónica de Michoacan* as the historian of a western province, yet he covers in a very complete manner all general affairs of New Spain that lead up to or are connected with his district. Tello and Mota Padilla write on the farther north-west, New Galicia, though adhering more closely to their particular sections, and Arricivita and Arlegui continue the link eastward. Cogolludo in the same manner stands forward

as a very thorough historian of Yucatan, the farthest east, while Villagutierre, Remesal, and Burgoa complete the circle in the south, for Itza, Chiapas, and Oajaca, respectively. Remesal represents also the Dominican order, which in Chiapas held sway, and other orders have their special historians, such as Grijalva, the Augustinian chronicler; García, who records Bethlehemite deeds; Philoponus, the Benedictine; Alegre and Florencia, the Jesuit annalists, and so forth, while the church itself found historians in Fernandez, Gonzalez Dávila, and Hazart.

In connection with the monks figures a new class of writers, natives and mestizos, who were educated at the convents or became members of orders, and imbibed from teachers the love for writing. Repelled to a certaint extent by the proud Spaniard, they cling more closely to their own race, and, while seeking in its glorious records a balm for their sorrow, they feel a yearning to preserve them and to advocate the claims of their people. Among these writers I have already spoken of Camargo, who in connection with material on aboriginal history and customs gives a brief sketch of events during Spanish rule. There is also Chimalpain, who besides his translation of Gomara, to which he adds several valuable features, is credited with works on ancient and conquest times. Ixtlilxochitl, the native Cicero, writes more fully on the coming of the Spaniards, with which the achievements of his own family, the main topic of his works, are so closely bound up, and he frequently ventures to throw light on incidents wherein the conquerors appear to little advantage. His son Manuel Alva issued several translations of Vega's comedies together with *platicas* against native superstitions. The native Jesuit Juan Tovar wrote on ancient history, but the works of the mestizo friar Duran, so largely used by Acosta, have been wrongly credited to Tovar by hasty modern historians. Antonio Tovar, Cano Montezuma, Francisco Pimentel Ixtlilxochitl, the mestizo Cristóbal Castillo, Saavedra Guzman, the author of *El Peregrino Indiano*, 1599, Pedro Gutierrez de Santa Clara, Pedro Ponce, Tezozomoc, Juan Bautista Pomar, Tadeo de Niza, Gabriel de Ayala in his *Comentarios*, Cristóbal Castañeda, who wrote on Michoacan, and Juan Ventura Zapata y Mendoza, the Tlascaltec annalist, are among the noted writers of native or mixed origin, whose productions on ancient and conquest periods have either been published or incorporated in the works of Torquemada, Vetancurt, Clavigero, and others.

Torquemada, as I have shown, must be regarded as the leading chronicler of New Spain for the sixteenth century, giving as he does a comprehensive account of political as well as ecclesiastical and aboriginal affairs, compiled for the first half of the century from a number of versions extant in manuscript and print, and the remainder written to a great extent from personal observations. For this work he was particularly well fitted by his training, attainments, and position. Born in Spain, he came at an early age to Mexico, where he assumed the Franciscan robe and studied philosophy and theology under the famous Juan Bautista, whose love for the Mexican language, history, and antiquities he readily imbibed. His ability was early recognized, and he became definidor, guardian of Tlatelulco college and of Tlascala convent, and provincial of his order in Mexico, holding the latter office from 1614 to 1617. To this position, or to the influence which gained it, may be due

the success which so many predecessors failed to achieve, the publication of his great work, *Los Veinte i vn Libros Rituales i Monarchia Indiana, con el origen y guerras de los Indios Ocidentales, de sus Poblaciones*, etc., first issued at Seville 1615, in 3 folio volumes. *Antonio, Bib. Hist. Nova*, iii. 788. Pinelo, followed by Ternaux-Compans, says 1613; but this is an error, as shown by the fact that the permission to print was issued only in May 1513. The issue of these bulky volumes, full of notations, must have taken some time. The greater part of the edition was lost in a shipwreck, and the remaining copies disappeared so rapidly that Solis could not obtain one. Indeed, a century after the imprint date only three copies could be traced. The importance of the work had meanwhile become so appreciated that a new edition was issued at Madrid in 1723, corrected from the original manuscript which had been discovered in Gonzalez de Barcia's library. Several parts had, however, been cut out by the censor, such as the first chapter to the second book, containing the 'key to the idea' of the migration, which is similar to that given in *García, Origen*. As indicated by the title, the work consists of 21 books, in three volumes, of which the first book treats of cosmogony and origin of Indians, the second and third of aboriginal history, the fourth of the conquest, and the fifth of the events in New Spain from the fall of Mexico to 1612. This last book is unevenly treated, the middle period being very brief as compared with later decades. The second volume, with nine books, is devoted to aboriginal mythology and customs; the third, with seven books, to the progress of conversion, the condition of the natives under the new rule, the history of the church, and particularly of the Franciscans in New Spain, with a number of chapters on affairs in the Antilles, Philippines, and elsewhere.

The instructions issued to Torquemada in 1609 directed him to collect and use all existing material for the work in question, and he certainly showed no hesitation in obeying the order to the letter. Indeed, Motolinia, Sahagun, Mendieta, Acosta, Herrera, and others, have been literally copied to a great extent. The conquest and subsequent events for several decades are almost wholly from the last named, while Mendieta is called upon to supply the religious history. According to Juan Bautista, *Adviento*, prologue, to whom Mendieta had intrusted his manuscript, it had been decided at one time that Torquemada should embellish it with his lore and arguments. As it was, he absorbed the contents, softening the condemnatory language so freely poured forth by the fearless Mendieta wherever he thought it necessary. Besides the sources mentioned, Torquemada used several narratives by writers of Indian extraction, a mass of material from public and private archives, together with his own diaries and observations. He had spent over fourteen years in gathering this material, and seven in preparing for his work, called to it by a literary taste, and a sympathy for the subject, stimulated by his predecessors, so that his volumes were already well advanced before the official order came for him to write them. His superiors evidently examined the work beforehand, and recognized his fitness to undertake it; a fitness already made manifest in a previous publication, the *Vida del Santo Fr. Sebastian de Aparicio*, 1605; *Pinelo, Epitome*, ii. 829, and in his vast store of biblical and classical lore, which he scatters throughout the pages in lavish profusion, and frequently with little regard for the appropriate. While more prudent

than the hot-headed Mendieta, he is less clear-sighted, and easily led into errors; he fairly revels in miracles and saintly dissertations, and loses himself in wordy arguments for his theme and cloth, often with striking simplicity. Nevertheless, his work merits admiration for its laborious thoroughness, which has deservedly made it the standard history for its period and field; for its comparatively excellent plan and order, and for its clearness of style; in all of which Torquemada stands preëminent among contemporaries, justly entitled to what a modern Mexican writer calls him, the Livy of New Spain. The claim of the *Monarquia Indiana* as a standard authority is conceded in the frequent and copious use made of it by general and local writers; and by the absence till Cavo's time of a comprehensive history for the century. Yet the latter is brief and unsatisfactory, giving in his volume on the three centuries of Spanish rule but one seventh to this earlier and more important period. A little fuller, yet equally unsatisfactory, as before remarked, is the more modern Ribera, while Zamacois, who dwells on the Spanish colonial period, 1521–1821, in seven respectable volumes, accords but a little more than one of them to the sixteenth century. This unevenness applies also to the subject-matter, which is compiled, and carelessly so, from a few of the most accessible books and records, so that a number of interesting periods and incidents are either wholly overlooked, or treated in bare outline.

Besides these general works, a number of treatises on special episodes and states have been edited or written by such Mexican writers as Alaman, Ramirez, Icazbalceta, Orozco y Berra, Bustamante, Romero, Gil, Prieto, and a number of others whose names figure in the voluminous *Boletin* of the Mexican Geographical Society. Still another class of contributions is to be found in the narratives of travellers and navigators, who report not only on affairs, society, and resources as observed by them in the countries visited, but add much to the knowledge of their earlier history from hearsay or research. This material is scattered throughout a vast number of collections of voyages, a class of books to which Ramusio may properly claim title as founder, as I have shown elsewhere.

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